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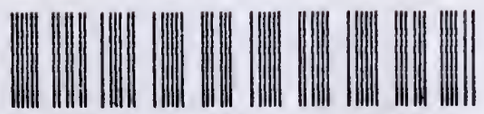

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THE

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Quarterly Review,

EDITED BY

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Professor in Pennsylvania College.

VOLUME XXI.

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The article of *Justification by Faith* is an able, profound and carefully discriminating exposition of the great doctrine of the Reformation. *Communion with God* is a fervent and graceful article, full of the spirit of its theme. *Ecclesiastical Purity* is an able and clear discussion. *Daniel and his Prophecies* is a very interesting and instructive article. *The Relation of the Text* is pleasant and readable, both for its information and suggestions. *Patrick Henry* is a charming sketch of the great orator of our heroic age, whose life seems more like a romance than a reality. The contents of the October number of the *Review* are unusually able, varied and valuable.—*Lutheran Observer.*

The October number of the *Quarterly* has elements of a very high character. Its articles are marked by a pleasant variety. They are all readable, and some of them are highly valuable as studies. The leading article on "Justification by Faith" indicates the diligent student, the apt teacher. It may be read by any person of Christian sentiments with pleasure and profit. The article on the "Sabbath Question," may truly be called a *study*. We commend it for its many excellencies. "Daniel and his Prophecies" is particularly attractive for its freshness, its devotion, and for the deep interest which it throws around the character of the illustrious prophet. The other articles are valuable. We congratulate Dr. Stoever upon his editorial success.—*Lutheran and Missionary.*

The *Evangelical Quarterly Review* for October is an excellent number. It opens with an elaborate essay on *Justification by Faith.* The discussion of the glorious theme is masterly, and the spirit is admirable, rendering the essay a most valuable contribution to our Lutheran Theology. The second article is another scholarly production, which the Church will welcome with gratitude. In addition to these, there are articles, all of which combine to make this number of the *Quarterly* a thing of desire and delight.—*Lutheran Standard.*

We again call the attention of our Southren clergy to this very ably edited *Review* of our Church.—*Lutheran Visitor.*

The *Evangelical Quarterly Review* for October has a long discussion of the Sabbath Question, in its bearings upon the faith and life of the Church, Dr. Sprague's masterly address upon the Life and Character of Patrick Henry, and other subjects of a religious and interesting nature.—*New York Observer.*

THE

EVANGELICAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. LXXXI.

JANUARY, 1870.

ARTICLE I.

IMPORTANCE AND CONNECTION OF WORKS AND FAITH.*

By Edwin B. Webb, D. D., Boston, Mass.

Much time and labor have been expended in efforts to reconcile Paul and James. It is assumed, that there is an antagonism between faith and works. It is further assumed, that Paul is the champion of faith, and James the champion of works.

Paul is given over to the theologians, in regard to whom it is broadly insinuated that they are an impracticable, unprofitable people—Paul is given over to the theologians, to make what they can of his hard sayings in general, and of his dogmatism about the necessity of faith in particular.

* Discourse delivered by the author, in the College Church, Gettysburg, Pa., Oct. 10th, 1869, from the words: "And I will show thee my faith by my works."

James is endorsed by those who claim to be the practical men of the age,—by the men who would achieve great reforms and bless the world. No matter about ascertaining your belief, here is wrong to be redressed, here is help to be rendered, *take hold.* Creed, or no creed, the world must be saved by works.

Now, believing as we do, that there is no more antagonism between Paul and James, that a little study will show them to any one, walking side by side, and arm in arm, and their utterances chiming together in a deep harmony, that makes music round the world, we shall occupy no time in efforts to reconcile their Epistles. Catching, as we trust, the spirit of the passage from which the text is taken, we propose to discourse upon *the Importance and Connection of Works and Faith.* And, if any one shall be confirmed in his estimate of the vital necessity of faith in order to works, and of the sweet accord and union of Paul and James, something will be gained.

I. And, first of all, the best *evidence* of a man's faith, is his works. Faith is an act of the mind, embracing, espousing, and personally confiding in certain statements, principles, doctrines, or persons. We say, faith is a mental act, and, therefore, invisible; and, therefore must have some embodiment, or outward expression, in order that it may be known and appreciated by others. A man may say he has faith, and you have his word for it. But if there is a uniform course of conduct, you know there must be some reason for it: and if there is an outward, fearless devotion to some one great object or principle,—a devotion that costs self-denial and time and money, you have the best possible evidence of the faith avowed. The apostles testified that Jesus Christ had risen from the dead, and, that salvation was to be preached only in his name. And they went forth with such an unreserved devotion to this one work; with such a serene and dauntless exposure of themselves, to the perils of the elements and all enemies; with such an unquailing step to prison and the stake, that no man ever doubted their faith in what they professed.

And, so to-day, efforts to bring men to wash away their sins in the blood of Jesus, constitute the most unimpeachable evidence of one's own faith in the efficacy of that blood. And where there is no such effort, there is no faith—none but a dead faith.

2. In the second place, that which men are most influ-

enced by, is works. We cannot detect the channels, nor number the agencies through which men are influenced. Sympathy is a mighty power in the world. Men open their hearts to it. Men are led by it, and often by the semblance of it.

Speech is a power almost unlimited sometimes. The thought that dominates in the speaker's mind, becomes enthroned in the mind of the hearer: the feeling that sways all the powers of the one is transferred to the soul of the other. The orator, with his heart full of some great theme, speaking not only with the lips, but with the flashing eye, and changing countenance, and every posture and movement of the whole body,—the orator with his speech influences men to great deeds: he fires the heart of the masses: he sways the multitude.

But greater than sympathy—greater than speech are works. Argument may be argued against—opinion matched by opinion. But leadership in works is always most influential, and sometimes irresistible. When some exciting topic or interest is fomenting in the minds of the people, and the mob, rough, dark, and angry, comes forth from alley, close, attic and cellar, nothing is dreaded so much as an open act. If deeds can be prevented, the crisis can be passed. And that is the way the devil manages too many Christians. Just as under tyrannical governments, the authorities manage the populace. He does not care how much we talk, if we do nothing.

In the moment when victory hangs trembling in the balance, and words are impotent, and authority and command light as air, the general seizes the colors, or draws his sword, and calling to the men, dashes into the very face of death. And those whom no word could move are aroused by the magnetic deed, and transformed into a frenzied, irresistible, conquering host.

The Puritan lifts his hand and smites the image which has held its place for generations in his church, and lo, every Puritan in the land becomes an inconoclast, dealing blows and tumbling idols in fragments to the ground. Deeds are contagious.

And when the missionary presents himself in India or China, without a sword at his side, with no merchandise for traffic, with no interest but love for the lost, and no message but the message of salvation from the skies, such a man—*such doing*—arrests attention, and excites interest,

and influences the whole neighborhood, the tribe and the nation.

And so when the Christ-like follower, imitating the example of the Master, quitting the luxury of his parlors, or his study, and the pleasures of social refinement, goes among the poor, and the sick, and the sinning, laboring for their good—for their sanitary improvement and their spiritual salvation—his works commend him: his deeds are his defense against violence: his labors give him influence and power and command. Men are most influenced by works.

3 And, therefore, let it be marked in the third place, what the world most needs to-day, is *works*: works for demonstrating our faith; for influencing the sinful; for saving the lost.

When Christ came, he wrought miracles—wrought miracles in the sphere of the natural, that He might attract men to his power, to work in the sphere of the spiritual. It was what he heard of the works of Jesus that impressed John, and caused him to send from the prison, messengers to ask of Jesus this question: "Art thou He who should come, or do we look for another?" Jesus answered and said: "Go, show John the works,"—and to the blind He gave sight, and to the lame healing, and to the deaf hearing, and to the dead life,—"Go, show John the works that ye do see and hear." And as they returned and told him, the shadows of doubt passed from John's mind, like the mists from the valleys at the rising of the sun, and all was clear. It is He.

And then John witnessed for Christ, and that was a weighty and a worthy testimony. But Jesus said, I have greater witness than that of John: for the works which the Father hath given me to do, bear witness of me. And he appealed to the people thus: "Though ye believe not me, believe the works."

This was what the world needed from Jesus, in order that they might believe—works.

And what the world needed further, for the remission of sins, was work—the great sacrificial work of the Son of God. His example is inspiring. His teaching such as mere human lips never uttered. But we are saved by what he did.

Now there is an infinite distance between what Christ did and what we can do. And yet his solemn command

is: "Go—work, to-day, in my vineyard." The principle is the same,—the principle in his works and in our works. He worked from love,—from love that goes out in self-denial and self-sacrifice. And we must work from love,—from love that goes out in self-denial and self-sacrifice. By means of this working love and loving work, the world is to be redeemed and restored to life and God. This is His method and strange device for achieving what otherwise is never done. So, brethren, adopting the divine method, we must work.

And we must be prompt and earnest. Prompt—"Say ye not, there are four months, and then cometh harvest: * * Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, for they are white *already* to harvest. And as for earnest endeavor, the words of Jesus must be our guide: "I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work."

And if further motive were needful, we have it in the fact, that *evil is everywhere;* in every land, under every sky—in our city, in our streets, in our dwellings, in our own families. And our enemy is organized, active and determined—aiming to secularize our Sabbaths; to neutralize the authority of our Bible; to make our holy religion only a better kind of political economy and sanitary regimen;—evil is everywhere, and the enemy of God and all good is active, subtle, skilled, watchful, bold and confident. We must be up, and on the aggressive, ready to meet sophistry with truth,—armed with the whole panoply of the gospel, that the archers pierce us not, and with our colors flying and our feet marking time, impatient for the command, like good soldiers, to march, not upon the confines, but into the very heart of the enemy's country. And here is our order: "Watch ye, siand fast, *in the faith*, quit you like men, be strong." And then, as if the note of military command were followed by a word of paternal counsel, it is added, let all your doings be done with charity.

II. So much for the first part of our subject; and now for the second, viz., *the importance of faith, and the relation of it to works.*

The necessity, the influence, the efficacy of works, we see. Let the world be filled with Christian works.

But what then? Is it true that we do not need faith? Or is it good philosophy, or good sense to say: "No mat-

ter what a man believes?" Creeds, beliefs, faith, give them to the winds, or let them lie buried with the fossils of two thousand years? No, brethren, no: rather give them to the men of whom you expect silent, steady, successful doing.

Works,—Christian works without faith! you may as well have a tree without roots. And this is as good an illustration as any, perhaps, of the relation of the one to the other: the works are represented by the tree, and faith by the root. And just in proportion as the unseen roots strike broad and firm into the fertile earth, the tree stretches high and wide its fruitful branches. A tree without roots is dead, so are works without faith.

Think over the few men who stand out on the pages of the world's history. Moses, what could he have done without faith in God? Paul, what made him tireless, indomitable, ever and everywhere doing the same things? Luther: was not the Reformation that swept, like the light of rising day over Germany, and filled with amazement every throne of tyranny under the sun,—was not the Reformation first in Luther's heart?

Any missionary of the Cross, going into other lands to toil and suffer: any minister of Jesus, whose words come warm and earnest: any Sabbath School teacher, laboring and praying with the pupils of the class, one by one, and following it up for years;—why? It is because of a faith rooted in the unseen and the eternal!

1. But to specify some things. First, Faith is essential to the nature of this work. Here is Christian work to be done: here in a great city: why not import a cargo of Chinamen and set them at it? You are ready to smile at such an idea. But where is the absurdity of it? Here is Christian work to be done; set our social reformers, and political economists, and sanitary lecturers, and special philanthropists at it: no matter what they believe—little or much: something or nothing: give them halls, give them money, give them helpers, and set them at work! *Is that Christian work?* "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

The city on the shore of the Atlantic needs water—must have it—have it at any cost! Up with your reservoirs, down with your pipes. No matter what you run to, or connect with: only let us have water: plenty of it.

Well, run your pipes right to the sea! Why not?

there is water, an inexhaustible supply. Yes, but it must pass through the alembic of the sun, and be subjected to the action of winds and clouds, and so come to us from the bosom of the hills, or it is useless—nay, it is death to us. It is not water that we want, but water of certain properties and character.

And so it is not work that we want—unregenerate and unbaptised—but work of a certain kind and quality. Chinamen, philosophers, economists, philanthropists, empirics—their works—like the salt sea water must be purged and purified—must be acted upon by the chemistry of Divine grace before they can become Christian works, and so meet our most vital necessities. Their works must be transformed by the beams of the sun of righteousness—must be clarified from sin and self, as the water of the sea from salt, before they can possess spiritual worth, or bring essential relief.

2. Again Faith is necessary to *unity of purpose and action.* It will not do for one to build up, and another tear down—for one to shingle the roof, and another to dig up the foundations. We must all work together, animated by one purpose, and aiming at one end. And this unity of purpose and action is secured by faith. It is said, sometimes, of the army, that it makes little difference what the nationality of the soldiers is, or what their faith in the cause for which they fight. Give them discipline and command, and they will do the work. There is a good deal in this. and, yet, I think the true patriot must make the best soldier for his country. But the illustration is not well chosen.

Just withdraw all positive constraint, and all discipline, except that which is voluntary and self-imposed, and then who are the true soldiers? Who but those who love their country better than themselves? Who but those who are guided and bound together by a living principle within? Citizens, and not strangers? And this is the fact concerning the workers whom the Gospel contemplates. They are under no constraint, unless it be the constraint of love for Jesus, the Captain of their salvation. They are subject to no discipline, unless it be the discipline which gratitude for redeeming mercy imposes; they are without aim, unless faith in Jesus furnish an aim; how then shall these workers work together? How shall they have the same purpose, unless they have passed through the same

experiences? How shall they aim at the same spiritual and saving results, unless they are guided and impelled by the same living faith in the Lord Jesus?

With workers in this cause, *unity* of purpose and action can be secured only by evangelical faith.

3. And, again, men undertake and enter upon Christian work, only as they are impelled to it by a living faith. It is God speaking in the soul, and making us feel, "Wo is me if I preach not the Gospel," that sends us forth to be active in this cause. God has been speaking to us upon the Atlantic coast recently, in the tornado that uprooted the trees, and unroofed our dwellings, and felled men dead in the streets, and strewed many a mile of sea coast with wrecks. Does the tornado set men at work for Christ? Hundreds have perished most lamentably in your own State, entering their graves alive, far down in the mines of coal. Economists may urge the propriety of a second shaft in every mine, but only Christian men will be moved to work for the salvation of the miner. And they will be impelled by faith.

Neither the wind, nor the fire, nor any forces in nature, however potent, or terrible in action; nor any forces in society, nor any forces in civil government, will move men to undertake Christian work. There can be no more in the effect than there is in the cause. And in all such causes, the essential, Christian element is wanting.

4. There must be faith to prompt men to begin, and yet again, and finally, *more*, *more faith* to sustain men in prosecuting Christian work. Some men of sympathetic nature, or generous sensibilities will do something spasmodically—something that bears the semblance of Christian work. And they may, moved by sympathy and secondary motives, run well for a time, but without faith it is impossible to please God. Besides, there is a quality, and a degree, and a continuance of strength, needed in this cause, that faith alone can supply.

There are not the same sacrifices for us to make, as for them of old—not the same in form, but the same in principle. By faith, Moses refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt. Men love royalty, and riches, and palaces to-day. And no man now will walk

in such self-denial, or choose such affliction, and poverty, and reproach, unless he be lifted up and sustained by the faith of the Gospel. The faith that unites to Jesus, makes men strong and brave.

And, so again, we have not the same obstacles to encounter, nor the same battles to fight, as they who have gone before us—not the same in kind, but still the same in principle. And if we do anything, we shall do it as they did—as they, who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, in weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens." By faith they wrought their mighty works. And if you, young men, accomplish anything, that the future will recognize as great and worthy—if you do anything that the world will care to remember when you sleep beneath the turf, with the patriot martyrs, that yielded up their lives along these beautiful hill slopes and valleys, you will do it under the steady, strong impulsion of some spiritual truth. The most worthy and enduring work in this world is done by him who has faith in Christ. If you work with Jesus, your works will stand.

More. If you surmount the obstacles which frown on your pathway; if you correct the cowardice of remaining sin in your own hearts; if you conquer the enemies that withstand your progress: if you perform any deeds, or do any works that shall advance the kingdom of heaven, faith will be the unseen but efficient cause. Lord we believe, help our unbelief. Oh Lord, increase our faith.

ARTICLE II.

THE INFLUENCE OF REVIVALS ON THE STATE OF RELIGION AND THE SPIRIT OF BENEVOLENT ENTERPRISE IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

By G. A. Lintner, D. D., Schoharie, N. Y.

The Church of God owes much of her high and holy character in our day to Revivals of Religion. She poss-

esses within herself the elements of spiritual life and progress—love, purity and holiness, are in their very nature progressive, and when left to their due operation, must work out their legitimate results.

Christ, the Great Head of his Church, is present with his people, communicating to them the gifts and graces of His Spirit; and, in these divine communications, the Church possesses elements of power and strength, by which she will always be enabled to live and be sustained. But there are times when these elements seem to be hidden—when the "gold becomes dim, when the most fine gold is changed," and when, through the influence of a Revival of Religion, the precious metal is again purified, and Zion arises and shines in her celestial power and loveliness; then it is, that the Church assumes her high position and true character in the power of God, and in the Holy Spirit.

The influence of Revivals of Religion at different periods of the Church, giving a new impulse to the cause of Christ, and bringing multitudes into the ark of salvation, is one of those practical subjects connected with the progress of vital godliness, in which every Christian must feel interested. The history of the Church shows, that all the important movements in the providence of God for the spread of evangelical Christianity, are to be traced to the influence of Revivals of Religion.

We have seen how this influence has operated in our own Church. It was the great Revival at the time of the Reformation, which brought the Lutheran Church into existence. She was nurtured by the revival spirit in her infancy, and she evinced that same spirit in her subsequent efforts to spread those doctrines and principles, on which she had been founded. It must be admitted, that there have been some professed Lutherans, who have apostatized from the faith, and brought reproach upon the name, but as a body, we still stand on the platform on which the Reformers stood, when they published to the world that noble Confession of Faith, which was the first charter of Protestant rights and liberty.

There are many things connected with the history and progress of the Lutheran Church in the United States, to fill our hearts with gratitude to God for the tokens of His favor with which he has regarded us, but the richest blessing which God bestowed on our Church in this country,

were those seasons of Revival, which commenced in the year 1832, within the bounds of the Hartwick Synod, of the State of New York.* Those were remarkable seasons. They brought a new era into the Lutheran Church of America—the era of Revivals. The impression which was then made, is still visible, not only in the churches which first participated in that glorious work of grace; but also in other portions of our Zion, where it is still going on. It is an impression that will never pass away, although in some places much of its power and effect seems to have vanished. Those refreshing seasons, in which God displayed His power and grace in the conversion of many souls, will never be forgotten. Its influence will be felt in the churches long after those of us, who were instruments in the work, shall have passed away. I propose in this article, to call the attention of the readers of the *Review* to *The Influence of Revivals on the State of Religion, and the spirit of benevolent enterprise in the Lutheran Church.*

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*During the season of Revival above referred to, the following course of instruction of the converts, was generally pursued by the Pastors of our churches: After the close of a series of meetings for three or four days, the Pastor invited all under serious impressions to meet him in the church, or in some other place, on an appointed day, for religious conversation and instruction. These meetings were called inquiry meetings; though this term did not fully express their design. They were not limited to mere inquiry into the state of mind of the persons who presented themselves, but were chiefly designed to give them instruction in the essential truths of Christianity, to direct them in the way of salvation; and thus prepare the converts for a public profession of religion. At the first meeting called by the Pastor for these purposes, he took the names of those who attended, with a view of visiting and conversing with them in their families, that he might become better acquainted with their circumstances, their peculiar trials and difficulties, and give counsels and instruction, as each individual might require. It was understood, that all who had received serious impressions, and felt an anxiety for their souls, might attend these meetings, and share in the instructions, which the Pastor was prepared to give. Thus, they passed through a regular course of instruction, of four or five months; and if, after having been duly instructed, they gave satisfactory evidences before the Pastor and church officers, of a genuine work of grace in their hearts, they were admitted into the church. Among those

There are times in the Providence of God, when sinners are awakened, and Christians become renewed in the spirit of their minds, by the special presence and power of the Holy Spirit. We have the undoubted testimony of Scripture, and the whole history of the Church from the period when it was first established to the present time, to show, that God did pour out His Spirit at particular seasons, with more than ordinary power upon the hearts of the people, and led them in multitudes to the standard of the Cross. Such instances occurred at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, under the preaching of St. Peter; at Antioch under the ministry of the Apostle Paul, and at other places, under the labors of the first Preachers of the Gospel. Wherever they went, they were followed by Revivals of Religion, and the power of God manifested in the conversion of thousands of their hearers. We have witnessed similar demonstrations of the power and presence of God's Holy Spirit in modern times, and under the labors of ministers of the Gospel of the present age—and in these Revivals, which come down to us in the history of past ages, and which we have seen in our day, we see that there is a mighty power in the Gospel, when brought home to the consciences and hearts of the people by the Holy Ghost. The Church is roused from her slumbers, Christians are quickened by the power of God. They are stirred up to greater zeal and activity in the cause of Christ. They pray more fervently, and labor more diligently and faithfully, that God may be glorified in the

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thus admitted, few relapsed into sin and renounced their profession. The great body of converts, gathered into the Church during our first Revivals, when this course was pursued, remain true to their vows. Many of them have finished their course, kept the faith, and are now rejoicing with the Church triumphant in heaven—others still remain in the Church here below, adorning their profession with a holy walk and conversation. Those Revivals were characterized by remarkable displays of the power and grace of God, in connexion with the appropriate instructions and regular services of the sanctuary. The services, in which the minister of the place was assisted by several of his brethren from neighboring churches, were conducted according to the usual order of worship in our churches. In each day, we had two sermons, one in the morning, and one in the afternoon, and in the evening a meeting for prayer and exhortation, with one or two short addresses from ministers in attendance.

furtherance of His work. They feel a livelier interest in this work, and become more devoted and consecrated to it; and when others see this—when the impenitent and worldly minded see how Christians have been affected by the awakening power of God's Word and Spirit—when they see how God is working on the hearts of His people—when sinners see and hear all this; they, also, become affected, and are made to feel and realize the obligations of religion; they are convinced of sin, and brought to humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, that they may repent and be saved—and thus, whole communities, which seemed to be given up to the power of the adversary, are redeemed by the power of God, which seems to have entered every family and touched every heart.

Such was the character of the work in 1832, to which I have already adverted. "It was," says one, who was in the midst of it, and familiar with its stirring scenes, "a work of great power, which seemed to move on with an irresistible energy. There was a deep sympathy in it, which pervaded all hearts; Pastors and people walked together in the unity of the Spirit, and the bonds of love and peace. Multitudes were brought from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto the living God. The formalist, the heedless transgressor, and the open infidel, fled for refuge to the hope revealed in the Gospel. The Sabbath breaker, the worshipper of mammon, the profane swearer, the scoffer, the victim of intemperance and lust, gathered around the Cross of Christ, and found an interest in the blood which cleanseth from sin." Such was the Revival, which commenced when this Synod was first organized, and which has been spreading its influence more or less through our churches ever since that period. Let us now trace this influence in connection with similar works which succeeded it, and see what changes were affected by those Revivals in the State of Religion and the benevolent operations of the Church.

1. *The Revivals in our Church have had a blessed influence on the ministry.* The holy office of the ministry was instituted by the Great Head of the Church, to feed the flock of God, to build up the Church, and give life and energy to her movements. Every minister who would carry out the purposes of his high commission, must be a man of God, wholly devoted to the service of his Master, setting a holy example before his people, having a heart

burning with an ardent zeal for the honor of God and the interest of religion. But ministers, when exposed to the temptations of sin, are prone like other men, to yield to the corrupting influences of the world, and lose much of that spirit which should animate them in their high calling. They need to be revived as much as the Church in a declining state; and ministers unquestionably have derived more benefit from Revivals of Religion, than any other class of men. It is to Revivals that most of them are indebted for the first impressions, which led them into the ministry, and after they had entered into the ministry, it was by the same means, by the spirit and influence of Revivals, that they were more deeply imbued with the spirit of their work. There are, perhaps, few ministers who have faithfully labored in their Master's cause, who have not experienced something of this. They can testify to the awakening and sanctifying influence which Revivals of Religion have had upon their own minds. Is it not a fact, which we have all observed, that ministers, after having passed through Revivals in their congregations, preach and labor with greater fervor and zeal, than they did before? We have seen this in almost every instance where God has poured out his Spirit on the churches. He touched the hearts of ministers, and if they were not the first fruits of the Spirit, they shared largely in the general influence, and as their people became more interested in their labors, they preached with greater power and unction, and were rendered more successful in their work. I have heard this testimony from the lips of several of my brethren in the ministry, whom God employed as the honored instruments in the Revivals of our Church—while they watered the souls of others, their own souls, were greatly refreshed—while they labored for the salvation of their people, they were abundantly recompensed in their own bosoms. Most of the ministers, now in the field occupied by our Church, are the fruits of Revivals. They carry the Revival spirit into their labors, and without disparaging, in the least, the services of those who have preceded us, it must be acknowledged, that of all the laborers whom the Lord has employed in his vineyard, none have been more active and elevated, than the ministers of the present day. And if Revivals had done no more than to impart such an active, self-denying, and efficient spirit to the

ministry, they would have proved an invaluable blessing to the Church.

2. *Revivals have raised the standard of piety among professing Christians.* Such is the tendency of all genuine Revivals. They always contribute to the improvement of Christians in knowledge and piety, render them more spiritual and heavenly-minded, more devoted to Christ, and active in their efforts to promote His glory. These results, it is true, are sometimes counteracted by the interference of Satan, the enemy of all righteousness, who sows tares in the field, which spring up, and bear a crop of false teachers, and disorderly spirits, causing divisions in the Church, and bringing religion into contempt. The great Revival of Luther and his fellow laborers in the work of the Reformation, had to contend with these obstacles. Satan stirred up a host of factions and fanatical spirits like *Munzer* in the war of the peasants, and *Carolstadt*, whose turbulent zeal spread havoc through the churches, and filled the hearts of Christians with sorrow and anguish.* This was the case with the Revivals in England, in the time *Cromwell*, when religious zeal could only be satisfied with making converts at the cannon's

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*Carolstadt was for a while the intimate friend and colleague of Luther in the great Revival of the Reformation. He was a distinguished preacher of the new doctrines, and a powerful adversary of the Romish hierarchy. But he was also a man of a violent and ungovernable temper, who suffered himself to be carried beyond all bounds of prudence, to the great injury of the work in which he was engaged. When Luther remonstrated with him, and endeavored to reclaim him from his wild and fanatical zeal, he refused to listen. He could not be restrained. He entered the churches of the Romanists, laid violent hands upon their paintings, threw down their altars, and trampled on their most sacred relics and images. He railed against science as opposed to religion, renounced the title of Doctor of Divinity, and endeavored to persuade the students of the Universities to abandon their studies, and take up the work of spiritual teacher of the people without the requisite qualifications. By his intemperate zeal and violent measures, he excited popular tumults, created divisions and disorders, which operated seriously against Luther, and the progress of the Reformation. The schism thus created among the friends of the Reformation, required all the wise counsels and judicious efforts of the Elector of Saxony and Luther to counteract its evil effects.

mouth. We read of similar abuses in the days of *Whitefield* and *Edwards*, when *Davenport* spread the influence of his wild and ferocious zeal through the churches of New England*—and in still later periods, we have not been entirely exempt from these sad effects. Roots of bitterness have sprung up and choked some of the precious fruits that might have been reaped from our Revivals. We have had contention and strife among us, and are still suffering from these evils, caused by misguided zeal; but these evils are not to be attributed to Revivals. They are the sad effects of human depravity, which it seems cannot always be prevented. Men in their ignorance and depravity have marred the work of the Holy Spirit in Revivals, but blessed be God,

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* Rev. James Davenport began his ministerial career at Southhold, Long Island, in the year 1740. Soon after his settlement in that place, he visited Connecticut, and became very much engaged in the Revivals which prevailed among the churches of New England. He was seized with a furious fanaticism, denouncing all ministers of the Gospel who did not enter into his spirit, as hirelings and formalists. Disregarding all rules of church order and decorum, he encouraged his hearers to give expression to their feelings in violent convulsions and outcries in public meetings. He called upon ministers who had labored faithfully in the pastoral office for years, to examine them, and decide upon their spiritual state, and if he considered them wanting, he would brand them as unconverted men, and call upon the people in his meetings to pray for their conversion. He marched in procession with his converts through the streets, singing and shouting to draw the multitude; and all who refused to join them, were denounced as reprobates. He taught his followers to withdraw from their regular pastors, and establish separate meetings, where they could indulge in all their extravagance, without being restrained by any rules of church order or discipline. This man, with all the applause which he received, and the multitudes that crowded around him, did much evil. He caused divisions and strife wherever he went, scattered the seeds of error and heresy, encouraged the enemies of religion, disgusted and disheartened its friends, and threw stumbling blocks in the way of sinners, many of whom might have been saved by a more judicious and scriptural use of the means of grace. It is to be lamented, that by such abuses, the work of the Holy Spirit is often baffled in seasons of religious excitement—his holy influence driven from the hearts of the people, and the evil spirit comes in, to sow tares in fields from which precious harvests might have been gathered into the garner of the Lord.

they have never been able to destroy it. There is a power in the pure Gospel, which the grand adversary with all his instruments, cannot prevent from taking hold of the hearts of the people. It will wake the slumberers who have lived at ease in Zion. It will break the spell in which sinners have been bound for years, and scatter the delusion from their eyes, that they may see their danger and escape. There is something in the Gospel, that will rekindle the fire in the soul, when it is well nigh extinguished, and cause it to burn with a purer and livelier flame than ever before. We have witnessed these effects in our Revivals, and can say with the inspired Apostle: "That which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you." We have seen those who were dead in trespasses and sins, waking out of sleep, casting off the works of darkness, and putting on the armor of light, that they might stand in the evil day, and be found faithful to their vows of holy consecration to the service and glory of the Great Redeemer. We have seen the lost sheep of the fold of Christ brought back, the redeemed of the Lord return to Zion, with songs of praise and thanksgiving to God for his reclaiming grace. There are others, also, who can testify to these things. We have thousands of living witnesses in the Church, burning and shining lights, who would still be in darkness, were it not for the influence of Revivals. It is this influence which saved them, established their Christian characters, and made them useful and a blessing to the Church. And it is this same influence of the Holy Spirit, which brought them into the Church, which still enables them to hold on their way, developing the strength and beauty of vital godliness in their holy conversation, elevating them above the world, and fitting them for heaven.

3. *The Revivals, with which we have been blessed, have been the means of removing many of the misapprehensions and prejudices which have been entertained in reference to our Church.* The Lutheran Church has always endeavored to guard against misapprehensions, by an open and public avowal of her doctrines and principles. She published her Confession of Faith in the time of the Reformation; and since the date of that Confession, her whole history shows her doctrinal position. She has uniformly given her testimony clearly and decidedly to the doctrines of

that true, Gospel, Protestant faith, of which she was the earliest defender; and it is strange, that she should be charged with heterodoxy. Yet such accusations have gone forth. We have been charged with popish errors and superstitions, and these charges have been published and republished by persons, from whom we had reason to expect better things, than to assail us with such weapons. We have been represented as believing in baptismal regeneration, in transubstantiation, in the power of ministers to forgive sins, and substituting a mere form for vital Christianity. But under the influence of Revivals, our Church has become better known. These impressions have been swept away. The Lord has poured out his Holy Spirit upon the Church. He has awarded and blessed the labors of her ministers in connexion with her doctrines, institutions and ordinances; and thus, set upon her the seal of His divine approbation, as the honored instrument of proclaiming the truth, bringing sinners into the fold of Christ, and spreading the knowledge and glory of the Redeemer among men. The erroneous views entertained respecting us, have given way to a more correct knowledge of our true character and position. Prejudices have vanished before the light of truth, and as the light continues to spread through the influence of Revivals still in progress among us, Christians of all denominations will become better acquainted with the Church, and the soundness of her doctrines and principles.

4. *Revivals have given a new impulse to the spirit of benevolent enterprise in our Church.* Before the series of Revivals, of which I have spoken, had commenced in our Church, we had some indications of the spirit of Christian benevolence. In our Synodical Convention, efforts were made to supply our feeble and destitute churches with ministers. We had Domestic Missionary Societies, and assisted other denominations in circulating the Scriptures, distributing tracts, and sending the Word of Life to the heathen. But these efforts were limited to a few of our churches and people, who felt it their duty to engage in them. Most of them stood aloof, because we had no regularly organized system, by which their efforts could be concentrated. There was a want of energy and activity in the beneficial work, which showed how much ministers and people needed a Revival of Religion to stir them up. The Revival came, and gave a new impulse to the spirit

of benevolent enterprise which had begun to manifest itself in the Church. Those who had already imbibed something of the spirit, were encouraged and strengthened. It soon reached the hearts of others, and they became instrumental in spreading its influence through the Church. Every Christian who had shared in the spirit of the Revival, felt that it was his duty to labor with increased diligence, that the same blessings which he enjoyed might be communicated to others also. His interest was no longer confined to his own Church, or the small circle with which he stood more immediately connected. Every true convert who came into the Church, felt himself bound to labor for the spread of a religion, which breathes the spirit of universal benevolence. He felt himself identified with a cause, which regards every human being as a neighbor and a brother; and wherever there is a Revival of pure and undefiled religion, there this spirit will prevail, and manifest itself in acts of Christian beneficence. This spirit has opened the hearts of our people. They have laid aside their prejudices, and are coming up gradually, and yet readily and cheerfully, to the work, which their hands find to do, in this day of stirring religious enterprise. They have formed Domestic and Foreign Missionary Societies, and sent out missionaries to preach the Gospel to the destitute in our own country and in foreign lands. They have organized Societies for the education of ministers in our Theological Seminaries, to supply the wants of our churches. They have raised large sums for the endowment of our theological and literary institutions, and other useful and benevolent purposes. Sabbath Schools are generally established, and faithfully encouraged in our churches. Many of the young converts, the fruits of our Revivals, are actively and successfully engaged in this work of training up the rising generation in the knowledge and service of God; and in many instances their labors are blessed unto the salvation of the youth under their instruction. Tracts are also distributed in many of our churches, and the people contribute regularly to the support of that benevolent enterprise. The temperance reformation is successfully promoted through the labors and influence of many of our ministers and people, who are zealously devoted to the cause. In all these branches of benevolent enterprise, our Church is exerting her energies, and though we have not accomplished as

much as some other denominations, we have reason to be grateful for the spirit of enterprise which has been awakened among us. It is a spirit, which we trust will prevail, and gain strength, and extend its influence, till it shall embrace the whole Church; and all the objects of religious and benevolent enterprise, which we are endeavoring to promote, shall receive that liberal support, which the interests of the Church demand. The first missionary sent out by our Foreign Missionary Society, was the fruit of one of the first Revivals in the Hartwick Synod. He has fallen in the field to which the Spirit of the Lord had directed him, and where he successfully labored. But the spirit which raised him up, must not be suffered to go down. It must be re-awakened to stir up our people in this good work and labor of love.*

5. *Revivals have contributed to the preservation of sound doctrine, and the faithful administration of wholesome discipline in the Church.* I am aware, that in some religious excitements which are called Revivals, the great truths of the Gospel are considered stale, and, that the people require other expedients to rouse their feelings, and keep up the interests of religious meetings. But it is not so in genuine Revivals. In all genuine Revivals of Religion the Spirit of God, which is the spirit of truth, works in the minds and hearts of the people, by means of the truth, and the great doctrines of grace and salvation revealed in the Gospel. The minds of the people are interested in the truth, which is faithfully presented. It is held up be-

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* Walter Gunn to whom reference is here made, was hopefully converted and received into the Lutheran Church of Schoharie, in 1837. He was educated for the ministry of the Gospel by a Female Association of Hartwick Synod, organized for the purpose. He graduated in Union College in 1840, and subsequently received his theological education in the Seminary of Gettysburg. In 1842 he was licensed to preach the Gospel, and in 1843 he received the first appointment, as foreign missionary, from the Foreign Missionary Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, and was ordained to the work in the same year, by the Hartwick Synod. A few months after his ordination he sailed with his wife for India, and arrived at Guntoor, in 1844, where he died on the 5th of July, 1851, after having labored six years, to which work he had devoted himself from the time he was first awakened by the Spirit of the Lord, and found a hope in Christ.

fore them, and urged upon their attention, by repeated and protracted efforts, until by the blessing of God upon the appointed means of grace, their hearts are affected by it, and they are led to embrace it. Such impressions are always favorable to sound doctrine. The people are led into religion through the knowledge of the truth; and, having embraced the truth, after a thorough knowledge, they will love and become established in it. And as they advance in knowledge and experience, they will become more attached to the doctrines and fellowship of the truth. They will love the Church, not from a mere sectarian feeling, or because it may have been the Church of their fathers, but from an enlightened conviction in their own minds, that her doctrines, ordinances, and institutions are Scriptural and evangelical. They have seen her borders enlarged; and in the conversion of souls that have added to her communion, they have had a practical demonstration of the soundness of her doctrines, and the power and efficacy of the truths which she inculcates. They have felt the power of those truths in their own hearts, and witnessed it in others around them. When such converts are brought into the Church, they add their testimony to the truth, and I can truly say, that so far as my observation has extended in regard to the influence of Revivals in our Church, it has proved favorable to sound doctrine, and wholesome government and discipline.*

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* Among the essential doctrines of salvation which God has blessed, and which should be faithfully preached in Revivals, we note the following, viz.: The natural depravity of man, the exceeding sinfulness of sin, the sinner's condemnation and guilt under the violated law of God, the inability of man to save himself without the grace of God; his perishing need of an interest in the Savior, the sufficiency of the atonement of Christ; the duty of immediate repentance, and the danger of delay; the influence of the Holy Spirit, and the guilt of hardeniug the heart against this influence; faith in Christ, and full submission to the terms of salvation revealed in the Gospel, the necessity of prayer, and the duty of Christians to labor for the salvation of sinners, and a revival of the work of the Lord in their own hearts. These doctrines and duties should be held up before the people at all times; but more especially in seasons of Revival. That preaching is best adapted to such occasions, which makes sinners feel that they are their own destroyers, that salvation is freely offered, and, that if they perish, their blood will be upon their own heads.

This is a subject in which the Church is deeply interested, especially at the present time, when Christians are exposed to so many temptations from the prevailing tendencies to looseness and skepticism on religious subjects.* Ministers cannot be too watchful against these tendencies; and they should continually and faithfully warn their hearers to beware, lest they fall into the snare of the adversary, and make shipwreck of the faith. The Church needs the power of the Highest, the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ, and are communicated by the Holy Spirit, to preserve her from the corruption and heresies with which she is threatened in our day. She needs the spirit of true Revivals to keep her holy and undefiled. We need such Revivals to reprove us for our worldly conformity, to drive the spirit of discord and contention from among us—to show us ministers how we ought to be devoted to our work, and teach our people a lesson, to make them more humble, and teachable, and self-denying, and heavenly-minded. This is what the Church always needs; but there was never a period in the whole history of the Church, when Christians stood in greater need of Revivals of pure and undefiled religion in their hearts. It is this spirit only, that can qualify them for their high duties and responsibilities in the Church at the present crisis. They are to watch over the Church, guard her against error, preserve her purity, and not suffer her to be contaminated by the spirit of the world, or to enter into any

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*It is very desirable, that all converts should have some instruction before they are received into the Church—and there is, perhaps, nothing which we so much need in our churches, in connexion with the Revivals of the present day and so well adapted to give the requisite instruction to candidates for confirmation, as that regular course of catechisation recommended by Luther, and practiced by the ablest and most successful ministers of our Church, in former days. It has been acknowledged by the most experienced and best qualified spiritual teachers of all ages, that catechisation is "the most speedy and successful method of conveying the knowledge of divine things, necessary for those who assume the profession of Christianity." Such were the sentiments and practice of Luther, Melanchthon, Spener, Arndt, Francke, Flavel, Mather, Muhlenberg, and many other distinguished ministers, whom God employed as the honored instruments of bringing into the Church multitudes, that are now rejoicing in heaven.

compromise with sin. And to do this, they must have a daily unction from on high. They need a constant and perpetual Revival of Religion.

Let us labor and pray, that the Church, the whole Church, and especially that portion committed to our care may be baptized with such a spirit. Let us seek to promote Revivals of Religion in our own hearts, and in our congregatons. But let us, also, seek conscientiously, and in the fear of God, to guard against the evils with which they are too often connected. Wolves will come in and scatter the sheep. They will climb into the sheepfold. There is perhaps no place where Satan is so anxious to intrude with his emissaries, than a church under the influence of a Revival. Let the shepherds of the flock of Christ, watch against this subtle enemy, and be careful lest he gain an advantage over them.* Let us labor diligently and unweariedly for the salvation of souls; be instant in season and out of season—but in all our labors, let us remember, that we are to use only the means, which the Master himself has ordained for this purpose. Let us bring every measure, before we put it in operation, to the

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* When persons become excited on the subject of religion, they are apt to run into extremes, especially, when they have had little previous instruction. Having received new impressions, they feel disposed to discard every thing that seems old, to undervalue the lessons of age and experience, and follow every new expedient that may be proposed to arrest the popular attention, and draw multitudes into religious meetings. The sacred office of the ministry is usurped by persons who undertake to preach, and act in the capacity of spiritual teachers, when they have need to be taught themselves. All truly enlightened and experienced Christians will cautiously and prayerfully guard against such disorders, and in all well regulated Christian assemblies they will scarcely, if ever, occur. But when they do occur, ministers must be on their guard. They are placed as watchmen on the walls of Zion. It is their business to exercise a faithful pastoral supervision over every Revival among their people, and keep the direction of it, so far as human instrumentality is concerned, in their own hands. They are to labor to further the good Work, and guard it against every mismanagement and perversion, to which it is liable. The Holy Ghost hath made them overseers of the flock, and they are to feed the Church of God, not with mere animal excitement, but with the bread of heaven, the spiritual food, which Christ has provided in the Gospel.

simple test of God's Word. Let pastors and people, all who are engaged in Revivals, plant themselves on the foundation which God has laid in Zion, and which is sure and steadfast. Let us all work together on this foundation, as fellow laborers with God, whose only desire is to promote His glory. Let us work in faith, by supplication and prayer, trusting in the Lord, and believing His promise, that he will not suffer us to labor in vain. Then we shall see the work of the Lord prospering in our hands. We shall have genuine Revivals of Religion all over the land. Zion will put on her strength; shine forth in her beauty, "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

ARTICLE III.

REMINISCENCES OF DECEASED LUTHERAN MINISTERS.

LXXVII.

GEORGE BENJAMIN MILLER, D. D.

The Church has, during the last year or two, witnessed the transfer of several of her most faithful sons from the scenes and labors of earth, to the rewards and glories of heaven. We are reluctant to see our aged fathers leave us—their venerable forms recede from our sight—the links, that unite the present with the past, severed. But as the grave hides these noble men from our view, we love to recall their many excellencies, even the expression of their countenance and the tones of their voice, to honor their principles and cherish their memory. When the subject of the present sketch passed away, the whole Church mourned his departure, for all felt that a great and good man had fallen in Israel. A more exemplary, purer-hearted Christian never lived. Gifted, unassuming, laborious, a man of extensive erudition and enlarged experience, he was a living and shining light in the Church. His name, loved and enshrined in our hearts, will be indissolu-

bly linked with its history, and the influence of his life and works, perpetuated. We desire to record our high appreciation of his exalted character, distinguished abilities and valuable services.

George Benjamin Miller was born at Emmaus, a small village near Allentown, in Lehigh county, Pennsylvania, June 10th, 1795. His father, Rev. George G. Miller, a native of Germany, and a Moravian clergyman, immigrated to this country, at a very early period in its history. His mother was of French extraction, belonging to a Huguenot family who, in consequence of Romish intolerance and religious persecution, had fled to the Western Hemisphere, and settled in Jamaica.

George's early life gave promise of future distinction. Having exibited mental strength and diligence in efforts for self-improvement he was, at eight years of age, sent to the classical and theological Institution at Nazareth, Pa., where he continued, as a pupil, for eight years, the last few months of this period being devoted to theological study. In 1811 he left the paternal roof, and was, for a season, employed as an assistant teacher in a private school in the city of Philadelphia. Subsequently he engaged in mercantile business, but as its duties were not very congenial to his tastes and inclinations, he returned to his original occupation, and his literary pursuits. In less than two years, we meet with him in New Germantown, N. J., associated with Dr. Hazelius in giving instruction in an Academy, recently established at that place. Here was renewed that strong attachment, which had existed in former years at Nazareth Hall, when they sustained to each other the interesting relation of preceptor and pupil, and which continued until death. In connection with his school duties, he resumed his theological studies, under the direction of Dr. Hazelius, and so untiring was his application, and methodical his habits, that he accomplished during this period, the work of more than two ordinary men. In 1816 he took charge of a Select School, in Lebanon township, N. J., where he remained till the autumn of 1818, when he removed to Canojaharie, N. Y. Having been licensed to preach the gospel, by the *New York Ministerium*, he here gathered together a Lutheran congregation, and, at the same time, established a classical school. Amid

many discouragements, he labored in this position faithfully and successfully for nine years.

In 1827 he received and accepted a call, as assistant Professor, to Hartwick Seminary, Otsego Co., N. Y., which was then commencing its second decade. In 1830, on the removal of Dr. Hazelius to Gettysburg, Pa., he was unanimously chosen as his successor, Principal of the Seminary and Professor of Theology. He occupied this field of usefulness, till the fall of 1839, when, in consequence of impaired health, and for other reasons, he resigned the position. During the following five years he had his home at Dansville, N. Y., and, as Principal, took charge of the Academy in that place.

In 1844, having been invited to resume his connection with the Hartwick Seminary, he felt it his duty to comply with the earnest wishes of the Board of Trustees. As Professor of Theology, he returned to the scenes of his former labors, and, in this capacity, continued to serve the Master, until within a few weeks of his death. When physical infirmities unfitted him for the discharge of his duties in the Seminary building, and the ravages of disease had greatly weakened his system, with his characteristic energy he persisted in hearing the students recite, at his own home. The evening of his life glided serenely away, ennobled by well-directed toil, and cheered by the presence of those whom he so much loved, till

"The weary springs of life stood still."

On the evening previous to his death, he requested one of his daughters to read the Hymns: "Rock of Ages, cleft for me;" "Just as I am, without one plea;" "Jesus lover of my soul." His son-in-law, Rev. J. D. English, just then entering his chamber, he said: "John, read and pray with me." The question was asked: "Father, what shall I read?" He replied: "The Thirty-ninth Psalm." With the loved one, so near to Jesus, Mr. English and his wife knelt in prayer. It was the last time on earth, that words of supplication fell upon his ears. He soon laid his armor off, and, with serene faith and a grateful recognition of the goodness of God, passed peacefully to his rest, April 5th, 1869. In the seventy-fourth year of his age and the fifty-first of his ministry, he closed his honored life, a career of distinguished usefulness in the cause of Christian education, and the blessed work of winning souls to Christ.

Until the last, he faltered not in duty, not in faith, not in love, but only in strength—

> "Like a tree,
> That with the weight of its own golden fruitage
> Stoops gently to the dust."

Without a cloud, in full-orbed brightness, his sun went down only to rise again amid the splendors of eternal day, passing directly from the service of his Master on earth, to the repose and reward of the kingdom of glory.

Dr. Miller was no ordinary man. He had not a superior, and few equals, in the Lutheran Church. He possessed unusual powers. His natural endowments, his enlarged culture, his classic lore, his varied acquirements, his profound piety, his eminently genial spirit, his wonderful facility as a writer, his ability and success as a preacher, his purity of character, his simplicity, humility and tenderness, made an enduring impression and won all hearts. "He was," says the *Lutheran and Missionary*, "a gifted man, and his natural endowments, developed by a high degree of cultivation, and sanctified by the grace of God, were such as to enable him to discharge the responsible duties of his high office, even to the end, with honor to himself and to the glory of the Master. His services will be long and gratefully remembered for their ability, their fidelity and success." "We formed," says the *Lutheran Observer*, "an exalted opinion of his learning and moral worth. He was one of those modest and unassuming men, who charmed all who came within the circle of his presence. He was a great linguist and an admirable teacher. Diffident of his own capacity, he did not obtrude his counsels upon others, but when they were drawn forth, they were uniformly characterized by wisdom. He was so gentle in his bearing, and so affectionate in his intercourse with his pupils and his brethren in the ministry, that he was regarded by them as a Christian patriarch." "As a man of earnest Christian character," remarks Dr. Strobel, "adorned by many graces, unsullied by a single stain, unpretending and modest to a fault, he presented one of those specimens of primitive Christianity, rarely met with, and towards which we are drawn by the strongest sympathies of our nature." "He was," writes Dr. Scholl, "a great and good man, simple and child-like, a scholar, a gentleman and a Christian, in his work with all his heart, our

much loved and valued Professor, he was one of the brightest ornaments of the Church." "In every relation of life," adds Dr. Schmidt, "as a minister of the gospel, as an instructor of youth and the presiding officer of an Institution of sacred learning, as the head of the Christian household, as a friend and member of society, he exhibited, in constant and most engaging exercise, all the highest and most lovely graces of Christian discipleship, and was, in the best and highest sense of the word, a Christian gentleman." "There was," says Dr. Lintner, "a beauty and attractiveness in the Christian character of Dr. Miller, which secured to him the strong attachment of his students and the respect and confidence of all who knew him. During a ministry of more than half a century, he lived without reproach, 'adorning the doctrine of God, our Saviour in all things.'" "Modest, unassuming, and hidden from public observation," says Dr. Pohlman, "in the most unobtrusive way he labored for the good of souls. Simple-hearted, generous and confiding, more than any man I ever knew did he manifest a spirit free from guile and selfishness. All disguise, intrigue and management were foreign to his nature, and in lowliness of mind he seemed to follow the apostolic admonition in esteeming others better than himself."

In attempting an analysis of Dr. Miller's character, the first thing that strikes us, is the high type of his Christian excellence, his pure Christian life, his rich Christian experience, his unreserved devotion to the cause of Christ. "I have never known," writes one of his pupils, Rev. A. Waldron, "a man, in whose piety I had greater confidence, or of whom I think with greater affection, as a model Christian." He always appeared to realize, that he was a sinner, saved by grace, and from this vital principle he derived strength, and efficiency for the performance of the laborious duties of his protracted and active life. "More than any man I ever knew," says Dr. Pohlman, "was he a firm believer in a particular, over-ruling Providence, receiving all his blessings, as directly from the hand of his Heavenly Father, and acknowledging that all things, whether prosperous or adverse, were working for his good." His character for piety was above suspicion. His life and his teachings were in entire harmony with the gospel. There was so much of Christ in him, that, in intercourse with him, one seemed drawn near to heaven. His

standard of Christian excellence was the highest, and to its rules he steadfastly adhered. He abounded in good works, and yet if any one of the Christian graces appeared pre-eminently conspicuous, it was his deep, heartfelt humility. "He was," says Dr. Lintner, "particularly distinguished for his unaffected humility, and his willingness to labor and render any sacrifice for the good of others, always evincing the spirit of his Master, who was 'meek and lowly in heart,' and ever ready to 'overcome evil with good.'" His whole walk and conversation were characterized by that unassuming simplicity and transparent sincerity, the result of Christian principle, which invariably inspire confidence and secure esteem. "If we would effectually teach others," he himself says, "we must learn of our Master, and especially we must learn to be meek and lowly, self-denying and laborious like him, presenting to the world, a faint but faithful copy of Christ. No vain glory, no fondness for human applause, no respecting of persons, no seeking our own ease and interest should tarnish our ministry."

He had correct views of the object of life, and of the work, in which he was engaged. To these views his whole life was subordinated. "What an honor," he says, in a discourse to young men, "to be employed as laborers in a cause, upon which God has set his heart from eternity, 'according to his good pleasure, which he hath purposed to himself,' as the apostle speaks, 'that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, he might gather together in one, all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth.' True, we may not enjoy many of the luxuries of this life, perhaps, even may be cut off from many comforts, but what are these, compared to the luxury of doing good, to the comfortable prospect of having many seals of our ministry given us, who shall be crowns of rejoicing in the day of the Lord, when they that are wise shall shine as the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever." "What situation," he adds, "more desirable could we be placed in, than to be the happy instruments of making many wise unto eternal salvation? What sacrifices too great, what efforts too severe to accomplish this happy purpose, to be co-workers with God in the salvation of souls, shepherds under Christ, the Chief Shepherd, in feeding his sheep, for whom he laid down his precious life, leading them beside

the still waters, and into the green pastures, to be wise master-builders, employed by our Lord, in raising the temple, 'built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone?'"

It was his constant aim to do good. This motive influenced him in all his actions. He felt the responsibility of living. "Would we escape," he says, "the sentence, pronounced upon the slothful servant of being cast into outer darkness, where there is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, we must apply ourselves with diligence to the work of doing all the good we can! Our omissions of known duty, our neglect of cultivating our hearts and understandings to the utmost, so as to increase our capacity of doing good; our indolence and carelessness in performing the ordinary business of life; our want of watchfulness in seeking and improving opportunities of making ourselves as useful as possible to society, in the family, in the Church and in the world—all this we shall find charged to our account in God's book."

He was an earnest, faithful preacher of the gospel. His exhibitions of divine truth were plain, pointed and specific; they were always lucid and logical; his illustrations were clear and forcible; his manner was grave and impressive. There was no parade of learning, no display of brilliant rhetoric or of intellectual superiority. The pure word of God was the source, from which he drew his largest material for instruction. He gave utterance to the great truths of the gospel with a solemn energy that carried them home to the heart of the hearer, and produced the most pungent convictions. "His sole object," says Dr. Schmidt, "was to win souls to Christ, to instruct his people in the truths of our holy religion, and to establish them in their faith." His sermons were rich in sound religious instructions, and full of cogent argument and earnest appeal. They were redolent with the fragrance of that name, which is an ointment poured forth, and easily intelligible to the popular mind. He never preached without inculcating truth, directly fitted to lead men to repentance, or to build them up in the faith. He confined himself to his appropriate work. He never went out of the pulpit to mingle in discussions, which do not belong to it, nor did he degrade the pulpit by introducing into it topics inappropriate to the sacred place and to the object of preaching. In a letter, written to one of his sons-in-law, on his

introduction to the Christian ministry, he says: "Take especial care to insist on the fundamentals of Christianity—the fallen state of man; his exposure to eternal woe; the plan of redemption in Christ; repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; sin as the transgression of the divine law, and a judgment to come. Indoctrinate your hearers well in matters of faith and Christian practice. Let your grand object be, and let it be seen to be, to lead sinners to Christ, and saints to perfection." He loved to discuss the great themes of the gospel, such as the Carnal Mind opposed to God's Law; God's Law, holy and good; All Men guilty before God; Death the consequence of Sin; The Great Love of God; Freeness and Largeness of the Gospel Offer; The Fruits of Faith; Importance of Present Decision on the subject of Religion; The Blessedness of the Believer. Passages such as these, taken at random from his published sermons, give the reader some idea of the character of his preaching: "We have our choice, either to accept salvation as a free gift, only acknowledging our obligation to divine grace, or to stand upon our own merits, and to be tried by the perfect standard of the divine law, and to abide the consequences. Such is the virulent nature of sin, such is the holiness and strictness of the divine law, that whoever knowingly and wilfully transgresses, is condemned to the pains of eternal damnation. He is cast from the presence of God, and conveyed to the fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. This is confirmed by our own consciences, and the dread which we all naturally feel of death, and of what is to follow." "If any of us," he says, in his address to the sinner, "should perish under the sound of the gospel, and in the enjoyment of the means of grace, our state in the future would be, past expression, sad and awful. Just so intense as was the love of God, in sending his Son to the world to save sinners, and giving him up to the anguish and ignominy of the cruel death of the cross, so fierce will be the fire of his indignation against all despisers of his grace and rejecters of his Son. He has the promise, that all his enemies shall be made his footstool. He shall rule them with a rod of iron. He shall break them in pieces like a potter's vessel. * * Will it afford any relief in that world of woe, to reflect that once we were warned, we were entreated to forsake our sinful course, but we chose to continue in our rebellion, till the

long-suffering of the Lord, which we should have improved for our salvation, was exhausted, and he sware in his wrath that we should never enter into his rest? Oh, what sighs, what lamentations, what groans of anguish, what tears of blood, will there be witnessed, which now might be so easily avoided, if men would be wise, and consider their latter end! * * How will the wretched subjects groan out, 'When will it be morning, when will the night be passed?' But their jailers, the devils, will mutter *Never*, and through the halls of their prison will be reverberated from every side, *Never*, *Never!* Oh, then, flee, while you may, from the judgment to come, ye loiterers by the way! The avenger of blood is up, and in pursuit. Do you not hear his tramp, coming on, faster and faster?" Again, he says: "Why should you delay to come to him who graciously invites, even you? Take up his easy yoke; bear his light burden. He will break asunder the iron chains that gall you; he will remove the load of guilt that presses you down. * * Quit the service of your cruel task-master, the world! Return to that kind and compassionate Father, who longs to embrace you. Confess your sins with contrition and humility. Seek not to conceal them from the all-seeing eye of God. A candid acknowledgment is the readiest step to full freedom." In such stirring appeals as these, he frequently speaks: "Where do you hope to find rest, if Christ does not give it to you? Can the world give it? Have you not trusted to its promises long enough to find them to be hollow and deceitful? Have you not yet discovered that all its pleasures are base, degrading, and followed by pain and remorse? What good can that wealth do you in the end, which you are seeking with all your efforts? 'What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?' If the soul is lost, it is lost forever. There is no recovery, when once the barrier of death is passed. That is the line which God has drawn, within which he offers you his grace freely, without money and without price. But once pass this line, and the voice of mercy will be no more heard. Sell not your own souls for naught. Risk not the loss of heaven for any good of earth." "The more sinful you feel yourself to be, if you only trust in the merits of Christ for acceptance, and thus approach the throne of grace, the sooner will the burden of guilt fall off your neck, you will feel yourself pardoned, accepted,

adopted into the family of your Heavenly Father, owned as a child and trusted as such. * * The mercy of God will never reach your case, if you harden yourself in sin. *Hear* and your soul shall live. But if you will not hear, if you refuse to submit, if the love of Christ cannot move you, if the long-suffering of God, which you have so richly experienced, cannot influence you, if his goodness cannot lead you to repentance, then are you indeed, without hope, and living and dying thus, there is no recovery for you, in time, or eternity." "Now while your heart is tender, while divine truth makes an impression, seize the advantage afforded you. Soon, if you neglect it, the enemy, who is constantly going about seeking whom he may destroy, will efface every serious impression, snatch every particle of the good seed of the word, and claim you as his prey. If nothing else can move you, let the love of God do it, who 'commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us'."

In the same earnest strains we find him addressing professors of religion, urging them to increased fidelty in their Christian warfare, and to renewed efforts on behalf of those still unreconciled to God. "Unless we are aiming," he says, "at greater degrees of holiness, and are gaining the victory over our passions and desires, we have reason to fear, that we shall never reach the goal. How many have run well for a season, who finally missed of salvation because they grew weary of well doing. It is only such as hold on to the end, to whom the crown of life is promised." Again he says: "Humility, meekness, gentleness, kind feelings towards others, even such as injure us, and a conduct flowing from such feelings, are the surest evidences of our being led by the Spirit of God. If we yield ourselves unto God by a total surrender and entire consecration to his service and honor, he will enter in, and take possession of his temple by his Holy Spirit, and will manifest his presence in a way, that cannot be mistaken. He will work in us and through us. He will be glorified, whether it be in our life, or in our death, whether by our active services of love, or by meek submission to his chastening rod." He adds: "Unless Christians make a strong and united effort to check the growing wickedness of the world, we have reason to look

for more tremendous judgments than those, under which so large a part of the Protestant world is still smarting. For it must not be forgotten, that while God will do all that it would be impossible for man to do, he has always employed means, and these means are committed to his church, and in a measure, placed at her disposal. When Zion travails, she brings forth children, but not else. When Christians are waked up to a sense of their responsibility, we may look for a season of refreshing from the Lord."

From the extracts just given, the evangelical character of Dr. Miller's theological views may be inferred. His rigid adherence to the great doctrines of the Christian system was never questioned. On those points, regarded by all evangelical denominations as fundamental, his position was clear and unequivocal. In a sermon delivered before the *New York Ministerium* in 1837, he advises the minister of the gospel: "Instead of dwelling to satieity upon the excellency and dignity of human nature, with experience for his guide and the Bible for his authority, to draw the attention of his hearers to the more needful, though less palatable, subject of their fallen condition—their guiltiness and their inability to help themselves. That so far from being their own saviours, they need an Almighty Deliverer, or they are forever lost; to insist, that it is, 'not by works of righteousness, that we have done,' or can do, that we can hope to be saved, but as an act of undeserved grace and gratuitous pardon for Christ's sake." "This," he adds, "will lead him to dwell on the great question of the atonement and, as intimately connected therewith, the true and proper divinity of Christ." On the subject of human depravity he thus expresses himself: "The character of the Divine law is such as to be in direct contrariety to all the feelings and desires of the natural mind. 'The law is holy, just and good,' while the affections of the unregenerate soul are impure and selfish. Spiritual duties are irksome to it. The restraints, which religion would put upon its pursuits and enjoyments, are felt as a burdensome yoke and irritating chain. It longs for liberty to use at pleasure. It wishes to gratify its various desires, unchecked by law. It places its happiness in the indulgence of every earthly gratification and selfish aim. But to all this the holy law of God stands directly opposed. Hence the enmity that is called forth, when-

ever the authority of the law is pressed home upon the conscience." "Till the sinner is truly humble, and ready to confess himself, not only guilty of many particular sins but essentially corrupt in all his faculties and principles, there is no hope of his being brought to a sincere repentance through submission to the will and government of God. A man may plead guilty to a thousand charges, and feel a measure of compunction in consequence, but so long as he is not convinced that he is radically corrupt, he will not fail, in various ways, to better himself. The occupant of the castle of the human heart, when attacked by the artillery of heaven, will never surrender, while he has any ammunition, or provision, remaining. It is always a death-struggle between nature and grace, and, when once finally closed by an unconditional submission, is not likely to be tried again in the same desperate way." Again he says: "Man is fallen from his original rectitude, and the poison of the serpent, that tempted and prevailed over our first mother Eve, has tainted the blood and corrupted the nature of the whole race. Hence the opposition of the natural mind to the law of God, because this would lay a restraint upon its desires. And while it feels that the demands of the law are just, and its sanction righteous, and dreads the sentence, that it knows will be executed in due time, the unsubdued will of man rises in enmity against God and his holy law. The check, put upon its passions, like a dam of drift-ice in some mountain stream, only increases the violence of desire, till often it is seen madly to overleap all obstacles kindly intended to subdue it; or else it settles down into secret murmuring at the law, wishing only that it might with safety break through its enclosure." Referring to the sinner's utter inability to save himself, he uses the following language: "It often takes a long time before the convicted sinner is throughly humbled and brought to relinquish all hope of bettering himself by his own efforts. He still thinks he can do something towards his reformation. Therefore it needs, that all the strictness and spirituality of the law be set before his eyes, that he may be made sensible, that he is wholly carnal, and sold under sin, that it is as impossible for him to put forth truly pure and holy desires, as for the salt spring to send forth sweet water, or for a thorn bush to bear grapes. He must be convinced that in him, as he is by nature, in his flesh dwelleth no good

thing—any attempt to raise himself out of the pit, into which he is fallen, must end in discomfiture. * * * Seeing that he is unable to do anything towards his own restoration, God has committed the work into the hands of his own Son, whose glory it is to save the poor, the lost, the wretched, the depressed. None is sunk so low, as to be beyond the power of Christ to restore, if he will, only in earnest, apply to Him. Whoever looks up to Him, as crucified for our sins, and risen again for our justification, shall live. United to Christ by faith he can draw from him all needed strength and assistance; even as the branch receives the sap from the stock, on which it has been grafted. No matter how sick we are in a spiritual sense, if we look but to Christ, we shall be restored to health."

No man could have been more strongly attached to his own church, to its principles and doctrines; his views were in hearty sympathy with the venerable symbol which expresses the faith of his communion; yet no one had a more heartfelt love for all Christians. He brought no sectarian fire to the sacred altar, but poured upon it the sweet incense of love, prayer and gratitude, sympathizing with the whole brotherhood of those who rejoice in "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

In his pastoral work he was disposed to make use of all efforts not unscriptural, to labor in every way to bring individuals under the influence of divine truth. "Among the plans," he writes to a young minister, "that deserve your earliest attention, I mention the establishing of a Sabbath School, if none should yet exist. If one exist, attend it constantly and try, if you can by proper means, to get it under your direction. Take frequent opportunities of addressing the children. Further open a Bible Class for young persons—open to all that will attend. If you find any symptoms of seriousness among the young, try, as you have opportunity, to form a class of catechumens for the express purpose of more fully instructing them in the doctrines of religion, and if they are hopefully converted, try to get them to unite with the church by being confirmed. Endeavor to keep your heart in such a frame as to feel that your whole business is to convert souls, and lead them to Christ—then ways and means will not be wanting. As to the older portion of your

congregation the most efficient means under the divine blessing, is by protracted efforts. The mind of man must be held down to the truth by a sort of holy violence, if it shall take hold of their hearts. If therefore you discover considerable symptoms of seriousness, endeavor if circumstances are favorable, to hold such a meeting. Consult the pious members of the congregation. Try to arrange matters, that no offence may be taken. If they have not been used to such measures, and seem prejudiced against the name, it may be well to improve the Festivals, *e. g.* Easter, to have services for a succession of days, and, before they are aware, they may be interested and desire to have the meetings continued, or repeated at another time. 'Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves,' is our Lord's advice. If you hold a protracted meeting, keep the whole management in your own hands. Be careful of the young converts. Feed them with the sincere milk of the word. Get them engaged in the prayer meetings. Watch their conduct. Give them advice as needed, and try above all to gain their confidence. In all your services feel and preach, as if you could not be easy, while one sinner remains impenitent. * * Encourage Christian liberality on Gospel principles. Go before with a good example. Watch over your own heart and over the flock, which the Great Shepherd has entrusted to your care."

Dr. Miller excelled as an instructor. Teaching was the chief occupation of his life. He loved the work, and into its duties he diffused the breathings of his own earnest, laborious, self-denying spirit. He loved his pupils. He always exhibited the warmest interest in their success and sought to do them good. He was conscientious and faithful, patient and thorough. Drilling his classes, even in the rudiments of knowledge, was never regarded by him as a task. "Repetition," he would often say, "clinches the nail." As an illustration of the useless character of inaccurate learning he would sometimes give the story of the old lady who, being about to purchase some indigo, remarked, "That good indigo would sink, or swim, but she could not tell which." Whatever he undertook, he aimed at accuracy and thoroughness. As a disciplinarian he had few superiors. He exercised an almost magic influence over his pupils. In the recitation room

a mere glance of the eye, or a movement of the finger, was sufficient to secure order and command attention. He had wonderful tact. He understood so well the subject of discipline, and could so successfully dispose of peccadilloes, so often the occasion of annoyance to a teacher. As an illustration some of the students were once, moved, by a spirit of mischief, to ring the Seminary bell in the middle of the night, to the great discomfort of well-disposed people who did not wish their nocturnal slumbers to be disturbed. The Doctor thought, if let alone they would soon become tired, and abandon the sport, but as the singular fancy continued, he finally concluded that he would visit the building and arrest the noise. On entering the belfry, he discovered, that the ringing was accomplished by means of a long rope, attached to the bell and hanging down outside the Seminary. He quietly took possession of the rope and returned to his home. There was no more ringing that night. The next morning in chapel he very seriously remarked, that he had in his possession a rope which, he presumed, was a bed-cord, and if the owner would call for it, he could obtain it, without being asked any questions. No one, however, claimed the rope; but there were no more beds uncorded that term for bell rope. In his vocation he was a man of indefatigable industry and severe application. Although of a slender frame, and rather frail constitution, he performed an incredible amount of labor, far beyond ordinary individuals, or any thing required of him by the Board of Trustees. Without additional compensation, he frequently taught from eight to ten hours a day. His recitations usually commenced at eight in the morning, and continued, with a brief intermission for chapel exercises, till noon. They were resumed, then, at one—sometimes at half past twelve—and protracted until half past three in the afternoon, when he was released, for a time, only to begin again at six in the evening, when he was occupied in superintending the studies of some of the younger pupils lodging in his house, and in hearing recitations until nine o'clock. In addition to this on Saturday, when the usual recitations were suspended, he heard his theological class, and, on Monday evening, presided at the meetings of the Theological Society. He also preached regularly on Sunday morning, and conducted the services of the prayer meeting in the evening. At one

period he heard a recitation in Geometry every day during the vacation. Much of this labor was, of course, self-imposed. "He was never idle," says Doctor Schmidt, who was, for a season, associated with him in teaching, "he was always gathering up the fragments of time." During his leisure hours, when he was not engaged at work in his garden, or in a rapid walk over the neighboring hills with some genial companion or some other profitable exercise, he would generally be found perusing books, in one or the other departments of science. He, on a certain occasion, told his students, as an incentive to improve odd moments, so often wasted, that he had read *Dr. McCosh on the Divine Government* in one session, during the brief intervals between the separation of the classes—the dismission of the one and the appearance of another in the recitation room. Prompt to resolve, prompt to execute, he achieved wonders. In his composition there was a power of endurance, an energy of will, which exerted no small influence over his whole life. In his earlier years he studied the greater part of the night, often being occupied with his books, until two o'clock in the morning. Dr. Miller, as the result of his experience in the business of teaching, has given very decided testimony in regard to the value of the ancient classics in the prosecution of a course of study for young men. "The grammatical analysis of the separate words, their connections, and constructions in the sentence, furnish a constant exercise of the judgment; they form the mind to habits of reflection and order; they cultivate tact and taste in choosing the proper word in English, to express the exact force of the original. Properly conducted they will call forth the power of fixing the attention, so hard to be acquired, and produce that largeness of view, and readiness to seize upon an offered advantage, which is required for a profitable pursuit of business." "If we would contribute," he adds, "to the most thorough cultivation of our youth, if we would guard against the danger of losing all taste for what is beautiful and sublime, let us encourage classical studies, and set our faces against that low and groveling tendency of our day—not to say of our country—which would value education, only as a means of gaining wealth, or of advancing the material interests of society." "Without a classical education a man, by diligence and care, may exercise a good influence

on society, and become an honored and useful member of the same; but a few rare exceptions made, he cannot reach that eminence, to which with it, he might have attained. The youthful mind needs careful training; and the experience of ages has shown, that no intellectual or æsthetical culture is to be compared to that furnished by a thorough classical education." His standard of ministerial qualification was very high. "How careful" he says, "should we be, that none are admitted to the sacred office, except such as are fit; men of deep personal piety, of ample knowledge, and of adequate skill to instruct and govern others. By not employing sufficient care in examining the qualifications of candidates, an irreparable injury is committed, in which the Church and the cause of Christ at large partake. The admission of improper subjects into the ministry operates as a check to the growth of spiritual religion in the body, with which they are connected, while to the individual congregation that is so unhappy as to be under their charge, they will prove as the fabled Upas, shedding a pestiferous influence around, by which souls are lulled to sleep in the lap of the second death."

Dr. Miller was a man of rare abilities and high intellectual attainments. His natural endowments had been brought under the influence of the most careful culture. He was distinguished for the versatility of his powers and the range of his acquirements. His mind was of a philosophic cast, original and capacious, powerful in the grasp of subjects, and quick in its movements, his judgment was clear and independent. He was a most diligent student, interested in research, and was continually adding to his vast stores of knowledge. "We have no hesitation in asserting," writes Dr. Schmidt who had the best opportunities of forming a correct opinion, "that he had not his equal in our Church and few, if any, superiors in our country. He possessed the most absolute and ultimate familiarity with the various exact sciences; he had the most perfect command of our own vernacular; he spoke and wrote both French and German with great facility; he was a profound Hebræist, and his knowledge of the classical language was accurate, critical and complete, as a life-long intimacy could make it. His profound and elegent scholarship in the learned languages was something quite wonderful. He seemed to get into the innermost

heart of a language, to master its idioms, to enter into its spirit, and to comprehend its genius with a sort of intuition. His knowledge of the Scriptures was absolutely ubiquitous, and in studying them his acute and discriminating intellect was, in no wise, dependent upon the aid of critics and commentators." It is said that he was so familiar with the sacred volume, that he never had occasion to use a concordance, but with almost unfailing success, could turn to the passage, which he required. He was a very able theologian. So thorough was his acquaintance with the whole field of revealed truth, united with his general knowledge of history and of other aids to a successful study of the Bible, that his discussions on the prophetic writings, it is said, possess a more than ordinary interest. "His reading," says Dr. Schmidt "was peculiar. He appropriated what others had to give with extraordinary rapidity, and when, most men would have labored painfully through page after page, he got at the pith and marrow of any new book by a marvelously expeditious process, a sort of intellectual affinity which, aided by amost retentive memory, made him master of his author's meaning in an incredibly short space of time."

Dr. Miller's numerous engagements did not give him the time to appear often before the public as an author. He occasionally allowed a discourse, delivered on some special occasion, to be printed, and in 1860, consented to the publication of a volume of "Sermons on some of the fundamental principles of the Gospel." In 1842 he issued, for the benefit of his pupils, the "Dansville Grammar, An Attempt to render the study of Grammar more effectual, more easy and more satisfactory than by the usual method. Among the productions of his pen are manuscript Grammars of the French and Greek langauge. The former would have been published some years ago, but Ollendorf's system appearing at the time, his was withheld from the press. The latter is said to be an admirable digest of the rules of Greek Syntax, indicating the author's power of acute analysis, of discreet but intelligently self-reliant generalizations, and of the most perspicuous condensation in the method of statement. Union College, N. Y. conferred upon the subject of our sketch the honoruary degree of D. D., in 1836. The honor he meekly accepted, considering himself as entirely undeserving of the distinction, but adding that the letters would answer

as the initials of an excellent scriptural motto, *Deo Duce.*

Dr. Miller was eminent not only for his learning, but also for his practical character. With a mind, constantly disposed to examine the causes, the nature and the relations of things, there was not an interest connected with human life, upon which he was not prepared to express the soundest opinions, or give the most valuable counsel. He was distinguished for his many private virtues. Gentle by nature, mild and courteous in his bearing, approachable as a little child, he secured the affections, as well as the confidence of all men. He was a man of wonderful reality. His countenance was the mirror of his thoughts. He was single-hearted and guileless in all his efforts for excellence or for influence. He could do nothing for appearance; he never sought notoriety. A prominent trait in his character, also, was the exemplification of the injunction, "Follow peace with all men." He had a very great aversion to controversy and strife. He never indulged in denunciatory language. His words were those of peace and good will. Yet he knew no fear, and his firmness nothing could shake. His earnest desire and purpose was to do right. His habits were exceedingly regular and systematic, his mode of living, simple and temperate. He felt responsible for his influence, so much so, that he would have abstained even from meat, if it had been the occasion of offence to his brother. On learning that his practice of smoking was made a pretext by some of his students for the immoderate use of tobacco, he immediately laid aside his pipe, and no longer indulged in the unnecessary habit. He was a man of fine social qualities. He was not indifferent to the amenities of life. His refined culture, vivacity, bright and keen humor and quickness at harmless repartee, rendered his society very attractive. He had a kind word for everybody, and the rare talent of making everybody about him happy. For recreation of mind he enjoyed an occasional game of chess, and so skilfully did he play, that he seldom met with a successful competitor. Although, his disposition was retiring, and his days were spent in comparative seclusion, incident to his profession and the locality of the Seminary, he was not an unconcerned spectator of what was transpiring in the world. He was in earnest sympathy with the progress of truth and right. He was awake to the great interests of society, and

the welfare of the race. His heart and his hand were open for the alleviation of human suffering. "No man," says Dr. Pohlman, "in proportion gave more than he for the relief of the poor and the needy, and for the promotion of the kingdom of God. He considered none of the gifts of Providence conferred upon him as his own, but rather bestowed, that he might distribute them to others. One of the last acts of his life was a liberal contribution from his scanty purse for our African Mission." He was a true patriot. He loved his country. "He fulfilled," says Dr. Schmidt, "with conscientious fidelity the duties of good and loyal citizenship. Consistent in the application of the principles of Christian ethics to every human relation, he always manifested an intense abhorence of tyranny and of every species of political corruption and of popular vice, which he never failed to rebuke at the proper time and place.

> The very gentlest of all human natures
> He joined to courage strong,
> And love outreaching unto all God's creatures
> With sturdy hate of wrong.

The more we study the character of this venerable patriarch, in the various positions which he occupied and the different relations in life he sustained, the greater our admiration and love for his personal worth, and with those who were brought into more intimate relation with him, we are disposed to exclaim: "Take him all in all, we shall never look upon his like again."

Dr. Miller was married July 15th, 1816, to Delia B. Snyder, of New Bruswick, N. J., a niece of Dr. Hazelius. From this union there were thirteen children. Of these four have passed to the home of the blessed. His son Rev. George Hazelius Miller, a man of more than ordinary promise, died, in 1850, soon after his entrance upon the ministry. Five of the daughters married Lutheran clergymen, L. Sternberg, D. D. R. Adelberg, J. D. English, A. Hiller and A Uebelacker. The fiftieth anniversary of this marriage—the golden wedding—was celebrated with appropriate services in 1866, when the children and the children's children, with other relations and friends, gathered at the homestead, to offer their congratulations, their expressions of gratitude and good wishes, on so interesting an occasion.

The remains of Dr. Miller were followed to the grave by a wonderful concourse of people, who had come together from distant places to pay their last tribute of respect to the lamented dead.

Dr. Pohlman delivered an appropriate discourse from the words: "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost," the subject and the preacher for the occasion having been selected by himself, some time prior to his death. He also expressed the desire that the stone which marked his grave, should bear the simple inscription—*A sinner saved by grace.*

The name of George B. Miller will ever be pronounced with reverence and gratitude. His beautiful example, his loving words and noble deeds

> "Will live and brighten for a race to come,
> Prompting the wise, cheering the sorrowful,
> And for the little children, whom he loved,
> Meting out tender words, like dewy pearls
> Along their flower-sown path."

ARTICLE IV.

PIETY AND PROPERTY.

By Prof. M Loy, A. M., Columbus, O.

In the ancient heathen world there was a philosophy in vogue which pretended to despise the world. We find in Paganism no higher notion of virtue than that of a contempt for all the pomp of time. The philosopher was thought to be elevated above all that is perishing, and his glory was found in the exalted mind which cultivated a complete indifference to every transitory treasure. Sages professed to be above the pleasure of acquiring earthly possessions, or the pain of their loss. While the watchmen slept a similar notion crept into the Christian Church and assumed the form of a pretended evangelical counsel of poverty. Those who aimed at perfection affected to be above the cares and enjoyments of this life,

so far as they might arise from things that are evanescent, and earthly property was left to those who had not attained the higher standard of Christian manhood. The vow of perpetual poverty was deemed the mark of Christian perfection.

Certainly the man of God is taught to look at the things which are eternal, and to consider the temporal as comparatively of little worth. When earthly goods would present themselves before the mind as equal in value to spiritual treasures, and challenge a choice between themselves and these, they are contemptible in the Christian's eye. It is in this relation that the scriptures speak of them with apparent disparagement, as we despise brass that invites comparison with gold. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven." Matt. 6 : 19—20. "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh, as it were fire." Jas. 5 : 1—3. "The world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of the Lord abideth forever." 1 John 2 : 17. Unquestionably, he would be guilty of consummate folly who would treat perishable things, as if they were his soul's eternal treasures. But coal is not utterly to be eschewed, because it is not diamond. A tent is not as valuable as a massive structure of stone, but it is not on that account worthless. The possessions of this world are not worthy to be compared with the treasures of heaven, but this does not render them valueless while we pursue our pilgrimage on earth. It betrays the frailty of human reason to confound the comparatively insignificant with the absolutely despicable, and only human folly can deem it a mark of superior virtue to scorn the temporal, because its utility extends not beyond the limits of time.

These false notions respecting earthly goods are not without influence in the moral philosophy of the present day. Nor is that influence confined to the Romish Church. That very pride, so deeply rooted in our nature, which it is designed to conquer by a pretended contempt for the temporal, prompts many to put forth the pretense.

They aim at a higher standard of piety than that which is recognized by the commonalty, upon whom they superciliously look down; and by affecting to despise the transitory things which the multitude seek, they would win the glory of greatness of soul, with strange inconsistency feign contempt for the honors which their conduct is designed to gain. Among the goods contemned are the goods which they crave. Some men seek honor by amassing wealth, and some despise wealth, that they may win honor. We praise those who win; we praise those more who, being supposed able to win, decline to enter the lists; professing to be above finding pleasure in the praise which others crave. That form of selfishness is always most admired, in which the selfishness is most carefully concealed. The superior godliness which despises honest gain is not evangelical piety, but merely one of the many forms, in which corrupt human nature crops out. Gain is not godliness, but neither is poverty.

Some attempt to find a support for their errors in the scriptural statements touching temporal possessions. These are passages which seem designed to inculcate an abhorrence of the accumulation of wealth and a preference of poverty as best befitting an heir of heaven; and designing men find it a comparatively easy task to wrest these scriptures and render them subservient to their purposes. Consciences thus become confused, and even sincere lovers of the truth are sometimes ensnared, determining to insure safety by renouncing all earthly possessions, or giving way to the temptations which beset them, gradually smothering the voice of conscience and falling victims to the wiles of the devil. The truth of God, the entrance of which giveth light, alone enables us rightly to appreciate all the gifts of our beneficent Father in their due relations, and directs us in the way of peace and safety.

St. Matthew relates (chap. 19 : 16—22) that on a certain occasion a rich young man presented himself before our Lord, and asked what he must do to inherit eternal life. The answer seems to countenance the theory that Christianity requires the abandonment of all temporal possessions as a condition of salvation. After our Saviour had urged upon him the duty of obeying the commandments, which the young man claimed to have kept from his youth up, He said: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have

treasure in heaven: and come and follow me. But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions."

Commentators of the Romish Church consider this as one of the so-called "evangelical counsels," which are intended for the more advanced Christians, and which are not of universal obligation. They rest this claim upon the supposed imposition of the rule upon the young man, not as a condition of his becoming a disciple of Jesus, but of his attaining perfection.

Over against this assumption it should be considered, in the first place, that the law demands perfection of all, not imposing commands of different degrees of holiness upon different persons. The law of the Lord is perfect, as a whole and in all its parts, and obligations are laid upon all alike. There can, in the nature of the case, be no perfection, beyond that which the God of holiness has enjoined in his holy commandments. Secondly, if any such distinction, as that which is claimed, were allowable, it would not be applicable in this case, because the young man's question required an answer showing not how certain fictitious honors could be obtained, but what must be done to inherit eternal life. He desired to know what he lacked yet in this regard, not what was yet needed to secure a chief place in the kingdom of heaven. It would be irreverent to assume that our Lord evaded the question and artfully substituted another as if it were the same. Finally, if the enjoining the sale of all the youth's possessions and the distribution of the proceeds among the poor were simply a counsel; looking to his perfection, not a command, the second part of the injunction must be placed in the same category. "Come and follow me!" must then not be a condition of discipleship, but a condition of attaining eminence among the disciples. Such an explanation of the passage would be received only where the evangelical principles of the Reformation have been rejected.

But if this interpetation be set aside as false, does it not follow of necessity that the special directions given to the young man by our Lord are of universal obligation, and that only those are truly his disciples who obey? A closer view of the passage will convince the candid that no such alternative is presented.

It is manifest that the two parts of the command must

not be separated. "Sell all that thou hast" and "follow me," must be taken together. No proof will be deemed necessary to establish the proposition in the minds of Christians, that giving away our possessions will not introduce us into the kingdom of heaven without following Christ. Asking proof of this would betray total ignorance of the way of salvation. We are not rendered Christians by any good works, least of all by works of so purely outward a character as that of giving away our goods. Whatever virtue there could be in such an act must grow out of its relation to the follower of Christ. All that is involved in following Him, even if this should place us in circumstances, requiring the relinquishment of all that we possess, the disciple must recognize as obligatory upon him, and for this he must be prepared. This is the general rule, which is applicable to all.

But the specific command, given to the youth, is explicable only by the peculiarity of the circumstances. The rule as given, is individual in its character. The youth, in his blindness, imagined that he had fulfilled all the requirements of the law, from his childhood, and in his self-righteoussness desired to know what could be lacking yet to secure to him everlasting salvation. It is plain that the law had not yet performed its work in his soul. He had not the knowledge of sin, and did not perceive himself to be under condemnation as a sinner. The law requires absolute submission to God's will in utter abnegation of our own. The young man labored under the illusion, that the required obedience had been rendered, and the most direct way to lead him to a knowledge of his error was to give him a specific command by which the state of his soul might be tested and revealed to his own view. He had great possessions, and if his heart was in coincidence with the will of God, he would relinquish them at once, should the Lord require it. The command was given, and the young man went away sorrowful. He would be a disciple of Christ, but not at such a price. He loved his riches more than his Redeemer. He could not abide the test. The purpose of the command was attained in him when he was taught his mistake. Its purpose is attained in us when we are brought to perceive, that following Christ implies the surrender of the heart to him, so that everything is yielded at his will. The narrative does not teach that Christians must give all that they have to the

poor, in order to do their Master's will, but that they must do their Master's will, even though He should ask them to give all that they have to the poor. The principle is that which, in another place, our Lord lays down in these words: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me." Matt. 10: 37—38. The Lord will recognize none as His disciples, who prize any gift above the giver, and will not yield it at His pleasure. The young man prized his possessions above all things, and would rather sacrifice his Lord than these. The question *here* was simply the alternative: either Christ or the temporal property; and where it is reduced to this, there can be no doubt, that our Lord's will requires us to part with all, that we may obtain eternal life. But this is by no means the question in all cases.

The frequent warnings against the love of money and the dangers of wealth do not imply that holding property is in itself sinful, and that there is safety only in divesting ourselves of it, or in limiting it to the measure necessary for the supply of our immediate wants. Even great riches are not a disqualification for the kingdom of heaven, as is evident from the great wealth, with which God endowed so many of the saints under the old dispensation. What it is that our Lord directs His warnings against, in this regard, appears from the words spoken to His disciples upon the occasion of the rich young man's sorrowful departure. "Then said Jesus unto His disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Matt. 19: 23—24. Certainly, it does seem as if wealth were here intended to be represented as very dangerous; and, undoubtedly, this and other similar passages would be deprived of much of their force, if they were so explained as to sunder all responsibility from the possession of riches, and thus to deny their tentative character. Every thoughtful reader of the passages must perceive in them a solemn warning to beware of the misery, into which Satan would entice us by the glittering lure. But the sin lies not in the gold, and we do not become sinful by its mere possession. The barrier which lay in the

young man's way into the kingdom of heaven, and which was to him insurmountable, was not his great possessions in themselves; for these perishable temporal things can no more exclude us from Christ's spiritual kingdom, than they can qualify us for admission. It is the attitude of the heart towards the Saviour, and, as involved in this, the attitude of the heart towards these earthly treasures, which determines the relation to the kingdom of heaven. Job and Dives were both very rich; but they differed in this, that the former trusted in God and the latter in gold, and their relation to the kingdom of God differed accordingly. The young man would not relinquish his possessions for the Lord's sake, prizing them more than him. Of *such* rich men it is said, that they cannot enter the kingdom of God. They are idolaters, saying to gold: Thou art my treasure and confidence and joy. Not because they are rich, but because mammon is their God, are they excluded from God's kingdom. Their salvation is impossible, while they remain in this state of idolatry. It is not stated, that all the rich are in such a state, nor that the condition, in all cases, of their entrance into the kingdom of heaven is the alienation of their property.

That this is the import of the divine teaching concerning the danger of riches, is still more evident from St. Paul's words: "They that will be rich fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." 1 Tim. 6 : 9—10. There is nothing sinful in money, and nothing iniquitous in riches: but they that *will* be rich—that set out with this determination, making it the goal, to the attainment of which all their efforts are directed, and to which everything is made subservient—are lost, because their highest aim is wrong, and thus all their life and labor are vitiated. Not money, but the love of money, is the root of evil. It entails wretchedness in this world, because it so absorbs the mind that there is no time and no leisure for the duties and the amenities of life, upon which earthly comfort so largely depends; and it ensures eternal misery in the future world, because it chains us to a god that cannot save, and that will not permit us to seek refuge in Him who can.

That which drowns men in destruction and perdition is not the possession of wealth. Even the poor may be covetous and rush to ruin in the chase after riches. Whether these be attained or not is, in regard to the sin of covetousness, a mere accident. He whose resolute guest has proved bootless is in the same condemnation with him whose efforts have been successful: for the mere material substance, aside from the relation which the heart sustains to it, has no moral quality. But longing for a perishable thing, or clinging to it, as if that were our great and everlasting treasure, is a perversion of the soul's powers, involving a rejection of God, who is the highest good, and the substitution in His room of a lifeless lump of impotent matter; and this is an abomination in the sight of God. Whether we possess riches or not, is indifferent; if our hearts love it above all things, and pursue it, or possess it, as the highest prize, these hearts have forsaken God, and we are on the road to perdition as covetous men who are idolaters. In such a state was the young man mentioned in the Gospel, and against such a state we are earnestly warned.

But the heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked. Oftentimes before we are conscious of it, covetousness has established itself there, and sways the sceptre, while we suppose ourselves to be merely discharging the duties of our temporal calling. There is constant danger that our daily labors will be performed with a wrong purpose, and that what is but a means to other ends will be pursued, not only as an end in itself, but as the chief end. Hence the Scriptures sometimes do direct their warnings against the things, with which we are so prone to commit sin, as well as against the sins themselves, of which they are the occasion. They urge us to relinquish objects which may, indeed, be possessed without sin, but which to us are a temptation, rather than to incur the danger of succumbing in the trial, which we have reason to doubt our ability to endure. "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee, that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell." Matt. 5 : 29. Riches are so often acquired under the pressure of a burning desire to be rich; the motive power which impels to activity for their attainment is so often the love of money; they are so frequently used according to the dictates of selfishness; their use is so frequently controlled entirely

by a pinching avarice, that they are called "unrightous mammon;" Luke 16 : 11. Unrighteousness in their acquisition and employment is the general rule, and righteousness merely the exception. The very fact that wealth is increasing in our hands should make us watchful, lest the increase result from unjust practices, or lest our hearts be set upon it, and it become a snare to us. The Christian cannot exercise too much vigilance, especially in such an avaricious land and age as this, against the insidious snares of the wily foe, who would purchase the soul for a purse of gold; and we have great reason to be thankful to God, that He has given us such frequent and such earnest warnings against the power of avarice, by which such multitudes are brought to destruction, and to heed these warnings, lest it get possession of our souls and compass our ruin, while we think ourselves merely engaged in a prudent provision for the future.

It would, however, be overstraining the words of Scripture and imposing a yoke upon the disciples' necks, which God has not imposed, if we pronounced the possession of temporal goods, or even of wealth, in itself a sin. So far is this from being in opposition to the divine will, that God bestows property as a blessing, and has promulgated laws for the protection of each individual in the possession of his own.

Our heavenly Father's will is not, that in Christendom there should be no individual proprietors of temporal goods, or that all should be held by the brethren in common. It is a palpable misunderstanding of the second chapter of the Acts, when the narrative there presented is adduced as a proof that God's purpose was to establish among Christians a community of goods. The words referred to are these: "All that believed were together, and had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need." Acts 2 : 44—45. Those who would, by this passage, establish a communistic theory err in two respects. In the first place, there was no community of goods in the congregation at Jerusalem, in the sense which the theory claims. The proprietorship of individuals in their own goods was not denied, and no law was enacted, by which they were deprived of their property, or by which this became the joint property of the congregation. The sale and distribution was an act of charity, performed by the individual Christians, whose motive was found in the dis-

tress, which lay upon the brethren in that city. This is plain from the express words of the narrative. They parted their goods to all men, not making each joint possessor of all the property which previously belonged to individuals, but distributing to all, "as every man had need." The property was common in the sense, that all who had possessions were willing to share them with the needy: a sense in which Christians can always be said to hold possessions in common, as Christian charity does not permit one to have abundance while the other is known to be perishing for want of the necessaries of life. Each remained, disposer, under God, of his own goods. If there were any doubt of this, it would be removed at once by the statement made in Acts 5. "A certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession, and kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part and laid it at the apostles' feet. But Peter said: Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land? While it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." Acts 5 : 1—4. This passage clearly evinces that the individual rights to the property which God had bestowed was not interfered with by the arrangements in the Church at Jerusalem. The sin of Ananias did not consist at all, in his violating a special law, by withholding part of the proceeds of the sale of his property, but in pretending that he gave all to relieve the distress of the brethren, while he was in reality giving but a part. The heinousness of his sin was increased by the very fact that all was in his own power, and there was no reason for resorting to deception in order to retain a portion of his possessions. He might have retained all, if charity did not prompt him to part with it. But he sought the honor, which attaches to liberality, and lied to secure it. He sought credit for that which he had not. If there had been a law requiring all Christians to relinquish their property by conveying it to the community, St. Peter could not have said, that it was a matter of choice or charity with Ananias, whether he would give all or not. And that a community of goods was not intended to be established in the Christian Chnrch is manifest, in the second place, from the fact that

the arrangement was introduced in none of the other congregations organized by the apostles, but was confined to Jerusalem. This shows conclusively that the peculiar practice in that congregration was owing to the peculiarity of the circumstances, and was merely local and temporary. Collections were taken even in other places for the brethren at Jerusalem, Rom. 15 : 26 ; 1 Cor. 16 : 1—3, showing that the distress was so great there, that even the entire property of the Christians in that city was not sufficient to relieve it entirely. The rule which prevailed in Jerusalem was simply the law of charity, which was urged upon the Corinthians as a motive for contributing to the relief of the poor saints. "Now therefore perform the doing of it; that as there was a readiness to will, so there may be a performance also out of that which ye have. For if there first be a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not. For I mean not that other men be eased, and ye burdened: but by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance may be a supply also for your want; that there may be equality." 2 Cor. 8 : 11—14. The only community of goods taught in Scripture is that involved in the law of love, which renders one ready to help the other, according to the ability which God has given, that the abundance of one may supply the indigence of the other. All property belongs to God, and all Christians acknowledge themselves as His stewards, who are to dispose of what has been entrusted to them, not according to the will of the flesh, but according to the pleasure of the Master.

God bestows property upon individuals, and holds them accountable for their stewardship. All things are His, and He bestows His gifts in wisdom and in love. "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." Ps. 24 : 1. "Every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills." Ps. 50 : 10. Temporal possessions, as well as spiritual treasures, are His gift. "The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich: he bringeth low and lifteth up." 1 Sam. 2 : 7. Therefore Job said upon the loss of his possessions: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord." Job 1 : 21. "God hath given riches and wealth, and hath given him power to eat therefore, and to take his portion, and to re-

joice in his labor: this is the gift of God." Eccl. 5 : 19. The providence of God dispenses temporal blessings according to his own purpose, supplying the wants of all, but giving some more, some less, that there might be opportunity for the exercise of charity, and that His children might enjoy the privilege of executing their Father's gracious will.

The gifts thus bestowed are represented in Scripture as the property, under God, of the persons to whom they are committed: and the safeguards of divine law are thrown around it for its protection against the avarice of those who would have more than God has been pleased to bestow upon them. The commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," proclaims the division of property among men to be a divine order, and imposes the duty of respecting the rights of our neighbor, as established by the divine allotment. "The scandalous papistic doctrine," says the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, "that Christian perfection consists in having no property, is a falsehood and a delusion. For Christian perfection does not consist in pretending to be pious and separating from the world, but in faith and the true fear of God. Abraham, David, Daniel, were men of royalty, and eminent in council and also very rich, and still they were holier and more perfect than any monk or Carthusian that ever appeared on earth. But the monks, especially the Franciscans, had so deceived the people that no one knew what constitutes true holiness. How they extolled the renunciation of property, the voluntary submission to poverty, as a great evangelical virtue, and as the most exalted sanctity! But these are pernicious doctrines, which the Scriptures do not teach, but which they utterly condemn. The decalogue distinctly says: 'Thou shall not steal;' and God thus permits each one to enjoy his own. On this point Wicliffe raved, when he insisted that no bishop or priest should possess property." Apol. 217. Nothing is plainer than that God gives property to whom He will, and that He would have no man to interfere with the distribution, which it has seemed good to Him to make.

The Christian does not affect indifference in regard to such temporal possessions. The Bible does not represent them as worthless clogs to spirituality, which are to be despised by the heir of heaven, nor as idle toys with which the weak may amuse themselves, but which the

strong in faith consider beneath their notice. They are goods, and as such are valued. The fact, that they are not the highest good, which the child of God possesses, does not relegate them to the category of evils, nor establish their worthlessness in his estimation. He has something incomparably higher, indeed; he has treasures with which, undoubtedly, they are not worthy to be compared. But this comparative insignificance is not absolute worthlessness. A sheaf of wheat is not valueless because it is not a farm. Temporal possessions are certainly not the pearl of great price. But "every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." 1 Tim. 4 : 4. The Christian regards property as good, and this not because it affords him enjoyment, but because it is a gift of God; and thus a token of God's goodness. He has physical wants as well as the unbeliever, and their supply affords pleasure. So far his enjoyment of earthly goods has nothing to distinguish it from that of the worldling. They have human nature in common. But superadded to this is his recognition of the kind hand of God in every gift; and thus what would otherwise be a creature comfort without moral bearings, becomes good in a higher sense than merely physically. The gift of a beloved friend has a value beyond that which lies in its materials, or its uses. It may be good for using, but its chief value is in the goodness which it expresses. God reveals His loving kindness in temporal gifts which He bestows, and they are good in the Christian's eye on this account. "The earth is full of the goodness of the Lord," Ps. 33 : 5, and His children are gifted with the grace to see it and rejoice in it. "O, taste and see that the Lord is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in Him. O fear the Lord, ye His saints: for there is no want to them that fear Him. The young lions do lack and suffer hunger: but they that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing." Ps. 34 : 8—10.

It is this rejoicing in the goodness of God, as manifested in temporal gifts, rather than in the gifts as means of gratifying carnal desires, that preserves the Christian from overvaluing them as possessions. Mammon-worship consists in prizing them as goods to be gained and retained at every hazard—as the chief treasure, for the sake of which every sacrifice must be made. With this carnal theory the Christian view of property has nothing in com-

mon. He, who possesses Christ, will not be in doubt whether he should relinquish his gold and his silver when they endanger this possession. If they can have property only by grieving the Saviour, so that they cannot enjoy it as a token of His goodness who is their chief joy, they cannot, as Christians, enjoy it at all, and they are taught not to desire it. "Charge them that are rich in this world," says St. Paul, "that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us all things richly to enjoy," 1 Tim. 6 : 17. The possessions cease to be good, when they cease to be gracious gifts of our Father in heaven. They are all good, "if received with thanksgiving," being "sanctified by the word of God and prayer," but not otherwise. What is obtained and used according to the divine will, is good; gains unrighteously gotten, or selfishly hoarded, or used, are "the mammon of unrighteousness," which the Christian shuns.

It is, therefore, not only not sinful to hold property, but it is sinful to neglect, or reject, the means by which, in the providence of God, it is ordinarily obtained. The Scriptures speak with manifest disapprobation of those who come to want by their own fault, while they commend those whom diligence and frugality, by the divine blessing, have rendered rich. To despise the gift, is to lack appreciation of the goodness of the Giver. When God bestows bounties, they are to be received with thanksgiving; and he who, pretending that temporal gifts are too mean to accept and enjoy, squanders his talents and idles away his time, is manifestly not honoring God. "Love not sleep, lest thou come to poverty; open thine eyes and thou shalt be satisfied with bread." Prov. 20 : 13. "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean men." Prov. 22 : 29. "He becometh poor that dealeth with a slack hand: but the hand of the diligent maketh rich. He that gathereth in summer is a wise son; but he that sleepeth in harvest is a son that causeth shame." Prov. 10 : 4—5. "He that tilleth his land shall have plenty of bread; but he that followeth after vain persons shall have poverty enough." Prov. 28 : 19. The same lessons which are so often repeated in the Proverbs, we find inculcated also in the New Testament. "When we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat.

For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such, we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread." 2 Thess. 3 : 10—12. "We beseech you, brethren, that ye increase more and more: and that ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you; that ye may walk honestly toward them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing." 1 Thess. 4 : 11, 12. It is a violation of the divine will to depend upon the gifts of our neighbor, when God enables us to eat our own bread by the acceptance of the bounties which he bestows.

But, whilst the Scriptures teach us to prize temporal gifts, as manifestations of God's goodness, and to enjoy them as such, they teach us also to confide in the wisdom and benevolence, with which they are distributed among men. All discontent and all greed for gain are, therefore, prohibited as inconsistent with the Christian character. We "believe that God hath created us, and all that exists; that he hath given, and still preserves to us, our bodies and souls, with all their limbs and senses, our reason, and all the faculties of our minds, together with our raiment, food, home and family, and all our property, and that he daily provides us abundantly with all the necessaries of life;" and it would be at variance with this faith, if we presumed to prescribe to him what should be bestowed upon us, or if we doubted that all is well as he disposes it. "Let your conversation be without covetousness; and be content with such things as ye have: for he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." Heb. 13 : 5. The Christian addresses his prayer for daily bread to his Father, and is taught to submit all to his goodness, "who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think." "Godliness, with contentment, is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare." 1 Tim. 6 : 6—9.

The Scriptures teach us to discharge our duties faithfully, in our temporal, as well as in our spiritual, calling, and to leave the results to God, neither contemning property, when God gives it, nor desiring it in greater measure than God is pleased to bestow it. "No man can serve two

masters: for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. Therefore I say unto you, take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment. Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? Which of you, by taking thought, can add one cubit unto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; and yet I say unto you that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith! Wherefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, what shall we drink? or, wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. Take, therefore, no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." Matt. 6: 24—34. The explanation of this beautiful passage, which finds in it merely a warning against bootless attempts to overcome adverse circumstances, or a rebuke of the perverse determination to be rich in spite of opposing Providence, fails entirely to exhibit the meaning. The passage shows the working of faith in God's government, which leaves the thought concerning the future to him, and is content with bread for to-day. Thus St. Peter says, in the same spirit: "Casting all your care upon him, for he careth for you," 1 Pet. 5: 7; and St. Paul: "Be careful for nothing; but in everything, by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God," Phil. 4: 6. To provide for our daily support is God's prerogative, and he would not have us interfere with it. It is ours to do what he commands us, not to select ends and adapt means to their attainment. They that *will* be rich, choosing wealth as the goal towards which all their efforts are directed, must needs take thought for the morrow. As

the end is of their own choosing, in opposition to the will of God, its attainment must be felt to be dependent on their own skill, and it is but natural that they should have anxieties respecting their future. And they who would supply themselves with daily sustenance, even though their ambition be not to amass riches, cannot, while they deem their support dependent altogether upon their own exertions, be without gnawing cares about the morrow; for who can tell whether strength will not fail, or misfortunes will not blight? It is not in the power of man so to lay his plans, and so to execute them, that his hopes cannot be baffled. The most self-reliant feels that success is by no means certain, as there always are contingencies which he cannot control, but upon which it is dependent; and this consciousness of inability to force desired results, causes anxiety. But God would have us accept his government, submit ourselves to his direction, enter into his purposes, and cheerfully perform our part in the accomplishment of his designs. This implies that the government be recognized as actually, not merely nominally, in his hands, and that the appointment of ends, and the adaptation of means, belong to him, not to us. Faith confides in his goodness and wisdom. He desires our welfare, and he cares for us. It is littleness of faith to be troubled about the result of our labor. Our concern is, merely, faithfully to perform it in the station which he has assigned us. God makes no mistakes in apportioning the work. His providence assigns to each his appropriate place, and his word requires each to be found faithful in his calling. Then God will provide, and we have no need to take thought about what we shall eat or drink. We need be careful for nothing; all that is requisite is to make our requests known unto God. Just as the child has no troubles about his daily food and raiment, while his parents are providing bountifully, the child of God is without concern, while he trusts in our Father who is in heaven, who has promised to be our Shepherd, so that we shall not want. Faith does not ask to see the supplies before it can be at ease. If the granaries and storehouses are filled, and we have provisions laid up for many years, it may seem very easy to be unconcerned about the future; and yet the man who demands sight, as a condition of confidence, has really no faith, and cannot have the quiet which it brings; for the same unbelieving disposition which cannot be at rest un-

til the means of fulfilling the Father's promise are before the eye, will suggest anxious thoughts respecting the preservation of these means, until such time as they are needed. He may be destitute to-morrow, though his garners be full to-day; and if he has no trust in God, he will be troubled with cares about the future, whether he have a supply on hand or not. But if we take our Father at his word, it is indifferent whether we see the stock, whence our daily wants are to be supplied, or whether this be hidden from our view. If we do not see where our daily necessaries are to come from, we have the comfort of knowing that their bestowal in due time is in no way conditioned upon our seeing this. We live by faith. God provides, and he does not need our supervision of his rich resources to render his providence safe and reliable. Taking thought for the morrow is, therefore, foolish, unbelieving, heathenish. We have but to take thought for to-day, that our labor be faithfully performed, and that the bounties which God has bestowed be conscientiously used according to his own will. So far as we fail to put such trust in God, which, while we labor in our calling and ask him for what we need, is free from anxiety about the morrow, so far we find in our daily littleness of faith respecting our earthly subsistence, motive and material for the petition: "Forgive us our trespasses." Man's great sin is unbelief.

With such service of God, and such trust in him, the pursuit of riches, as the end to be aimed at in life, is wholly inconsistent. If God bestows them, they are a boon which the Christian accepts with gratitude, showing this gratitude by using them as a means of accomplishing his will. If they are obtained in violation of his will, or used in the service of sin and Satan, they are a curse; and such unrighteous mammon the Christian is required to shun as a form of idolatry. "Trust not in oppression, and become not vain in robbery: if riches increase, set not your heart upon them." Ps. 62 : 10. "And he said unto them, take heed, and beware of covetousness: for a man's life consists not in the things which he possesseth. And he spake a parable unto them, saying: The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully: and he thought within himself, saying, what shall I do, because I have no room where to bestow my fruits? And he said, this will I do: I will pull down my barns and build greater; and

there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said unto him, Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee: then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided? So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God." Luke 12 : 15—21. Not the possession of wealth is damnable: this is nowhere asserted in the Bible: but the substitution of wealth in the room of God, making that the soul's treasure—this is what drowns men in destruction and perdition. The soul that is rich toward God, will be none the less rich on account of possessing temporal wealth in addition. These will only be a means of serving Him, "who giveth us richly all things to enjoy," the Christian who is rich in the goods of this world, recognizes the obligation to be "rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate." 1 Tim. 5 : 17. But the service of God does not require wealth, and whether we are to have more than a competence must be left entirely to the wisdom and goodness of God, without our being concerned about it. Seeking wealth is merely the manifestation of that rebellious spirit which is not content to let God administer the government as seems to him good; and, in his just judgment, it never fails to entail unhappiness here, and, if persisted in, everlasting misery hereafter. 1 Tim. 6 : 9, 10. Making gold one's confidence and joy, is denying the God that is above, and will be punished by the Judge. Job 31 : 24—9.

Not even the securing of a competence, is the legitimate end of the Christian's labor. His aim is to be found faithful to his God, in the station which has been assigned him, and to labor not that he may be rich, or that he may have bread, but that God's will may be done, who has commanded us to be diligent in business, eating our bread in the sweat of our face, and thus to perform service for the common good, in the Lord's name. While labor is the law, without which the necessaries of life are ordinarily not brought forth, it is, by no means, the cause of their production or supply. God can furnish them without it, if it so seem good in his sight. He has bound us to it, as the ordinary condition of obtaining them, because this is best for man. But our trust must be in him, not in our work. Upon his blessing everything depends. No diligence will secure for

us a livelihood, if he bestow it not; no industry and frugality can increase our goods, unless he bestow his blessing. The wrath of God is revealed against those who, when they have eaten and are full, and have built goodly houses, say in their hearts: "My power, and the might of mine hand, hath gotten me this wealth." Deut. 8 : 10–20. To trust in our power to perform labor, or in the labor which is performed, is just as iniquitous as to trust in the possessions obtained. The Lord alone must be our confidence in all things, and him only shall we serve.

Property can, therefore, be rightly used, only when we hold it in absolute submission to the divine will, acknowledging ourselves to be merely stewards of God's goods, which we are to administer according to the Proprietor's design and desire. What he entrusts to us, is to be thankfully and joyfully accepted as a token of his goodness; but the responsibility of the recipient, for its faithful administration, cannot be overlooked with impunity. "It is required of stewards, that a man be found faithful." 1 Cor. 4 : 2. This applies as well to the temporal as to the spiritual gifts, which God's bounty bestows. "He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much: and he that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much. If, therefore, ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to you the true riches? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is your own." Luke 16 : 10–12. The Christian's constant inquiry should be: "Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do?" and as he is sincere in his purpose to perform the Master's will, his talents and his goods, must be always ready for his service. To keep back any portion of his property from such consecration to God, on the plea that he may want it for his own use at some future day, is the sin of Ananias and Sapphira: he would, in his profession of entire devotion, be seeking credit for what he is not rendering. It is, moreover, a declaration of unbelief: for it implies that personal interest and the Lord's will are held to be possibly in conflict with each other, so that the holder of property can rest secure only when he has reserved something for himself, which is not at his Lord's disposal. It is, finally, a robbery of God; for the goods are the Lord's originally, and he has not, by entrusting their administration to us, so alienated them that he has thenceforth no right of control over

them. He has appointed us stewards, and will, in due time, call us to give an account of our stewardship. It will then be ill with him who has squandered or secreted, for selfish ends, any portion of his Lord's property. "Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation." Mal. 3 : 8—9. True piety is exercised, not in the relinquishment of the temporal treasures which God bestows, but in their use according to his will. The Christian may be rich, but his wealth will be his ruin, if he be not rich toward God.

The general law which regulates the administration of property, is that of love. It would require a very extended code to specify all the application of this law in the various relation of life. Much as such specific laws would, in the eyes of some, tend to relieve the mind of perplexing scruples and anxieties, they are neither necessary for our guidance, nor coincident with the gospel. Where charity rules the heart, it will not be difficult to find what the general law requires in the special case; where charity does not prevail, every specific regulation will be evaded. As circumstances are so different, love will not always prompt to the same course of action. It moves us to give, or withhold, as the case may require. The selfish acquisition and hoarding or consumption of earthly goods, is condemned: the grateful reception, conscientious preservation and loving use, is commended. He that provides not for his own house, is worse than an infidel; but to do good and to communicate, we must not forget.

ARTICLE V.

THE GREATNESS OF BEING USEFUL.*

By M. Valentine, D. D., President of Pennsylvania College.

In these words, Jesus presented to two of His disciples,

*Baccalaureate Discourse to Class of 1869, on Text, Matt. 10 : 45:

the sons of Zebedee, the profound principle in which their life-work was to rise into greatness. They had high, and probably ambitious aims, but knew not yet the essence of greatness in the kingdom of God. Jesus had already called them to a mission, in which their names were to reach a fame, that would fill the earth and be perpetuated in heaven. The secret of this eminence He now announces to them:—"He that will be great, let him serve." And then to exhalt useful serving, and set it forth in its true radiance of glory, He added the example of His own divine life: "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many."

You are all disciples of Christ. Your life-work is opening, and stretching out before you. Under the attraction of the varied aims of the future, and with the ardor of early years, you are about to pass out from academic life into the busy scene of practical activity. The plans and sentiments with which you pass this period will stretch on into far-reaching consequences. They will probably shape and control your whole life on earth, and send their influence on into eternity. It is a time, we believe, in which He, who taught the sons of Zebedee, and guided them to power, eminence and blessing, would hold up before your minds this truth, and summon you all, in the different spheres into which you may go, to that to which He called them:

The Greatness of being Useful.

It is this, at which you are now asked to look, as presenting the way in which life becomes a thing of true worth and glory, and reaches into blessed and enduring primacy among men, and honor before God.

Only a few considerations are needed to bring your minds into sympathy with this truth of the greatness of usefulness.

I. The fact stated in the text,—*Useful service was the all-permeating idea of the mission and life of Christ.* Our attention must rest awhile on the significance and bearing of this great fact. Jesus devoted Himself to the welfare of men, in self-renunciation and self-sacrifice, even to

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"The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many."

the extent of making his life "a ransom for many." In the new earth, which redemption is making for humanity in the midst of the world, Christ, the Lord of all, places Himself in the centre as the servant of all, and the dignities, as they rise one above another, are but approximations to the spirit and manner of His holy life.

In giving us an example that we should follow in His steps, and in making the law of usefulness the law of the kingdom of grace, Christ has put upon this law, a marvelous seal of eminence and glory. He was not only the greatest Man that ever lived, but the Perfect Man, the Divine Man. He presented humanity in pure sinlessness and greatness, as it was when "crowned with glory and honor." And more: this law of usefulness appears in Him not only as the the perfect man, bnt in Him as God manifest in the flesh, revealing the character and glory of Jehovah Himself. In *this* element of human character, therefore, we touch kindredship with the skies.

The mission of Christ, as the evangel of grace, was the evangel of doing good and serving human welfare. Of His life, from first to last, the history is written in the statement, "He pleased not Himself." He surrendered Himself to the good of the race, in toils by which the burdens of the earth should be lightened, and the gate of heaven re-opened above the earth. In every step He kept His eye on the profit of others. To do some service, was the aim of His daily life. All over Palestine, in village, country, desert, on mountain and sea, in the house and by the way, through temptations, teaching, self-denial, poverty and reproach, through prayers and miracles and tears, groaning in the garden and dying on the cross, He whom you follow, pursued this design and set forth this idea. He has set this above every other aim and element of life, the very essence of excellence, the very diadem of beauty. It is the very way in which He was able at last to say, I have glorified Thee on the earth—I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do."

The full significance of this fact is not always considered. Men are often ready to adopt other aims of life than the glory of God in the good of men, and marshal their activities under the command and control of other motives, in the notion that this Christian call to usefulness is a summons, not only to humility, but to a career intrinsically inferior to their ambitious secular plans. But look at the

mission of Christ. What He adopted, as the law of His life, cannot be an inferior principle. When He came to exhibit life after the heavenly conception of greatness, and worthiness, when He was presenting the Model, according to which, under recovering grace, humanity is to be trained and guided back to an eminence higher even than that from which it fell, when He was illustrating the character that alone will be permitted to walk upon the heights of immortality, these earthly aims and ambitions, wealth, self-seeking, worldly applause, had no place in it, were excluded as too low, sordid and little; and the spirit of a loving usefulness was exalted and made all-pervasive and controlling. In *this*, were united the glory of God and the happiness of man. And everything else is made to fade away and disappear in this, as the stars disappear in the presence of the sun. The light of Jesus' life rebukes, as low and foul, the sentiment which looks only to the care of self, or personal aggrandizement, and forgets or repudiates the holy mission, assigned by Heaven, of doing good in the world, and making it better.

II. A second fact—*The constitution of the human powers is adapted to this design.* It is one of the great ideas that lies wrapped up in the primal adaptation of our faculties. The example and call of Christ do not summon us to something, for which our nature was not framed. Not only has man faculties *with* which he may serve, but they are set together in the unity of a free power, or personality, in which a sense of obligation to usefulness is deeply and ineradicably imbedded. Their very structure and adaptation point to this, as included in their design, and conscience sits in their centre directing men to the duty, and holding them to its fulfilment. We are not, indeed, to confound this obligation to usefulness with the false ethics of utilitarianism. It is true that utility is not the essence of morality. Action is not made right by its being useful, but that which is good becomes useful from its being good. The moral faculty decides, intuitively and directly, the moral character of action, independently of all calculation of serviceableness. But the point here is, that the Conscience, in its immediate perception of rightness, affirms the obligation to promote the welfare of our kind, and make our lives a holy power of benefaction. It affirms for usefulness the glory of being right, and declares it an end, to which we are bound. No decision of the

moral faculty, is more unquestionable than that which condemns for the *omission* to act, in the midst of an opportunity to be useful. Its voice concurs, with the clearest emphasis, in the apostolic declaration, "To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin." The omission, by the self-reproach it brings, proves itself a violation of an inner consecration, given through the laying on of the hands of God in the organic adaptation and structure of powers. On the other hand, the calm satisfaction which fills the mind in the retrospect of unselfish service done, can only flow from the deep harmony of the act with the great design, written by the finger of God in the adjustments and law of our nature. It is the authoritative and clear testimony of our own being to the excellence, worthiness and greatness of the deed.

Some one has said that the mind has been made for truth, and truth for the mind. They have been made for each other. God has thus pointed out to man, that he is to have his true life, joy, and glory in truth,—not in error or falsehood. There is deep philosophy in this statement. But in the same way, our powers have been organized and obligated to usefulness. They have all been correlated to the sacred office of serving beneficial aims. This is our Creator's consecration of us to doing good. It constitutes His commission and charge, as when He paints the flower and gives it its perfume, it is His call to display its beauty, or as when He fills the sun with streaming light, it is His consecration of it to the service of bathing distant worlds in brightness.

It is significant that the mind of even heathen sages discerned this duty and recognized its glory. Self-renouncing devotion to the good of others and to the public welfare, is distinctly acknowledged as part of the noble design of the human powers. It was felt to bind each individual to lively sympathy with the race, as in the well-known words of Terence, "I am a man, and no human interest is foreign to me." So deep was the conviction of this duty in the heart of the Roman emperor Titus, that at the close of a day, in which he could recall no good done to any one, he exclaimed, "My friends, I have lost a day!" The thought of Cicero grasped it clearly and strongly when he wrote, "Nothing is more suitable to the nature of man than beneficence; and in the human race there is no

better nature than that of those who look upon themselves as born for the service, care, and aid of others."

III. As a third consideration, and consequent upon the truth just presented, recall the fact, that *the moral approbation of the race is given to the serviceable and useful life.* The first place in the hearts of men is accorded to it. It stands highest in the real esteem of mankind. It may not, at first sight, seem so. The glare and pomp and pageantry of wealth and power may appear to eclipse the honors of usefulness. But the stir and noise of life are not a just and reliable expression of the deepest convictions, and permanent approval, or affection, of the race. The crowd that follow in the showy train of wealth, often despises its possessor, and forsakes, him when his riches fly away. There was nothing in him to admire or honor. The applause that waits on power and position is known to be false and hollow. The boisterous demonstration must not be mistaken for true affection or permanent honor. But as buds and flowers recognize the presence of the warm sunshine, and open to it, pouring out all their fragrance upon it, so do the approving love and gratitude of the race respond to the pure presence and activity of a useful life.

This law of usefulness is the one under which, if at all, men come into eminence among their fellow-men. It is only to those who have ministered to the good of others, and done service to mankind, that the world accords the name of great. The eminence is marked and grand in proportion to the labor of the service, or the breadth of the domain, over which the benefit extends. Even in the apparent exceptions to this rule, the honor has been rendered under the impression that its subject has achieved some signal service. The false ascription of honor is canceled when the mistake is seen, and the supposed beneficent career is discovered to be one of wrong and injury to mankind. So clearly is this fact recognized, that no man ever thinks of rising into primacy among his fellowmen, or the honors of real eminence, except by doing, or pretending to do, some service that will call their attention and win their gratitude.

Consult the testimony of history. Does not the honor, in which the patriot's name is shrined, find its secret in that it is believed he has served his country well? Is not the fame accorded to the man of science explained in

the fact that He has enlarged the field of knowledge, and pushed discovery into results that give new channels and productiveness to enterprize? Is not the author held in high esteem, because he has opened new truths for the contemplation of the race, or thrown forth stirring thoughts that give culture and enjoyment to men? And even among rulers, does not the heart of the race place them highest who have been most completely servants to the welfare, and advantage of their subjects. And passing more distinctly into the domain of beneficence, has History marked anything as so truly great and worthy as Philanthropy, and deeds of noble self-sacrifice? Has it not put a brighter than kingly crown on the Pauls, the Luthers, the Howards, the Wilberforces of the race? The honors of useless wealth, or of proud place and power have been as nothing, compared with the homage of human hearts to these benefactors of their kind. Poets have measured their strains to the praise of doing good, and sung of "kind hearts as more than coronets," fixing in deathless verse the names of men

> "By their good deeds exalted, lofty minds,
> And meditative authors of delight."

But why should we overlook that peerless illustration which our text itself supplies? No where else has there ever been such a dedication of energies to pure usefulness as in Jesus. Most truly and touchingly was our Redeemer among us as one that served. But it is in having made Himself servant of the race, that he is coming into its homage. It was even in being "lifted up," to do good and secure human welfare, in giving himself a very ransom, that He is drawing the hearts of all men unto Him. He is coming thus into the throne of all the earth; and to Him, because He is their Redeemer, every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things in earth." And if any among His followers want to be first in the kingdom, formed in the restored order made by redemption, the direction is, let him lay aside his worldly notions of greatness and become servant of all in doing good. Even in the remote approaches to the self-abnegation and serviceableness of Christ, now seen in the activities of souls in themselves too rich and noble and full of honor to live "to be ministered unto," or for any low and selfish aim, but given to the high service of ministering to others the blessings, with which their own

hearts are changed,—in even these remote approaches to the way of Christ, men are already becoming partakers of His greatness and His glory.

IV. Another point to be remembered is, *that the spirit and activities of usefulness become the means of an ennobling development of character.* In the fact of necessary growth of character are wrapped up most momentous and far-reaching consequences. Whether character shall rise, or descend, in the range of moral worth, takes hold of each man's intrinsic being and the imperishable interests included in it. If it is in the right direction, he unfolds into the greatness of redeemed manhood, and goes up into kindredship with the pure beings of God above him. If it is in a wrong one, the very nature of his being is deteriorated, and he descends toward the inferior conditions which depravity and sin have caused to stretch downward into ever deeper moral deformity below him.

Now the deep philosophy of development is found in exercise. Though the ascent is made under the uplifting grace of God, it is conditioned in activity. The direction in which the intense activities are bent, under controlling aims, marks the line of the expansion of power and the progress of character. He is moulded and colored by the purposes that command his thought and activities. If he is ever stretching forth to something pure and great, his character is ever passing into purity and greatness. It is one of the uplifting methods of the gospel, to engage their hearts and energies in good aims. Much has been said about the *ideals* men set before their love and admiration, as becoming the instruments of their progress and exaltation. They raise men up into the higher types of intellectual or moral power, or charm them on toward yet unrealized degrees of virtue and excellence. But this example of Christ is higher and more potent than any *ideal* created in the imagination. It is *God's* ideal of character, actualized. Rising, under this law of activity, toward the model of the perfect life, you reach the truest greatness by usefulness. Your hearts are thus opened to the incoming and expansive power of all generous and holy sympathies. Your views and plans stretch out farther into the great world of human interests and enterprize. You come into living fellowship with the purest and noblest efforts of the good. Your character gathers breadth and richness. You have seen persons who are

making their lives of no use to the world, whose only concern is self and secular advancement; and their souls, dwarfed to the measure of their little aims, have hardly an element of manhood left that you can admire or love. They have been shriveled up to the smallest possible dimensions of human soul. But the philanthropic and useful man has developed into magnanimity and worth. In the measure of real being, *there is more of him.* He has been laying up treasure in himself, (Gal. 6 : 4.) until there is an opulence of real wealth and glory in his being, which *death* cannot touch, and which he will carry as spoil from time away to the skies.

All the activities of usefulness are great because they are the true fruits of *love*, and carry the soul still farther up into it. Love is of God. God Himself is love. Love is forever to be the great heart of the moral universe. Its pulses are to send life and joy to all the circumference. Every good deed is a throb of this life. All self-sacrificing useful aims are its inspiration.

Unquestionably, the unfolding of character in this direction is one reason why God has called His people to so much self-denial and service in His Church. All the peerless blessings of grace, missionary evangelization, and Christian civilization, are to be given to the nations, through the instrumentality of their benevolence and labors. Christians are called to the relief of sorrow, the overthrow of error by the truth, the instruction of each generation of the young in the precious Gospel, the elevation of society and the multiplication of the blessings of life. It is part of Heaven's loving design to give them the benefit of the spiritual culture, involved in this work. His design is not found alone in the evil relieved, the truth spread, or the Gospel proclaimed, but also in the training of His people into blessed and needful character. It is a noticeable feature of New Testament beneficence, that men are summoned to do good much for its own sake, and for its culture in grace. In calling men to work, *we* are apt to base the plea mainly on the great *need* to be met. We point to the crying want, the suffering, the darkness. But the apostles, apparently to give us the deeper secret of God's making men the medium of His benefactions, hardly mentioning this consideration, have largely urged the call by the necessities and excellence of the worker's own spiritual culture. When the poor Chris-

tians at Jerusalem were in great suffering, and the apostles solicited relie fof the Gentile churches, their letters, sen there and there, contained no touching rhetorical painting of the distress to be removed. The duty stood endorsed in the higher necessities and utilities: "*See that ye abound in this grace also.*" Growth into *love*, that "seeketh not her own," but "is kind," is in the eye of God, more than simple relief of physical suffering. God's plan makes every thing subservient to character.

V. Once more—*through this element of character, man is restored to harmony with the divine works and the constitution* of the universe. This is included in the design of that redemption, in which the Son of man came to minister, and to give His life a ransom. It means, in raising character out of the selfishness and littleness of sin, to place it again in unison with the universal frame around and above him. The play of man's self-seeking is a constant discord in the divine system.

It is Lord Bacon who says: "It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself:—All things that have affinity with the heavens move upon the centre of another, which they benefit." In the old Ptolemaic theory of the universe, we of the earth looked upon ourselves as the centre, and all things as circling about us. The false position, we thus assumed, made it impossible to have order, consistency, or harmony in the system. The one error ran its discord all through. It was only when the Copernican view discovered the centre outside of us, and set the planets in revolution round the sun, that order and agreement became possible, and we of the earth came into the singing harmony of God's great material universe. The false position Ptolemy gave our earth, sin has given depraved and blinded man. We, too, must be restored to the true system of the heavens. And in Christ, giving us our true centre, out of ourselves, a greater than Copernicus is here.

The law of usefulness, not of centering aims in self, is the law of the whole material creation. Into this plan and spirit, everything has been framed, from shining worlds to smiling flowers, from immortal seraphs to ephemeral insects. So fully is this recognized, that it is looked upon as an inexplicable phenomenon, almost staggering faith in the goodness of God, when even the

smallest part of nature is found apparently useless. The conviction of the race assumes that God's plan *must* mould and unify, as He has done, everything in this idea of love and benevolence. The flower that opens by the wayside, has no end in itself, but ministers beauty to the landscape, and pleasure to man, awakening glowing ideas of the Divine wisdom and skill, and cultivating in his imperishable nature, his higher aesthetic powers. The old oak that has stood in the corner of a field for half a century, has long been made to serve the birds of the air and the cattle of the pastures, and waits its time to die for man and furnish material to build his house, prepare his food, or make the instruments of his industry. The fountain which gushes out of the earth, comes forth to serve, and achieve a mission of usefulness, making the music of the mountains as it leaps down their rocky sides, drawing lines of fertility and rich productiveness through the sweet valleys, quenching the thirst of the thousand dwellers on its banks, turning mills, moving noisy factories, weaving rich cloths, helping to form channels of commerce in the broad river, on till it ends its course in the ocean, whence, in vapor and cloud, it goes back to the mountain to repeat its mission under this law of usefulness. The hills and fields receive the light and showers of God, not to waste or neglect them, but to give bread to the eater and seed to the sower. The seas hold their waters for the sails of world-wide trade, and to fill the fountains of the valleys and mountains, and irrigate the breadth of all the continents. The deep strata of the earth, formed in geologic periods, looked to an end visible only to the Omniscient eye across the interval of unnumbered ages, treasuring up the wealth of metals and coal, to give to man, who should come in these late years on its surface, the mighty sinews and appliances of an effective and happy enterprise. Looking up above us, we see the moon receiving the solar beams, not to hold, but to reflect them down into the nights of earth. The distant stars that seem to keep sentinel on the outskirts of Jehovah's dominions are not outside of this grand harmony of the creation, as they give home to myriad inhabitants, send out their lines of gravitation to help keep other worlds in their orbits, and even give distant rays for the beauty of our nightly sky and the mariner's guidance over our stormy seas. And thus, around us, be-

low us, and above us, God has written in nature the rule: "*To do good, forget not.*" Every thing is marshaled to this idea. From centre to circumference no note can be in harmony but those attuned to this plan. In this is the music of all the spheres,—the high and joyous music, pleasant to the ear of God. And the great voice of redemption that now sounds through the earth, offering renewing powers of grace, is a call to *man*: "Up, up into the harmony of God's works—up into the unity of Jehovah's mighty universe."

Young men, we desire to impress you, to-day, with the glory and blessedness of giving your lives fully up to the control and power of this law of usefulness. It is a life that lies in that divine element of love and goodness which animated the life of "God, manifest in the flesh." It is that to which the adaptation of your powers has consecrated you. It is that which the conscience of the race crowns with the purest and most enduring honor. It is that, which will unfold your character into the best and noblest manhood. It is that which will bring you into the harmony and fellowship of the great universe of God. The duty is made imperative on you all, by the fact that GOD has called you to this—CHRIST has redeemed you for this. Let not ease or pleasure be your aim. Let not yours be a life of indifferentism. Let no sordid ambition of wealth or position control you. Let yours be the holy ambition, to live a *useful life*. This should determine your calling. It should animate all your course in it. Some of you may enter into business, some into the medical profession, some the legal, some the holy ministry of reconciliation. Every man, as conscience and the Providence of God, and this law of usefulness, shall direct. But into whichever you enter, and wherever you go, your glory will be, that your life have the inspiration of goodness, and you *serve* your generation well. It may not be easy to resist the appeals of selfishness, pleasure and sin, and hold your aims and energies in this high plane of Christ-like moral life and service. But you will fall below your proper worthiness, unless you do so. To be true to yourselves you must make your life a perpetual benefaction. This is an attainment possible to all. You may not all be wealthy, or rise to eminence of place or power; nor is it of the first consequence that you should. But you may all be useful, and make your presence a

blessing, wherever God shall put you. Usefulness is not possible, only through extraordinary conditions, striking undertakings, or prominent acts. It is by meeting all the opening opportunities, and filling your daily lives with the spirit and activities of Christain duty and love. It is by using all your powers and influence in the spirit of consecration to serviceable aims. Remember, glory is not in possessing talents, but in using them aright. Be public-spirited, enterprising. Never be wanting when work is to be done. Never be absent, where truth and right are struggling into victory over the powers of error, sin, and wretchedness. As from the sun by day and the moon by night are issuing light and guidance, so let constant influences proceed from you to instruct, guide, cheer and bless others. You can make your life as a clear and shining light, in which many will rejoice to walk.

Why should you not? With but a short time to live on earth, what will selfish or carnal purposes amount to, after a few brief years? It will be of little account whether you rose to wealth, or power, or ostentatious pleasures, but oh! it will be of grandest account, whether you have lived in the accomplishment of the mission of service and blessing that God sets before you. Count not your life a success in any other way. It is melancholy, often, to see to what low and sordid ends, talent, and culture are devoted, and how little use to the world, men make themselves. We look for better things from all of you. We ask you to choose the glory of usefulness. Let your attainments in science, literature, and mental power be consecrated, to the service of Christ, and every good cause. Quit you like men, and be strong. This will make your life on earth a happy one. And as you shall have sown bountifully in God's husbandry on earth, you will reap bountifully in the recompense of grace for ever. You will share in the only distinctions which the heavens know—piety and usefulness:—"They that be wise shall shine as the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever."

ARTICLE VI.

THE CHINESE PROBLEM.

By Rev. J. A. Kunkelman, A. M., Philadelphia.

"Behold, these shall come from far; and, lo, these from the North, and from the West; *and these from the land of Sinim.*" So prophesied Isaiah, more than two thousand five hundred years ago. It is generally conceded, that by Sinim is meant China. If so, that prophecy is now being fulfilled. Already more than two hundred thousand Chinese have landed in America. By this movement, no doubt providential, and for the accomplishment of a divine purpose, the continent of Asia and America, and the religions of Buddhism and Christianity, are brought face to face.

If the immigration from China shall be, to its population, in the same ratio as that from Germany, in ten years the Chinese will equal, in number, all other races among us combined. This fact alone, will give some conception of the magnitude and importance of the social, political, and religious problem that is upon us, and demands solution.

The question very naturally arises, what will be the probable result of the coming among us of this immense foreign and heathen element? Unless the history of the future, shall differ from that of the past, a conflict of races, and of religions also, must ensue. Every Christian, and every patriot, is deeply interested in the final issue. Shall Pagan, or Christian civilization prevail? Shall Buddhism, or Christianity, be predominant? Heretofore, in the conflict of races, the stronger religion has generally decided the question. Should this be the test, we might have some fear, as the issue would be between the tens of millions of our own nationality, and the hundreds of millions of Asiatics. But that it will be the increased glory of our nation, and the enhancement of our national influence, every lover of his country fondly trusts. And that heathenism will be assimilated to Christianity, and not the

reverse, and that Christ's kingdom on earth will be greatly enlarged thereby, every believer in the divine work may confidently expect.

To the end that an intelligent opinion may be formed upon this great question, let us search the records of history for information concerning this ancient, but, to us, new people.

Their History and Present Condition.

1. *Their antiquity.* Their existence as a nation, dates back at least two thousand six hundred and fifty years before Christ, and embraces a period of more than forty-five centuries. This takes us up, through the ages, nearly seven hundred years before the birth of Abraham, and almost, if not altogether, to the time of Noah. Their traditions say: The great progenitor of the Chinese, is named Fohi, and that the earth's being wholly covered with water, just preceded the appearance of Fohi on the mountains of China.

It is supposed that after his descent from the Ark, Noah migrated to the East, and became the founder, and the first king of this ancient nation. It may be mentioned here, as an interesting fact, that Chinese historians assert that they discovered and described the American continent fourteen hundred years ago, or one thousand years before it was visited by the Spaniards under Columbus. They called it "Fusany," after a tree that grew there, which, from the description given, must be the same as the maquay tree in Texas, Mexico, and on the Pacific coast.

They state further, that five hundred years after Christ, Buddhist priests visited Fusany, and brought back the intelligence that they met with Buddhist idols, and religious writings in the country already.

2. *Their territory and population.* This ancient empire covers an area of about five and a half millions of square miles. It comprises nearly one-sixteenth of the habitable globe, being double the size of the United States, and next to Russia, the largest on the face of the earth.

Its population is variously estimated at from five hundred millions to six hundred millions, being about one-half that of the whole human race.

3 *Their civilization.* The Chinese are very proud of their civilization, and it is of a much higher order than is generally supposed. It has all the advantages of age, for

it flourished, when the Christian nations of the present time were still in the darkness of paganism. And, although necessarily very different from ours, both in its character and results, it is certainly very respectable, in its way, and, in many respects, is equal, if not superior, to ours. Excepting steam engines and electric telegraphs, the Chinese have had nearly every modern invention in use for many centuries. They first discovered the properties of the magnetic needle, and the compass was brought from them into Italy, in 1260. They fix the production of porcelain at as early as 185 B. C. The use of gun-powder they claim to have known as far back as the time of Moses, although its invention has been ascribed to Schwartz, a German alchemist of the fourteenth century. The art of manufacturing paper, was brought from China to Samarcand, A. D. 651, and thence spread over Europe. Printing books from engraved blocks, said to have been invented in the beginning of the fifteenth century, was known to, and practiced by the Chinese, from the most remote period.

Their, cities and towns, in number and population, rival the greatest metropolis of any age, and their social structure is as firmly settled as that of any other country, being united in one system of manners, letters, and policy. So far as their history is known, they have been remarkably free from all species of revolution, not unfrequently a whole century intervening without a single convulsion. Street fights, assaults, and murders are almost unknown among them, though they resort to assassinations in time of war. Duels are wholly unknown, and they consider a resort to force a proof of an inferior civilization.

The Chinese are described as a pre-eminently quiet and inoffensive, cheerful and kind-hearted people. They are said to be remarkably industrious, and as free from vice as pagan nations generally. They have great aptitude for trade, and in some kinds of manufactures will excel. Though not distinguished for their genius, they have wonderful powers of imitation. China produces strong statesmen, men of great business enterprise, and men distinguished in the professions. It is said that one of the most skilful and popular physicians of San Francisco, is a Chinaman.

4. *Their education and literature.* Although it may seem to be a very broad assertion, it is said, that in no country

in the world, is education so general as in China. It may be remarked, in support of this, that Dr. Ellinwood says of the Chinese in California: "It is a grave error to suppose that the Chinamen, who come to our shores, are simply so many coolies. Every grade and every calling is represented, from the wealthy tea merchant down. Probably no other people, who come among us, are so generally educated. All read and write, and the amount of their home correspondence, is remarkable for a laboring people." The secret of this is, that the government itself fosters the higher branches of learning, by supporting colleges in the cities and towns, while the primary schools are well sustained by municipalities and private individuals. Schools abound throughout the empire, affording the best instruction at a cheap rate, and, as a consequence, the knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, is almost universal. A further incentive to education is found in the fact, that distinction in public life is attained only by scholarship, and the only means of acquiring office, honors, and emoluments, is by proficiency in letters.

Of all literature, the Chinese is said to be the most ancient, the most varied, and the most voluminous. The expense of publishing great works on history, philosophy, and the arts and sciences, is defrayed, not by individuals, but by the government; and these works are given to libraries, high officials, and institutions of learning. And notwithstanding the clumsiness of their printing apparatus, printed books are cheaper in China than anywhere else. Thousands of small volumes circulate in all the towns, and every distinguished man has a library. The most illustrious patrons of learning, were the emperors themselves.

Some idea of the extent of their literature may be formed from the fact, that, in 1818, a catalogue was published, containing the caption of seventy-eight thousand six hundred and twenty-seven volumes. These are divided into:

a. Classics, which are again divided into ten sections, which treat of Transformations, Annals, Chants, Rituals, Commentaries, &c.

b. History, Biography and Geography, comprising fifteen sections.

c. Works on Education and the Professions, in fourteen sections, embracing primary education, war jurisprudence, agriculture, mechanic arts, medical works, dictionaries, &c.

d. The department of Belles Lettres, so voluminous, that

want of space forbids even an enumeration. An historical, statistical, and geographical library was produced by *Matuan-lin*, consisting of three hundred and forty-eight books, and embracing a period of nearly forty centuries.

The most ancient universal dictionary in any language, is the *Si-Wun*, by *Hi-Si*, written one hundred and forty eight years before Christ. And the greatest of all dictionaries, in any language, is the *Pei-wen-yun-fu*, consisting of one hundred and thirty thick volumes. It was printed at the imperial expense, distributed among the mandarins, and is very rare.

5. *Their religion.* It is a noteworthy fact, that all the great religions of the world originated in Asia—the Jewish, Brahmin, Buddhist, Christian, Mohammedan. The prevailing religion among the Chinese, is Buddhism. In this system, the moral and intellectual forces of this great people have been gathered.

It takes its name from Buddha, a deified priest, better known as *Sakgamuni*, who appeared about five hundred years before Christ. His history is somewhat legendary, but is full of interest. It is said of him, that, while in the fourth heaven, he determined to save the world, and was born the son of a king, and of Maya, yet a virgin; that he was born amid great miracles, and as soon as born, most solemnly proclaimed his mission; that he was tempted by Mara, the god of woe, sin, and death, but withstood his enchantments and terrors; that he became a teacher, on the banks of the Ganges, made many disciples among the multitudes that flocked to hear him; that he wrought many miracles, and sent forth his pupils as apostles; and that he was opposed by the Brahmins and others, because he admitted the impure and outcasts to the privileges of religion. All this sounds very familiar, and at once recalls the history of our blessed Lord.

Buddha professed to be a reformer of Brahminism, and proposed to substitute a mild and humane code for its cruel laws and usages. Hence he rejected the authority of the Vedas, the sacrifices, and all the Brahminic rites.

Buddhism was at first simple, ethical and rational, and opposed to mythology, scholasticism and priest-craft. It was humane and benevolent in the highest degree, and called all men, without distinction, to its fold, opening to all the way of salvation, which it teaches can be attained

by purity of conduct. Sakgamuni said, "There is but one law for all; severe punishment for crime, and great reward for virtue."

The first period of Buddhism extends from Sakgamuni, to its recognition as the state religion of the Persian empire. During this time three councils were held, the third two hundred and eighteen years after Sakgamuni's death, and three hundred and twenty-five years before Christ. The elders of the third council sent out apostles to preach in foreign lands, and their labors were rewarded with great success. It is recorded: "Buddhism carried the elements of Indian civilization to many a savage tribe; broke up many a cruel custom; and became a blessing to the greater portion of Asia." It is now found in Turkey, China, Farther India, Japan, Tartary, Siberia, and Swedish Lapland; it numbers two hundred and ninety millions of souls; and has temples and monasteries in abundance, all filled with statues and sculptural deities.

Concerning the *doctrines* of Buddhism, not much need be said. It maintains that nature is a vacuity, an unreality, an illusion; that the worlds are from the net-beginnings, in a continual revolution of arising and perishing, this rotation having no cause, and, hence, no beginning; that the world is governed by destiny, the universe being the result of the morality of breathing beings, and destiny the product of their merit and guilt; that original sin, in a former existence, is the fountain of all evil, awakening sinful desires, its ultimate conquest being the aim of life and effort; that all good and bad deeds are balanced against each other, and determine the destiny of each individual; that pain, is birth, age, disease, and death—the meeting with what one dislikes, the separation from what one loves, and the failure to obtain what one strives for; that the causes of pain are the desires, lusts, and passions; that the gods dwell in twenty-six or twenty-eight heavens, of different grades, and that there are one hundred and thirty-six hells, of various degrees; that monsters, and many of the damned, are re-born as men, and that those of the lower heavens, rise higher.

Their morality is endurance, patience, submission, and abstinence. Its nucleus is a general love for all beings, and, hence, it commands to love our enemies, to offer our lives for animals, to abstain from even defensive warfare, to gain the greatest victories by conquering one's self, to

avoid all vices, to practice all virtues, to be obedient to superiors, to cherish and respect old age, parents, learning, and virtuous and holy men, to provide food, shelter and comfort for men and animals, to plant trees on the roads, and to dig wells for the public good. The final good of Buddhistic salvation, is the uprooting of sin, by exhausting existence. This will be accomplished by the absorption of the individual life of believers into God, and by the reduction of unbelievers into nothingness.

The priest must have good health, conduct himself with propriety, have no property, and live on alms, for which, however, he may not ask.

The Buddhists despise no religion, and have never waged religious wars. Polygamy is not countenanced, but is tolerated where it existed before Buddhism was introduced. Monogamy is the rule, and women, in general, are better treated than under any other oriental religion. How sad to reflect that, after all, Buddhism, being destitute of divine revelation, is simply paganism, though it must be admitted, of a high order.

Again the question arises, what will be the probable result of this contact of races, of Paganism with Christianity?

A possible result, it being true that history generally repeats itself, may be inferred from what has already been, under similar circumstances. The contact of the Israelites with the heathen nations resulted in the corruption of the former, and their sad fall into the practice of idolatry. The Roman empire, having stood seven centuries, and its population, including the Huns, Goths and Vandals, having reached the astonishing figure of one hundred and twenty millions, could no longer bear the strain, and went down under the weight of its own corruption.

We have in our midst, even now, foreign elements of the most dangerous character, and if to these should be added the powerful influence of Buddhist paganism, we may well feel that great danger threatens our social, political and religious institutions. Nine years ago, at the celebration of Paine's birth-day, in Cincinnati, it was publicly resolved: "That the light of reason, science and common sense, has clearly demonstrated that the Christian Bible is not a divinely inspired book, * * that it abounds in irreconcilable contradictions about the nature, and moral attributes of God, * * and teaches, by precept and

example, a doubtful and contradictory system of morality, far behind, and repugnant to, the high moral sentiment and refinement of this enlightened age, and is evidently a work of human origin, written in a dark and ignorant age, by ignorant and superstitious priests."

In 1865 the "Radical Germans" met in Indianapolis, in a series of resolutions, held this language: "The appointment of days of fasting and prayer, the Sunday constraint, the oath on the Bible, the opening of legislative assemblies with prayer, the exclusion of infidels from political rights, &c., are direct violations of the Constitution; they make out of religion, which can, and should, be only a private matter, a state business."

And these sentiments are applauded, and boldly avowed by tens, if not hundreds, of thousands in our midst. Having this dangerous element among us, openly attacking God's Word, and our most holy religion, we may well start at the thought of having super-added to it, millions of the pagans of China and Japan. It must be borne in mind, too, that whilst our Constitution does not invite, it does throw the ægis of its protection over every form of religion. In Art. I, of Amendment to the Constitution, it is said: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or of prohibiting the free exercise thereof." There is nothing to prevent the erection of heathen temples and pagodas all over our land, and the introduction and practice of idolatry on every hill and in every valley of this vast domain. Already have these pagan rites been celebrated in Washington and New York, and on the Pacific coast.

But will they not be Christianized? We hope and pray that they may; yea, we cannot but believe that to this very end they are being brought among us. And yet, as the wise builder will count the cost, and the wary leader will carefully consider the number and strength of his adversary, it will be well to consider some of the difficulties in the way, which must be overcome, or removed, before we dare be confident of success.

The first is their strong attachment to the faith they have held for centuries. As it was hard for Israel to give up Moses for Christ, so, too, we may believe it will be a long time before these people will forsake Buddha and receive our blessed Saviour. The second is, they are a unit in their religious belief, while we are divided, and sub-

divided, and it will be difficult for us to make them believe that our religious condition is better than theirs, which must be done, if they are to abandon theirs, and adopt ours. The third is, that although their harsh treatment is in no wise to be attributed to the spirit of Christianity, but has been in spite of it, they regard this as a Christian nation, and will judge the system by its fruits. The impression made in this respect, in California, will not likely hasten their exchange of Buddhism for Christianity.

And yet we dare have no doubt as to the ultimate result. We believe that God has reserved to himself this great country; that it has been consecrated to him with prayers, and tears, and blood, and will not fail to accomplish its mission; that the cause of Christ will here be rooted and grounded, overcome every obstacle, and fill the whole land, even as the waters fill the channels of the great deep; that God's Word, which we possess, is the leaven which shall leaven the whole lump; that it is the seed which shall spring up and extend its branches over the whole earth.

Yes, they whose mighty barriers immured themselves, and excluded the nations for centuries, are now, in obedience to the divine will, and in fulfilment of the divine purpose, coming from far, from the land of Sinim, from the gloom of heathen darkness, to this land of Bibles, of churches, of Christian rites and ordinances, to the earthly Zion, on their way to the heavenly Jerusalem.

Heaven speed their coming, and may the heralds of the gospel meet these "celestials" on the shores of the Pacific, and point them to the cross, to the Lamb that was slain, and to that celestial city, whose maker and builder is God!

ARTICLE VII.

THE ASCENSIONS OF CHRIST.

By Rev. G. N. H. Peters, A. M., Springfield, O.

Dr. Neander, in his His. Ch. Vol. 1. p. 295, gives us the following in a foot note: "Considering the close connection in which the resurrection of Christ and his ascension to heaven stood with each other in the Christian conscious-

ness,—since his resurection was regarded as but a transition point to his entire exaltation above the region of the earth in this new, glorified form of existence,—I cannot lay so great stress on the manner in which the writer of this letter expresses himself with regard to Sunday: 'ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς.' Nor can I think myself authorized to infer from it, either that according to the author's opinion, Christ's ascension also occurred on Sunday, or that he conceived the fact to have been that Christ rose to heaven immediately after his first appearance to Mary as the risen Saviour." This note is appended, by way of explanation, to the following sentence in the text: "In the Catholic epistle ascribed to Barnabas, at the close of the fifteenth chapter, Sunday is designated as the day of jubilee in remembrance of Christ's resurrection and ascension to heaven." With a due appreciation of the vast historical acquirements and eminent ability of Neander, we must confess that we cannot receive his interpretation in the note as a consistent exposition either of the language of Barnabas or of his own text. In the latter he admits, what every critic must do, that the grammatical structure of the language in the epistle of Barnabas, does, on its surface or in its literal meaning, teach that Sunday is the day both of Christ's resurrection and ascension, In the former, he endeavors to explain this away by linking the idea of the ascension with that of the resurrection; the ascension being either an outgrowth or blending with the resurrection, or as he expresses it, the "resurrection was regarded as but a transition point to his entire exaltation." Leaving the question whether Barnabas possessed the learning to originate such a philosophical conception, we are willing, for weighty reasons, to abide by the literal rendering of the words used by Barnabas.* The explicit language of Barnabas, in giving the

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*The reader must not misapprehend the writer's position. Barnabas is not adduced to prove the correctness of any doctrine. The truth depends for its support on Scripture, to which I shall shortly refer; human testimony is only valuable, in such a case, by showing that the Christian consciousness of others, has also received and appreciated it. More than this, if we can show, that a believer who was a disciple of the apostles and under their direct instruction taught the same doctrine that we hold, derived from the Scriptures, it is an agreeable kind of confirmation—a churchly response,—of our

reason why he and others observed the eighth (that is, the first) day of the week, is as follows: "Therefore do we celebrate the eighth day with joy, because on that day Jesus both rose again from the dead, and having appeared, ascended into heaven." Some in rendering the passage into English make it more significant by saying: "and having appeared, also ascended into heaven."* For the reader's

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faith. It would, however, be futile, in the estimation of some, to attempt the latter, for they would persist in telling us that Jerome and Eusebius, whilst admitting the writer to be Barnabas, pronounced the epistle, denominated by Clement, Origen and others "the Catholic epistle," an apocryphal or uncanonical performance. They would hold up many who have rejected it, and mainly, as I apprehend it, on account of the Chiliasm and Chiliastic interpretation of the Abrahamic covenant which it contains. On the other hand we might appeal to the general use of this epistle and the high estimation, in which it was held in the first centuries; to Vossius, Dapius, Dr. Mill, Dr. Cave, Dr. Burnet, Dr. S. Clarke, Archbishop Wake, Bishop Fell, Whiston, Smidt and many others who have esteemed it genuine, and whose testimony is worth the more on account of their having either no, or but little, sympathy with its Chiliastic views. Especially might we refer to the more recent finding of the original Greek bound together with one of the most noted and valuable of the MSS. of the New Testament; which fact has produced a revolution in the minds of its former opposers. So remarkable is this discovery, so opportune its connection with the New Testament, (indicating how highly it was esteemed,) that but lately conversing with one of the most talented and learned men in our denomination, on the subject, he unhesitatingly expressed his opinion that it must be regarded genuine and declared his surprise that others could reject a testimony, so overwhelming as this discovery produced. Therefore whilst holding to its validity and appreciating its worth in the exhibition of the Abrahamic covenant, yet I am willing to regard it only in the light of a composition given to us by a Christian in the first century. Even in this aspect, waiving the question of its authorship, it is of considerable importance in that it affords us an opportunity of observing how believers in that early age regarded and explained the Scriptures, Barnabas' epistle is presented in this aspect alone; and I contend that, whoever was the author, he had a correct appreciation of the ascension of our Lord. For proof of this we must necessarily ascend from Barnabas to the men divinely commissioned to testify to the facts in Christ's history.

*Judge Jones' Notes on Scripture, p. 515.

information the ancient Latin translation is thus given: "*Propter quod agimus diem octavum in lætationem, in quo et Jesus resurrexit a mortuis, et apparuit et ascendit in cælos.*" Undoubtedly Barnabas declares that both a resurrection and an ascension of Jesus occurred on Sunday, and assigns this as a reason why Sunday is observed by them.* That such is the meaning, is apparent from the numerous criticism given by his commentators. Let me select two† instances to illustrate. Menardus in commenting on this passage, without the least hesitation, pronounces Barnabas guilty of proclaiming a false view. He says: "*Hic videtur dicere Christum ascendisse in cælum die Dominica, imo eodem die quo resurrexit, quod falsum est.*" Hefele, in his edition of the Apostolic Fathers, pointedly asks: "*Nonne Barnabas Dominum die Dominica ad cælos ascendisse contendit?*" Without detaining myself on a point that must be already evident to every one who considers the passage, let me now direct attention to arguments derived from undisputed authority, which, more than all others combined, will confirm us in the opinion broached by Barnabas, viz: such as are afforded to us by a comparison of Scripture.

I. There must have been more than one ascension because we have two places, totally different from each other, specified from which Jesus ascended to heaven. In the final ascension, which took place on the fortieth day (hence on the fifth day of the week or on Thursday) after the resurrection, Luke informs us that Christ ascended (Acts 1 : 12) "from the Mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a Sabbath day's journey." And yet in his gospel, this same writer tells us that Christ "was parted from them and carried up into heaven," after he had "led them out as far as to Bethany." Luke 24 : 50 —51. These places are distinct from each other, for the

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*Ecclesiastical historians inform us that the early Christians on Sunday prayed standing, whilst on other days they kneeled in prayer. The reason given for this diversity is, that Sunday being the day of the resurrection, that joyful event occurring on the first day should be duly noticed by a position indicating exaltation &c. Let me suggest, if Barnabas is found to be correct in his statement, may not a deeper reason underlie the assumption of the posture of standing in praying on Sunday?

†Quoted by Judge Jones, Notes on Scripture, p. 515.

one, Bethany, is fifteen (John 11 : 18) furlongs distant from Jerusalem and the other, Mt. Olivet, is only five furlongs (so, says Josephus) distant. The decided evidence of Luke is that in the one instance Jesus only journeyed "a Sabbath day's journey," whilst in the other, he went a little over twice the distance. If the journey in its exact length were not given, we might be prepared to receive the ingenious glosses and conjectures, employed by some commentators to rid themselves of a difficulty. We might admit that that whole region was called Bethany, that it was called Olivet, that Bethany being situated on a slope of the Mt. may be included in the name, but all* such theories are purposely met by the description, the minute detail, of the distance passed over, evidently to guard us against the very mistake, into which so many, even of the great and learned, have fallen. We cannot agree that these ascensions are the same, for the simple fact confronts us, that it is irreelvant and contradictory that Luke, had he intended to make them identical, should, in a matter of the gravest importance, present the same event so diverse from each other in the two narrations. If we carefully examine his two accounts of the ascension, the one in the Gospel and the other in the Acts, we find not only a difference existing in name of place, the distance passed over, but also in the words spoken, the things that were performed, and in the circumstances sorrounding them,† thus confirming the idea, that he describes two different ascensions. The ascension mentioned in Acts 1: occurred on Thursday

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*Other theories are substituted, such as the supposition that there were two places called Bethany, the one nearer to Jerusalem than the other. Reland shows that all the itineracies indicate but the one Bethany. Another ingenious explanation, given by Larrey, is that by Bethany we are to understand the road to Bethany. The explicit declaration, "He led them out *as far as to* Bethany, is fatal, the *crux criticorum*, to all such expositions.

†See Judge Jones' *Notes on Scripture*, where these are handsomely grouped together and contrasted. It would require considerable length to enter fully into details. The object of the writer is not so much to convince any one of the truthfulness of his position, as to suggest the subject in a form that may induce thought and reflection in others.

the fortieth day after; this is so distinctly announced by reference to the context that no one disputes it. If we let the context of the gospel account explain the ascension at Bethamy, we find that it falls on Sunday. It is admitted by able critics, that from verse first to verse fiftieth of chapter twenty-fourth, down to the statement of the ascension itself, there is no break in the narrative. The chapter begins with "Now upon the first day of the week," specifies his resurrections, his appearance "that same day" to the two disciples going to Emmaus, the return of those disciples "the same hour" to Jerusalem, the reappearance of Christ the same day to the eleven, and then in immediate connection and direct reference to the same day (for no change of time is intimated) it is added: "And he led them out as far as to Bethany, &c." If the account of the ascension were only recorded in Luke's gospel, then, judging simply from the context and the continuous, uninterrupted narrative of the events of the first day of the week, no one could form any other conclusion than that the ascension took place on the same first day of the week, or Sunday. Should we find such a connected relation of events, limited by its specifications of time, in any other author aside from the Scriptures, we should at once adopt the interpretation, just suggested. We see no reason why the verses, portraying this ascension, should be wrested from the preceding context and be applied to another ascension, described in Acts. To do this is a violation of the narrative itself, is virtually an impeachment of the veracity of the Evangelist, making him contradictory in his testimony respecting the place, distance &c., and is only increasing, unnecessarily, the difficulties of interpretation. Letting the two accounts, written by the same man, written under the guidance of the Spirit, speak for themselves, we conclude from what has already been adduced that the ascension from Bethany occurred on Sunday, on the same first day of the week, thus remarkably corresponding with the opening sentences of Acts, in which Luke assures us, that he closed his former treatise, the gospel, with "the day in which he was taken up," and yet afterward proceeds to give us another account of an ascension.

II. We now invite attention to what some commentators assert is the most difficult passage, connected with this part of Christ's history, viz: to John 20 : 17. "Jesus

saith unto her Touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to my Father." This Scripture is only made difficult and dark when the literal sense is discarded, and the word, properly rendered, *touch* is changed into something else that the original will not bear, and the perfect and present tenses of the word translated *ascend* is unwarrantably transformed into the future* tense. Christ addressed these words to Mary to whom he first manifeted himself after his resurrection. The main, the great difficulty in the passage to those who hold to one ascension, is this: Why does Jesus forbid Mary, to touch him and assign as a reason for not allowing this personal contact, "For I have not yet ascended to my Father," when he afterward, before the ascension of Acts 1:, permitted the women and the disciples to thus touch him. They cannot rid themselves of the simple implication that follows, viz: that if he had ascended, she might then touch him without rebuke. Now it is evident, that so long as the notion of a single ascension at the close of the forty days is prevalent, just so long will it be impossible for any one to give a solution to this difficulty, allowing our version as well as the original its due literal meaning. With such, the only way that they can meet the embarrassment is either to append, or change, the words as stated, or else to state that this belongs to the secret, unrevealed things of God, about which we ought not be over curious. On the other hand, let us accept the language Barnabas, confirmed by the Scriptures, and we find this very passage, so troublesome to others, easily comprehended. Without resort-

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*How often is the student saddened to find, when searching for information that may throw light on some obscure or difficult passage, commentators who, in order to preserve a pre-determined consistency of interpretation, are willing to append new meanings to words (although under the feeble guise of "probably" "perhaps" &c) and change the tenses of verbs to suit their own convenience. I had intended to give a specimen on this verse from a very popular, and in some respects, able, commentator, but forbear lest the comparison might be regarded as invidious. When will men of learing, learn to deal justly with every portion of God's Word, and if unable to explain any passage or sentence according to its plain meaning, why not frankly acknowledge it. Some, to their honor be it said, do so, and such are ever regarded as the most worthy of confidence.

ing to a substituted meaning, or the least change of any part of it, we are enabled to understand how the literal, plain meaning, attached to the verse, is fulfilled and by a comparison with other Scripture may even entertain a correct idea, why it should be fulfilled in this manner. The reader will notice that Christ appeared to Mary on Sunday, and that on the very same day the prohibition, not to touch him, was withdrawn, for on the same Sunday (Luke 24 : 39 ; Jno. 20 : 25) he told his disciples "handle me and see" &c. Before his final ascension he was touched by many women and disciples. It is apparent therefore that the reason which, in the first place, led Christ to forbid Mary to touch him, was the same day removed ; it existed no longer. But how removed? The answer is irrisistible and consistent, and consists in this: Between the time Mary saw him, and his manifestation to the two disciples he had ascended to the Father, yea even between the time He addressed Mary, and the time, one of the companies of women, (Matt. 28 : 9) "came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him."* This accords with what immediately follows: "Go to my brethren and say to them, I ascend to my Father, and your Father, to my God, and your God." Let the reader be so indulgent as to pause here, and reflect, why Christ should, at this juncture, send a notice or message of his ascension to the Father when, if he was only to ascend at the end of forty days, he could have, if so conditioned, communicated it in person. Let him also consider that Christ uses a present, emphatic tense, suitable to a contemplated present ascension. Surely this language has a deeper significancy than that usually assigned to it, for it denotes that that

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*For a chronological arrangement of the events connected with the resurrection and for a harmonious reconcilement of apparent difficulties, I respectfully refer the reader to Judge Jones' Notes on Scripture, (since the Judge's death the title has been changed and the new title has escaped my remembrance,) one of the very best expositions on the subject, for which the Judge was eminently qualified by his legal experience in sifting and comparing evidence. It is sufficient for my present argument to remind the reader, that we have the most positive assurance that Jesus first appeared to Mary and to others subsequently. Thus Mark 16 : 9 "Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene &c."

speedy departure to the Father, of which he had previously spoken was then, at that very time to be accomplished, and therefore he sends his disciples word by Mary, that he was just then about to execute the promise previously given.

This view is strengthened, when we come to consider why Jesus should thus ascend on the first day of the week. Whilst we cheerfully and reverently admit that reasons beyond our knowledge may exist, why this should be so, yet we also feel that what the Scriptures may reveal either directly, or indirectly, on this point, is worthy of being pondered and appropriated, especially if it may serve to honor and exalt the Saviour in our hearts.* Jesus himself gives us a clue to the mystery, when toward the close of this same Sunday, after his message, ascension and return from the Father, he appears to his disciples and says: "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me." Let us turn then to these Scriptures and see, whether they contain anything that should make it, to say the least, suitable for Christ to ascend on that particular Sunday before any one should touch him. (1.) In reference to the fact

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*The reader will bear with me, when I say that the fulfilment of these types, not directly stated but left to be inferred, and to be sought out, is to my mind a strong confirmation of the inspiration of the gospels. If mere human compositions, the type and antitype would have been duly and constantly presented, whilst on the other hand under the guidance of inspiration an array of facts is given, testifying as they do of the Divine, leaving out, purposely, the relation that they sustain to types (even in the paschal supper &c.,) that they may be left to the research of others. Such a search results in a constant, growing faith in the Redeemer, the mission of the Apostles &c, producing a cumulative proof, to which he is indebted only to the Scriptures. This designed omission was, no doubt, intended, among others, for the following reason:—to avoid the charge that the history of Christ was by its writers all pre-arranged and constructed to tally with preciseness to these types. The manner of writing, whilst thus unobjectionable, thus more forcibly teaches, when contrasted with what was demanded in typical ordinances, that the history of Christ was all indeed pre-arranged (foreordained) by the Divine will.

that previous to his ascension no one should touch him, we refer to what is stated of the Jewish High Priest before he was allowed to enter into the Holy of Holies. The Priest was bound under a penalty of death to a due preparation, whilst all others were excluded from the tabernacle. He was to enter alone, and all others were not permitted to be with him, lest his peculiar, distinctive office should be impaired, yea, lest even the slightest touch of those, in whose behalf he was thus officiating, should convey a ceremonial or actual pollution.* If in ordinary circumstances, in the conveyance of the sanctuary and its appurtenances, the sons of Kohath were not permitted to "touch any holy thing lest they die," much more would this be observed in the person of the High Priest after his special cleansing, when he officiated once a year in the most holy of all the Jewish appointments. All will agree, from the application made by the Apostle Paul in Hebrews, that this High Priest is, in thus acting, a type of Christ. Moreover, from Heb. 9 : 11—12 &c., all will admit that the earthly Holy of Holies is a type of the upper Sanctuary. These two facts being admitted, the rest is plain. If the type is fulfilled as carefully as the type of the paschal Lamb, then it follows that just as the Jewish High Priest was not accessible to the touch of those, for whom he acted, so our High Priest before entering the upper Sanctuary could not allow Mary or any other person to touch him. The blood had been shed, but the Priest must also, ceremoniously pure, in order to fulfill all that was written, enter the Holiest place of all,—the special abiding place of the Father. The narratives of the Evangelists, when correctly apprehended, teach this beautiful, astounding fulfilment.† Thus, again,

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*See Lev. 16 ; Ex. 30 ; &c. Also Brown's Antiquities Vol. 1, p. 543. Horne's Introd. Vol. 2. p. 127 for particulars of this officiation.

†I purposely pass by the interesting question why he showed himself, previous to his ascension, to Mary, and that person, a woman. This would necessarily lead to an extended branching out on a subject foreign to our present purpose. May I here add, what a brother in Christ, who may honor this article by a perusal, will understand, that the remarkable fulfilment of the typical paschal lamb in Christ's yielding up his life at the very hour or time (three o'clock) when this Lamb was slain, and the astonishing fulfilment of the High

we perceive, why this Sunday, the first day of the week is selected for the ascension, in order to avoid the touch of others after the sacrifice is offered, previous to his entering Priest-like, the Holy of Holies. (2.) But a weightier reason for the latter, viz: to thus select Sunday, is found in the temple service of this first day of the week. This period, so far as that service is concerned, is significant of Christ, for it was no *mere coincidence* that Jesus was slain during the feast of the passover, that various typical adumbrations were realized in the antitype, that the very time, appointed for the paschal lamb to be slain, was also, the time in which he died, and that on the third day he should arise from the grave to meet the typical requirements of what was foreshadowed in the temple. Every reader is acquainted with the divine ordinance, instituted by God in connection with the passover, viz: that a prescribed oblation followed the sacrifice. The Jews were prohibited from gathering in the harvest, until they had offered to God the Sheaf, or first fruits, of the harvest, otherwise the harvest was not properly sanctified. The Sheaf thus brought before the Passover* "was laid up before the Lord until *the morrow after the Sabbath*," when it was brought out and waved before the Lord, and it is briefly but emphatically stated, "to be accepted for you." Some writers inform us that these first fruits gave notice, that the gen-

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Priest's functions on the day of his resurrection, are facts that intensely thrill my heart. The more we contemplate them, the more confirmed do we become in the God-manship of Christ.

*See Lev. 23 : 9—16 ; Ex. 23 : 16—19 &c. Also Horne's Introd. and Brown's Antiq. I will only add that some writers inform us that it was customary (Jones' Notes on Scripture) to gather this Sheaf the evening before the Passover, and that this was obtained across the brook Kedron, and hence tell us: "At or near the time, and near the place, it is probable, where this Sheaf was gathered, our Lord was apprehended." Let this be as it may, I have no doubt that Jesus himself, who saw Nathaniel under the fig tree, beheld this Sheaf and its significancy, whilst enduring the agonies of crucifixion. The Paschal Lamb, the one type he certainly noticed, and as the second type is intimately blended in its fulfilment with the first and existed at the same time, his mind,—Godlike in its comprehensiveness,—would embrace both. This suggests some interesting thoughts, but they are of a nature that will arise in any one who acknowledges and adores the divine in the man Jesus.

eral harvest would also be gathered,—forming thus, a pledge of God's continued good will, &c. This is true, only that we find more contained in it than the idea of a pledge. This Sheaf is a type of Christ, who is represented to us under this figurative action as "*the first fruits.*" He is thus called, in view of this resemblance, by the Apostle Paul, "the first fruits" and "the first fruits of them that slept." 1 Cor. 15 : 20—23 &c. In the argument of the Apostle, he confines himself simply to the doctrine of the resurrection, and infers as "the first fruits" were gathered from the dead, so also shall the harvest from the dead be gathered at his coming. The doctrine of the ascension is not touched, only by way of implication, and it would not carry out the full typical significancy of the Sheaf, were it only confined to the act of resurrection. This Sheaf was gathered, according to the divine ordinance, and kept, until the Sabbath was past, and on the morrow after the Sabbath,—the first day of the week, or Sunday,—was it brought forth and waved, as an oblation or offering before the Lord, and the Lord *then accepted it.* It is not recognized by the Almighty as accepted, unless the condition imposed by the ordinance is fully carried out, viz: it must be presented or waved *before him.* We see in the paschal lamb how Christ is both the victim and the Priest, necessarily so, and here again he is the Sheaf and the Priest. Now to verify the type and make it valid, he must in his Priestly character present this Sheaf *before* the Lord. How will he do this, and where will he do it? Certainly not as the Jewish priest did here on earth, and not in an earthly temple which is a type of better things. To meet the conditions of the type, it is requisite that the Sheaf should be brought into the upper Sanctuary, where the Lord, the Father, acknowledges its acceptance and through this very acceptance gives us the assurance that Paul exhibits, when writing concerning the resurrection of the just. Yea, more than this, by the acceptance of this Sheaf, God pledges himself that that harvest of the righteous ones, to which the first fruits belong, shall be holy, thus establishing the promises relating to the future glorification of that harvest, seeing that by virtue of the presentation of this Sheaf, the special blessing of God is secured upon the harvest * But when shall this Sheaf be

*The intelligent reader will allow me, in this connection, to sug-

thus presented before God? The answer is direct: As Christ died at the very time the paschal lamb was slain, so should he present himself before God on *the same day* that the first fruits of the harvest are offered before the Lord. This was done on Sunday by the earthly officiating Priest and so, we say, this was also done on the same day, in a higher, nobler sense, by "the High Priest of our profession," by his ascension to the Father, as he directed Mary to tell his disciples.

Thus having contributed, by an appeal to Scripture, some material on the subject that may be conducive to meditation upon, and thoughtful consideration of, the ascension, we will now conclude with a few additional thoughts or reflections, several of which may more clearly elucidate our views and prevent a misapprehension of our position.

(*a.*) From what has been said, the reader is prepared for the announcement that there were, at least, several ascensions. We have already shown that we are compelled to discriminate between the ascension from Bethany and

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gest another thought for reflection. It occurred to me whilst writing to ask the question: Was not the resurrection of those mentioned Matt. 27 : 52—53 conditioned by the typical character of this Sheaf? No harvest could be lawfully gathered by the Jews, until this Sheaf was offered according to the divine command, so no harvest of the saints is proper before the divine Sheaf (if I may so call it) is presented before the Lord. Hence the narrative of Matt. stating that the graves were opened at the crucifixion, but that the saints "came out of the graves after his resurrection" fully accords with the type of the Sheaf, seeing that it was presented before the Lord, by Christ's ascension on the day of his resurrection, previous even to his showing himself to his disciples. As to the real nature of this harvest, if it may thus be called, that is, owing to the exceeding brevity of the narration is a difficult point. If Chrysostom, Cyril, Mede and many others, especially of the early Christians, were correct, then it would be a real harvest, like unto the one at Christ's coming. Again, if conditioned by the Sheaf and its antitype, then also it would settle the question when they arose, at Christ's death or after his resurrection. For my part I do not feel authorized to give any decided opinion respecting this resurrection, receiving it as a fact, whose relation to other truths may yet be satisfactorily solved by some student of God's word.

the one from Mt. Olivet. The places are different, the distance, &c., is diverse, the one from the other. But we are equally obliged to distinguish between the ascension from Bethany, and the one referred to by Dr. Neander in his note or Barnabas' epistle, viz: "That Christ rose to heaven immediately after his first appearance to Mary as the risen Saviour." We have seen how, as the antitype, he ascends on Sunday; next, as the same antitype, we recognize in his prohibition to Mary not to touch him contrasted with the type, the High Priest, how he ascends before any one, for whom he enters the Holiest place, shall touch him. From Luke we learn that, on the same day toward evening, he invited his disciples to touch him and we also find that on the same day several women touched his person without his forbidding them. Therefore we are driven to both the conclusions deducible, as Dr. Neander intimates, from the language of Barnabas, that Christ both ascended on Sunday and immediately after his appearance to Mary. In no other way can we consistently, without altering a word or tense of the narrative, reconcile the statements made concerning it or the events connected therewith.* Admit several ascensions and the difficulties are at once removed; for we find no discrepancy existing in the important testimony of the same inspired writer, either as to time or place, or distance, and we also will then consider the address to Mary and the message forwarded to the disciples through her, indicative of a high purpose in fulfilling all that is written concerning him. The fact is, that in comparing the gospels, we are forcibly reminded that Christ frequently appeared and disappeared. Is there any passage that forbids the idea that, during the periods of his disappearance, he had departed or ascended to heaven? We know of none, but on the contrary, by analogy, considering his appear-

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*Rejecting the idea of more than one ascension, the commentator at once places himself in a very embarrassing position, which is but too plainly seen in trying to make out that Mary is rebuked for clinging to, or embracing, or even intending roughly,—in her delight,—to handle Jesus, whilst the allusion to the ascension is tortured into a construction that she need not thus embrace him, for he will not leave her now, intending to remain awhile longer on the earth,—"*Non statim ascendo.—adhuc versor in terris.*" Can this be called an exposition of such plain, definite language?

ance, whilst in heaven with the Father, visibly to Patriarchs and holy men as the Angel Jehovah, his appearance to Paul after his final ascension described in Acts 1:, we are far from believing that his ascensions are even to be confined to these three. The first one being invisible is not directly mentioned; the second from Bethany being seen by a few chosen followers, is stated; the third, being witnessed by a larger number or being designed for a particular purpose, is described to us; the others, being also unseen are for that reason not mentioned.*

(*b.*) The design of these ascensions is another matter, that will serve to confirm this view. Leaving out of consideration those intermediate ones, whatever their number may be, intended or brought about to confirm the doctrine of a valid resurrection, to impart instruction and to convince the intended witnesses of his acceptance and power with the Father, we shall confine ourselves to the two, which stand forth pre-eminently, as a confirmation of the truth. (1) The ascension immediately after our Lord's interview with Mary first deserves our notice. This was not witnessed, and necessarily so, in order to fulfil the type. The Jewish High Priest was not visible to the people, when entering the inner temple, seeing that the latter were separated from him.† Previous to his entering in, he may

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*Some to weaken this argument, tell us that Christ, daily conversed with the disciples; but even if this were granted (which we do not) it would be no valid reason for rejecting our view, seeing that Christ can ascend to heaven and return the same day. To give it force, the objector must show that such power is denied to our Lord. The reader will no doubt be pleased to peruse the following extract from Jones' *Notes on Scripture*, if only to be reminded of the fact in its relation to the subject in hand. He says: "According to Mill, some MSS. add to Acts 10 : 41 after the word συνεπίομεν the words καὶ συνεστραφῆμεν. Hence, it has been inferred, by some commentators that our Lord, during the forty days following his resurrection, went about with his disciples in social daily intercourse, as he did during his public ministry. The expression in Luke 24 : 44. ἔτ' ὢν ὑμιν, is quite sufficient to confute this idea and justify the common reading." Let me add, that, according to Dr. Knapp, writers have only been able to adduce ten appearances of Christ during the forty days. This, however, let them be more or less, does not affect the argument.

†It may occur to some one that the vail separating the most holy

have been seen, just as Christ was seen by Mary previous to his priestly act. Christ in all things, to sanctify the harvest, yea, to make the atonement valid, according to its typical prefigurement, fulfils the conditions of the ordinance, and, acting in the capacity of High Priest, goes

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place from the inner temple, being torn, the Priest could be seen even from the court of the temple. To this we answer, that the vail being merely rent from top to bottom (was the rent purposely in this direction?) we may rest assured that Jewish prejudice and Jewish notions, respecting the profaning of the Holy of Holies would speedily repair, if but temporarily uniting the rent, the damaged sustained, particularly before the day of atonement. But more especially, Christ in thus fulfilling the type is not merely considering that typical performance of the High Priest as it specially related to that particular time still future, seeing that for many centuries before this type was exhibited in exact accordance with the ordinance prescribing it. This ordinance Christ followed. In this light the rending of the vail assumes a variety of interesting aspects, aside from the power manifested in rending so thickly a woven curtain and from indicating the ending of the Levitical economy. It points out to us that Jesus in bringing the first fruits, and the blood as an offering before God, simply followed the type, as it had previously been performed in other passovers on the eighth day, and in the atonement. For, the vail, that thick and highly elevated tapestry, was rent at the very time the true High Priest had sacrificed, the true passover was slain. This at once taught that the functions of the High Priest in the temple were all ended. He could do no more, for another High Priest had forestalled his office. What he, and his predecessors had only shadowed forth, another had now fulfilled and was fulfilling. Leaving this reflection, it may also be proper to remind the reader, that even if the vail were not repaired, and Christ must be confined to the still future act of the High Priest, yet that Priest in the temple would still be invisible to the people, owing to there being a second vail which separated the holy place from the court in which (the latter) the people congregated. To avoid misapprehension in the mind of the ordinary reader, we here say that our remarks only apply to the presentation of the Sheaf, in union with the other offerings, for the High Priest only entered many days after into the Holy of Holies on the Feast of Expiation, or Day of Atonement. Christ, as the rending of the vail intimates, separates in his priestly office the two feasts by a few days, viz: the Passover and the Feast of Expiation,

alone, without being touched and the prying eye of curiosity, or the look of amazement fastened on him, into the most Holy place, the upper Sanctuary. If we recognize the type as verified in the antitype, *then* must we ascribe that peculiar and transcendent efficacy, usually attributed to the last visible ascension, to this private ascension. To comprehend this subject rightly, we must keep in view that, in the Priestly character assumed by Christ, he joins, with the presentation of the Sheaf and his previous sacrifice, that great and solemn act which was, some time after the Passover and the waving of the Sheaf, performed by the High Priest in the great Day of Atonement, viz.: to enter into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, the most holy place, with the evidences that a sacrifice had been offered in the outer court, or door of the tabernacle, and by thus proceeding, the divine assurance was given, that the sacrifice for the sins of the whole people was accepted. This act of entering into the most holy place is originally confined, not to the feast of passover but, to another feast, nevertheless seeing that the sacrifice is made and that the Sheaf is to be presented, this official function, this most solemn part of the Priest's work, thus necessarily becomes united with the paschal and first fruit proceedings. Still it is to be regarded as a specific Priestly work of Christ, and included, as it is, in this first ascension, embraces two points, the first in importance, the presentation in the upper Sanctuary of the evidences of the sacrifice made by him, the second of scarcely less magnitude, the presentation of the Sheaf or first fruits to ensure the sanctification of the harvest, both being virtually united, because the latter is dependent on the former, just as the sacrifice precedes the waving of the Sheaf. Viewed thus, this first private ascension, far from being designed as a testimony for men respecting either the atonement, or, its results, is intended to carry out fully that which was typically represented as intimately connected with the Priestly office of Christ, and hence has a more particular reference to the Father. It is the solemn act, by which the Priest, separated from men, and the God who commissioned him meet, the former to present the tokens commanded, the latter to vindicate by the reception of this Priest into the most Holy place, that what that Priest has done is amply sufficient to protect the heavenly from all impurity in granting the forgiveness of sins to all in the nation who confess

their sins and exercise faith in the Priestly sacrifice and offering. Much might here be said, how this crowning act foreshadows the moral purity of God's government and evinces both the justice and mercy of the Father, but sufficient has been said to lead any one, who wishes it, into a consecutive train of thought on this point. We leave this part then by remarking, that what many commentators and theologians generally say respecting the relation of the last visible ascension to the atonement must be understood as referring to this first, private, unwitnessed ascension. If the High Priest under the Levitical economy is a type of Christ, as all admit, we ask, must he not *especially be such*, when engaged but once a year in the most important of all his functions? If so, will not the antitype fulfil his typical character in this identical respect? We say, unhesitatingly, reverently, thankfully, Yes, he will! Then we add: It is not sufficient to confine ourselves to saying, that by this ascension he gained the confirmation of his mediatorial position; he became the prevailing intercessor, he obtained all power, as God-man, to carry out the divine purposes &c., &c. All this is true and more blessed truths can be added to the number, and yet, keeping the type in view, the plain, simple fact impressingly fastens its convincing witness upon our minds, that this first ascension was indispensably necessary to secure the validity, the recognition, the full complete acceptance of the sacrifice by the Father. So the Apostle argues Heb. 9 : 14—24 &c., and therefore it follows that Christ on this first day of the week, yet untouched, ceremoniously clean, appointed to present the Sheaf, was engaged in one of the most astonishing of his Priestly offices. (2.) The last ascension from Mt. Olivet is also given for a special purpose. We have already seen how it is to be distinguished from that of Bethany, owing to place and distance and time.* Events then occurring would likewise

*The reader perhaps, like the writer, lays but little stress on tradition when not confirmed by Scripture, and yet, when such a confirmation however slight is noticed, he may be inclined to regard it as worthy of some consideration. Tradition, even in the earliest period of the Church, declares that the summit of the mount, and that the middle summit, is the place of ascension. *Reland's Palestine.* This accords with the distance required from the language, and may I add, with Zechariah's prediction of the place where the Lord's feet shall stand on his visible return. Zech. 14 : 4.

aid us in discriminating between the two, but it may suffice to refer to one only. This was a visible ascension, designed to enable his disciples to testify to one of the great truths, to which all others sustain a mutual relation, underlying Christianity. As it was to be the final one, and lest they should apprehend that he would continue to appear unto them, at intervals as before, angels are specially commissioned to explain the fact, that at his future return he would only come, in the same, visible bodily striking manner, in which he left them. Before this, his appearance was sudden, unexpected in their midst, without their being able to see his descent. This corroborates the meaning attached by some critics to the phrase, Luke, 24: 51 in the account of the ascension from Bethany, "διεστη ἀπ' αυτων,—he withdrew a little space from them," and then, after this removal, ascending to heaven. For it is supposed, that nothing being directly said that the disciples saw Christ ascending, it was unseen by them. As to the latter, we cannot, on account of the brevity of the language, and the peculiar language used being susceptible of several renderings, vouch for its correctness, and indeed it is not necessary. This much we can, however, say, that the other ascension from Bethany being somewhat doubtful as to its visibility, we can apply, with appropriateness, the intended design of a visible ascension to the last which is undoubted, certainly established. To avoid undue length, it is sufficient to declare that many of the reasons given by commentators and theologians for it are to be received, whilst those specified as belonging in a pecular sense to the first ascension are all indirectly thus confirmed. Almost any writer on the subject presents them, such as, to enable the disciples to give a distinct testimony respecting him, to show that he had finished his work relating to that period on earth, and that it was requisite for its continuation and completion that he should ascend, that his Priesthood should be continually manifested in the upper Sanctuary, that his intercession and advocacy with the Father were constantly required in behalf of his own brethren, that the Spirit under this intercessory interposition might be given to all and in an especial manner to his witnesses and their contemporaries, that it indicated a complete, perfect Saviour, in all respects adapted to redemption, &c. We may, perhaps, find an additional reason, if we keep in view the typical temple service. Christ appeared at various

times during the forty days, in order to prepare his disciples for coming events by instructing them on several topics, but why was this done only forty days? Why not one hundred days? If we turn to Moses, we ascertain that precisely fifty days after, on the fiftieth day the second Feast is held, viz: the Feast of Pentecost, or the Feast of Weeks, or Feast of the Harvest, or the Feast of the Day of First Fruits.* We have seen how the Sheaf is taken from the barley harvest,† the harvest nearest to the slaying of the paschal lamb, from which the type to be exhibited so soon after the sacrifice is therefore taken;—here we see another feast representing the first fruits also, but in a different form. Instead of a Sheaf, the exact counterpart of the harvest in its bodily form, these first fruits are of the wheat harvest, that wheat that is finally to be gathered,‡ —is typically presented to us in a new form, viz: in *two*

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*See Ex. 34; Deut. 16; Ex. 23; Numb. 19; as cited in Horne's Introd. Vol. 2. p. 126.

†The reader will pardon me, for reminding him that originally Moses only instituted three great annual Festivals, viz: the Feasts of the Passover, (at the beginning of the ecclesiastical year) of Pentecost and of Ingatherings or Tabernacles, (the latter at the close of the year.) Moses afterward added two more, the Feast of Trumpets and the Feast or Fast of Expiation. The others introduced at later times by the Jews, such as the Feast of Purim, Feast of Dedication &c., possess no typical import, whilst the highly typical Festivals of the Sabbatical year and of the Jubilee are not annual feasts, recurring, as they did, statedly after the lapse of a certain number of years. Christ has thus fulfilled three of these annual feasts, those of the Passover, Pentecost and Expiation. The question is, will he also see to it that the rest are met in the antitype? With the apostolic Fathers and many others I firmly believe, with rejoicing, that he will thus verify it, in an extraordinary fulfilment, in which the inchoate fulfilment of Pentecost will also be repeated on a grander scale. This is only penned to be suggestive, for I cannot dwell on the sublime and happy results once so pointedly prefigured and which still direct the eye of faith into a blessed future.

‡Some writers inadvertently (like *Ency. Relig. Knowl.*) have stated that the Sheaf was taken from the wheat harvest. This is evidently a mistake. Horne, *Introd.* Vol. 2. p. 126 gives it as the barley harvest, (so others,) and that he is correct, see his remarks on the harvests.

loaves of bread, made and baked with *leaven*, (Lev. 23:17.) These the Jews are to "bring out of your (their) habitations," as "the first fruits unto the Lord," with certain offerings, (Numbers 28 : 22) indicative that they are accepted through an atonement. These first fruits are, accordingly, described to us under a new aspect, under a leavened form, ready for use, prepared for the table. The forbidding the use of leavened bread, in connection with other observances, is evidently intended to protect and secure this typically leavened bread of the first fruits. What does it design to typify? Christ, as the first fruits, under the idea of Bread that is perfected,—adapted to our use, by the partaking of which we obtain life, and through which the wheat harvest is sanctified. Let us here tread cautiously, but firmly, looking alone to the inspired Word for information. Jesus, as John teaches, was always the Bread, before he came, and whilst he was tabernacling on the earth, and yet after he suffered and gave his life as a ransom, this Bread is declared to be thus perfected,—previous to his own death, it is the *unleavened* Bread; after his death, it is the *leavened* Bread.* As the apostle Paul says (1 Cor. 10:17, 18): "We are all partakers of that one Bread," but with this difference, that the Jews, under the Levitical economy, eat of it, whilst still unleavened,—that is before it passes through the entire process (if it may, to carry on the figure, be thus called) required by the law of God,—yet in a form foreshadowing what was demanded by the holiness and justice of God. On the other hand, we, who believe under the present arrangement, eat of it in its leavened state,—that is, after it has passed through all the requirements demanded for its perfection, seeing that "it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things in bringing many sons (the harvest) unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation (the first fruits) perfect through sufferings." (Heb. 2 : 10.)† Who does not,

*Seeing that both unleavened and leavened bread are types of Christ, it makes no difference whether we use the one or the other in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. If there is any difference, then, taking into consideration that we live after his crucifixion, the leavened bread is preferable, being the most significant.

†The writer keeps in view Luke 12 : 50 "I have a baptism to be baptized with and how am I straitened till it be accomplished." What-

in this connection, think of this passage: "Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered, and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all that obey him." (Heb. 5 : 8, 9.) (Query : Do the *two* loaves indicate the God-manship of the Christ—the relation that the divine sustains to the incarnate, and from hence, the relation that the divine sustains to the human in the future harvest, or, ought we not to press the type thus far? It may be immaterial, and it may possess a deep meaning.) This will be more clearly appreciated, if we ponder the wonderfully expressive words of Jesus recorded John 6 : 51—53, &c. After telling his disciples that he was the Bread, he adds: "The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day" &c. "So he that eateh me, even he shall live by me, this is that bread which came down from heaven" &c. Now observe closely what follows: These words gave great offense and even the disciples "murmured at it" and said, "This is a hard saying: who can hear it?" What does our Lord do to allay this feeling? He directs attention very briefly to two things, viz: to the ascension, "What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before," and to the Spirit, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth," &c. Why these two references, if they do not in some way stand related to this Bread. They do, for as to this ascension the allusion, proved by the after history of these same murmuring disciples, is: Wait until you see my ascension to heaven and then you will no longer murmur but gladly acknowledge that I am the true Bread that comes down from heaven ;—and as to the Spirit, this has respect, to the fact that it is through the power of the Spirit that this Bread is made efficacious and the harvest is secured. The glimpses of sublimity, of earthly beauty that shines forth in this parallel between the type and the antitype, warns us not to press it too far, not to be too eager to penetrate into those

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ever idea of exaltation and glorification may be connected with the phrase "made perfect," it also necessarily embraces that which was to be "accomplished." The reasons will occur to the reader and need not be repeated.

mysterious temple services, lest we, in our ignorance, should, inadvertently, mar any portion of those interesting revelations. This, however, we must add to unite the threads of our reasoning: this last visible ascension is specially designed, not merely to give faith in that Bread, but, to meet the type of the perfected Bread. That type was exhibited on the day of Pentecost, therefore his ascension precedes that time, in order to unite with the day of its exhibition a second truth, viz: that it is expedient for the Holy Ghost to accompany this Bread, so that it may impart life. It is the office of the Spirit to testify concerning this Bread, to aid us in partaking of it, to manifest in the gathered harvest its life-giving power, and hence, to fulfil the promise of this Spirit, the *very day* is selected, in which this Bread is typified in its perfected state. Consequently as a prerequisite, the ascension precedes that day to show us that we do not eat earthly but heavenly Bread, and that the Spirit may, in connection with the type itself, be sent in such an extraordinary, powerful manner, united with visible effects, as to prove, beyond doubt, the life-giving efficacy of the Bread itself. From all this, we conclude that as the first, the private ascension more particularly related to the atonement and its pre-ordained (in the type) acceptance by the Father, so this last ascension was specially designed to show the true perfected Bread, and through the special manifestation of the Spirit, forwarded by this ascension, to teach us, that this Bread, the first fruits, was as such recognized by the Father, and will result in his blessing the harvest.

(*c.*) This view, if thus entertained, not only reconciles the Scriptures, as already intimated, not only finds its ground in the typical temple service as shown, but, also enables us to find many beautiful indirect testimonies in its favor. Thus, to illustrate my meaning: It is generally, if not universally, admitted, that by the ascension Christ entered into his glory. Many passages of Scripture teach this, and Barrow and others, in their exposition of the Creed, bring them together and deduce the doctrine from them. Now, if the view taught in this article is correct, then it follows that Jesus entered into his glory, when he made his first private ascension, and that, which is usually ascribed to his final ascension, must be attributed to his first one. From the design of the first ascension, if carried out as we have taught, it follows that he was then already recognized

as the constituted Mediator, effectual in his calling, in glory, exalted above all creatures. Have we, then, anything that directly, or indirectly, proclaims that on the first day of the week he entered into his glory? If we follow the example of the translators of our version, in translating both verbs in the aorist form, in the same sentence, as they have done in one of them, by giving it the force of the perfect infinitive, (and critics say that this may be done with equal propriety,—*Jones' Notes on Scripture*, p. 491,) then we have it intimated in the following. After our Lord's interview with Mary, he ascended to heaven and performed his High Priestly function, and then returned the same day, appearing to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus. After conversing with these disciples, and finding them faithless, he said: "O fools and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken. Ought not Christ *to have suffered* (παθειν) these things, and to enter (και εισελθειν, *to have entered*) into his glory." If the translators, under the notion, apparently of one ascension at the end of forty days, could take the liberty of giving the one verb the idea of an action already accomplished, why not allow us the same liberty in regard to the second verb? All that we contend for, is that both the verbs should be treated alike. If this is accorded, then it affords us an additional confirmation of the correctness of our position; for taking into consideration "these things" that were the subject of conversation between Jesus and the disciples, the translators could not do otherwise than give the rendering of the first verb as we find it in our version. The second, intimately connected in the same sentence, follows the lead of the first one, inasmuch as it comes in the same form. Other illustrations, derived from the intimations of Christ, in his interview with the eleven, that he was not a proper inhabitant of the earth, from the disappearance of Christ, from the statement in Acts 1 : 1, 2, might be given, but we deem this one sufficient for the purpose.*

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* This view also serves to throw light on some difficult portions of the early Church History. Thus, *i. e.*, Neander, Ch. His., Vol. I, p. 330—1, informs us, quoting from Irenæus to substantiate his opinion, that in the first age of the Church, immediately subsequent to the Apostles, whilst the sufferings and death of Christ formed in the consciousness of Christians the basis of the Lord's Supper, yet it is remarkable that, in the celebration of this feast, the early Christians

(*d.*) The place where Christ ascended to has been stated, into heaven. The purposes for which he ascended, required that He, as High Priest, should enter into the more special presence and residence of the Father. Many Scriptures point out this truth, and we are equally assured that he continues in heaven with the Father. This is all that we know, for it has not been revealed where this heaven is located, and how far Jesus ascended before he entered the upper Sanctuary. It would be unprofitable to offer mere conjecture, seeing that, from the nature of the case, it is impossible, with our present powers and limited knowledge, to form an opinion susceptible of proof.

But, somehow, intuitively perhaps, we form the idea that it is a great distance from us. This may have such an influence on some as to cause them to reject this first

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customarily confined themselves in regarding the bread and wine as symbols of "the first fruits of nature's gifts," &c. Dr. Neander ascribes this peculiarity, p. 324, to custom, derived from the paschal supper, in which the favor bestowed, in the *guidance* and *deliverance* of his *own chosen people*, was ascribed to a God who *bestowed the fruits of the earth.* A recognition of the fruit, united with divine deliverance, is observed. Accepting Dr. Neander's solution, we may add, however, that the early Christians, under the idea that we advocate in the text, could more appropriately adopt this custom, seeing that they gave thanks for, whilst partaking of, the *perfected first-fruits in the true Bread* thus given to insure a completed Redemption or deliverance,—the severe ordeal of the leaven of affliction and of fire, through which it passed, being also symbolically represented. This, at least, will confirm Dr. Neander's position, which some have tried, unsuccessfully, to controvert. The idea of Christ being "the first fruits," was a prominent and pleasing one to the early Christians, and in forming their estimation of it, even in the Lord's Supper, the Sheaf and leavened and baked Bread would not be overlooked. Moreover, "the peculiar custom" at that time prevailed of the members offering as a gift bread and wine, and from these were taken the elements used in the Supper, thus still further pointing to the type and antitype. Ordinary leavened bread was used. The comprehension of this type, its fulfilment in the antitype, and its relation to Sunday, also serves to present another reason, additional to Dr. Neander's, (p. 332) why the Lord's Supper, at that time, was celebrated every Sunday as an essential part of the worship on that day. The true Bread, on that day, (Pentecost) was manifested in power, being specially honored by the Spirit, &c.

ascension, in view of the exceeding shortness of the time allotted to it and his return. Perhaps it did not occupy a space of time any longer than that, in which the typical High Priest officiated. This to them appears incredible,—a work of insuperable difficulty. Surely those who properly comprehend the attributes of the Saviour, who contemplate the divine nature of the Lord, cannot urge this as an objection, for they know that his power, his ability to transport himself, is, in some mysterious manner, connected with his will. He has only to will what he purposes, and it is done. We need only direct attention to what many writers, commentators and theologians, have told us respecting the person of Christ, the risen body of Christ pervaded by omnipotence, the power and celerity of angels,* as specified by Daniel, and a perusal of any of them will be amply sufficient to show that, to such a Being as the God-Man, the whole universe is accessible, according to the pleasure of his will, so that the speed of all created things,—of angels, sound, light, electricity,—is as naught in comparison with the velocity merely dependent on the divine will. It is beyond our comprehension, and must be received, just as many other facts are, by faith. The thought must occur to the reflecting, if this first ascension thus took place after the interview with Mary, then we have an additional proof of the power of our High Priest. He, who could thus speedily ascend to the Father and return to meet and encourage others, is indeed a mighty Saviour, none other but a God-man.

Finally, having commenced this article by alluding to Barnabas, we may also conclude it by saying, in regard to him, that he, being a contemporary of Luke himself, and a disciple of the apostle Paul, an apostle too deeply versed in the peculiar significance of the temple service in those great typical feasts, we need not be surprised that he should present us with this view of the first ascension being on Sunday.† Living at the time, and in familiar in-

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*The Seventy-eight No. of this *Review* contained an article on "Good Angels," in which will be found evidence sufficient to remove any objection against our view based on this ground.

† Let me propose a question: Does not the establishment of an annual Christian Festival, long after the days of Barnabas, to commemorate the ascension of Christ, indicate how prevalent, at one time, in the more early history of the Church, this idea of the ascen-

tercourse, with men who, of course, knew both what the Scriptures foreshadowed and what really happened, he was qualified to tell us this sublime fact. Its corroboration by the Scriptures themselves, establish his knowledge and truthfulness. We know that he is discarded by some, because they cannot conceive how this saying, and some others relating to Chiliasm, conld have been written by a disciple of Paul. We cannot, dare not, reject him thus, apprehending that he will be found as truthful on other points, as he has been on this one. Indeed we love the man, and it gives us much pleasure that, in our weak manner, we can contribute a little to his defence, and we trust that, finally, in Christ's coming kingdom, we may have the honor of meeting the martyr Barnabas, his friend and brother Dr. Neander, and there, peradventure, hold converse on these ascensions, then seeing eye to eye.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE QUESTION OF CLOSE COMMUNION IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

By Rev. S. L. Harkey, A. M., Professor in Augustana College, Paxton, Ill.

The subject of Close Communion has, for several years, engaged the attention of a portion of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. The General Council has, at

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sion on Sunday was? No necessity existed for such a Festival, according to Barnabas, for every first day of the week was observed in remembrance of it. The same will apply to the annual festival to celebrate the resurrection. It was only when these views of Barnabas became indistinct, and the new systems of interpretation commenced their work of obscuration, that the idea was lost sight of, saving in a few individuals, until more recently it has been held by a larger number. As my Library is very limited, saving a few hints here and there, I have only had the pleasure of reading it in *Jones' Exposition*, which also, to some extent, is fragmentary. The latter alludes to *Horsley's Sermons on the Resurrection.* This entire subject yet needs an abler pen and deeper research. It is a vein worthy of our attention and labor.

three successive conventions, occupied much time in its discussion, and it is, by no means, yet disposed of. It will probably continue for some time to elicit careful and earnest examination. There may, indeed, be a difference of opinion in regard to its relative importance. Many would, no doubt, maintain with much propriety, that there are other life questions growing out of our Confessions, far more vital and necessary; such as the proper observance of the Lord's Day; the connection of the Christian and the Jewish Sabbaths; the relative importance of faith and good works; the difference between saving faith in Christ, and a confession of the pure doctrine; the proper Christian discipline in the Church; the obligations and responsibilities of Church members; the best method of preserving and extending the Church; how to make our children Christians, and keep them in the fold of their fathers; how most speedily to preach Christ to every creature, and establish the true doctrine throughout the whole world; and many other similar deductions, applications and inferences, flowing legitimately from our doctrinal standards. But as the subject of Close Communion has been thrust upon us, by those who exalt it above everything else, even above all that is written concerning the Holy Supper in God's Word and the Symbolical Books, we are compelled to meet the question. A union of all those who honestly, and without reservation, receive the Confessions of the Church was attempted, and encouraging words came from all such Lutheran Synods in the country, including those of Iowa, Wisconsin, Ohio and Missouri. The Iowa Synod entered fully and heartily into connection with the General Council, assisted at the provisional organization at Reading, and the permanent organization at Ft. Wayne, and then withdrew toward the close of the session, because its declaration was not endorsed, and its interpretation and application of the negative part of the Augsburg Confession was not made a part of the expressed articles of agreement. The Ohio Synod took part in the convention at Reading, assisting very materially in giving life and form and character to the general body that was to be formed; but not having sufficient confidence in the doctrinal integrity, intelligence and sincerity of the Synods adopting the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and being afraid to trust the decision of a matter involving their peculiar views to the majority of a General Assembly of Lutheran

Synods, they withdrew before the permanent organization, and presented new tests as conditions, precedent to their co-operation, not embodied, or expressly declared, in the Fundamental Articles, which they themselves had helped to adopt. The Missouri Synod still more distrustful, though expressing a desire for union, would not so much as favor a convention for the purpose of forming such a union, until, by means of "free conferences," every Synod had first pledged itself to agree with them in the various details of Church discipline and practice. The Wisconsin Synod, although under many obligations to the Pennsylvania Synod, and having a history not the most consistent for genuine Lutheranism, suffered itself last year to find a lodging place in the Missouri Synod.

Now before entering upon the discussion of the subject here proposed, we must be allowed to say, that all of these Synods have exhibited so much confidence in themselves, their own opinions, their own purity, their own infallibility, and such a want of confidence in the intelligence, sincerity and purity of others, as in our humble judgment to violate the law of charity. They have not seemed willing to allow that other men and other Synods have studied the Word of God and the history and faith of our Church for themselves, with as much honesty and ability, and with as favorable an opportunity of reaching a knowledge of the truth as they. Are there no men of learning, and piety, and scriptural orthodoxy, except those embraced in the Synods above named? Are there none among the thousands who adopt *ex animo* the Symbolical Books? Must wisdom, truth, and churchliness die with those Synods that have thus erected themselves into ecclesiastical tribunals for the world? If the views they represent be true, why are they so timid? Have they no confidence in the *power of truth?* Have they more confidence in themselves, than in the *correctness* of the views they hold? The text, out of which they profess to draw their peculiar notions, has been adopted by all the Synods in the General Council. If their deductions and applications of the doctrines of the Confessions be the true ones, why not put the "leaven into the three measures of meal," and let it work? If *Close Communion* in their sense of it, and *no kind of fellowship with other Churches*, be the truth of God's Holy Word, why not put this leaven *into* the General

Council, and give it the opportunity to accomplish its mission? He alone is a true friend, who employs his influence and activity for the success and prosperity of the Church. But every one knows that the surest way to destroy the Church, is to separate and divide it into numerous antagonistic and hostile bands, as has been hitherto done in this country, each faction being represented by a different Synod. This has not only been our reproach, but has shorn us of our strength and glory, putting us in the rear, when we ought to be the first, and largest of any denomination in the land. Is not he, therefore, a true friend of the Church who tries to unite and consolidate these fragments into one body, and yet preserve the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made us free? And is he not committing a fearful wrong who throws obstacles in the way of such a union, preferring to sacrifice the clearly expressed and defined fundamental articles themselves, and see them overriden and trampled in the dust, by the multitude of sects and heresiarchs, rather than risk his individual conception of the logical consequences of these doctrines in the hands of others, who are equally orthodox with himself in all that pertains to the letter, and the text? For we maintain that a man must be judged of his orthodoxy by the text itself, and not by its imaginary corollaries. Right here, however, we may meet with opposition. It is to be feared, that we are not agreed as to what is to decide our Lutheranism. Let us settle this point first, if possible. Is it to be our authorized Symbols, or the usages and examples of particular individuals? Is it to be written and well defined authority, or individual sentiment and verbal tradition? Is it to be the inspired word of God, which alone is infallible, and the carefully prepared and beautifully harmonized and consistent creeds, resting upon that word, or the extra doctrinal *fungi*, that have sprung up, here and there, upon the body of the Church, defiling her purity, and consuming her vitality and power? Individually we say in advance, that we are not willing to move a hair's breadth from the law and the testimony. If our opponents can prove from the Holy Scriptures, or the plain statements of the Symbolical Books, that Lutheran Christians shall have no communion or fellowship with other Christians, whom they are compelled to acknowledge as the true children of God, we shall cheerfully give up the contest. This will compel them

however, to show that Christian fellowship is subordinate to denominational Church fellowship; for they make a difference between the two; and also to prove that Christians are not entitled to the communion of the Lord's body and blood, or communion with each other, while members of *nominal church organizations* are, whether they be genuine Christians or not.

The word of God cannot honestly be made to represent any other conditions as qualifications for the Holy Supper than those which it sets up, as evidences of being the children of God. All rights and all privileges belong to the true Christian. "All things are yours," says, Paul; "all are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." Christ is the good Shepherd and knows his sheep and calls them by name, and they hear his vioce and follow him. He invites them to come unto him, and they come to him in the Holy Supper, where he is, in such a manner, that they can sup with him, and feed on him. Now when he invites all his to come unto him, upon the simple condition of *being his*, or sincerely desiring to be his, who will dare to stand up between him and his, and say to the invited, You cannot come? Who will assume the prerogatives of the Lord Jesus, countermand his orders, and institute other terms than those of his appointment? God forbid that we should prevent the weakest disciple of Jesus from enjoying that which he has provided for all his, for the strengthing of their faith and the comfort and salvation of their Souls! It would seem to be so unreasonable to try to prevent a Christian from coming to the *Lord's* table, to the table of Him, who is the body, and of which they are members, the vine of which they are branches, so confessed and acknowledged by the advocates of close communion themselves, that the whole controversy should depend upon the decision of the question, who are Christians, and who are not. But our opponents confessedly forbid those, whom they acknowledge to be true Christians, unless they promise to renounce their denominational connection and unite with the Lutheran organization. We have not then to argue the point whether a man can be a Christian without belonging to the Lutheran church, for this is conceded. According to our opponents, it is not a man's Christianity that qualifies him for the Lord's table, but his Lutheranism; they themselves making the distinction; and it is not the want of

Christian piety that disqualifies, but the want of distinctive Lutheranism; in a word, it is not the want of saving faith in Christ that excludes them from the communion, but the want of a pure Creed. A distinction is truly made between saving faith in Jesus Christ, and an historical, or theoretical, faith in his doctrines; but the preference is given to the latter. It might be possible, that in the rigid enforcement of this rule some zealous examiner might ask only, "Do you believe that the Holy Supper is the true body and blood of the Lord?" and not, "Do you believe in the Lord Jesus Christ for salvation?" But when such human impertinencies become current, and such violence is done to Christ, to his Word and his disciples, we turn back with pleasure to the refreshing comforts of the inspired oracles themselves, and there we read: "Whosoever believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life." "And whosoever believeth on him, might not perish but have everlasting life." "There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit." But the advocates of Close Communion do condemn those who are in Christ Jesus. And they do not simply condemn the erroneous doctrines which they hold, but they condemn the individuals themselves. In order to render the subject clear, and that we may not seem to make these statements upon presumption merely, we introduce an extract here from Prof. C. F. W. Walther, of St. Louis, which we find in the *Zeitschrift* copied from the *Lutheraner*, the substance of which we have frequently heard echoed from representatives of the four different synods referred to above. Prof. W. says: "We are by no means so fanatical and limited in our views of the invisible kingdom of Christ upon earth, as to suppose that it consists only of such as call themselves *Lutherans*. Every one who submits without dissimulation to the entire written word of God, and carries in his heart the true faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and confesses him before the world, to him we give the hand, regard him as ours in the faith, our brother in Christ, a member of the true Church, a good Lutheran, no matter in what sect he may lie imprisoned and concealed." He acknowledges that the true Catholic, or Christian, Church is not confined to the Lutheran name in its organic character of a distinct denominationalism. He admits that every one who receives the whole of God's word, as

divine, believes in Jesus Christ and confesses him before the world, is a member of the true church, a brother in Christ, to whom he would give the hand of fellowship, no matter in what sect he might be found. And yet he refuses him the Communion; and so do they all with the above concessions upon their lips, except upon the condition that he, also, become Lutheran in name. Have we not then correctly represented them, when we said that they make a distinction between true Christianity and orthodox Lutheranism, and give the preference to the latter? But where they obtain the authority for doing this, we find neither in the Bible, nor in the Symbolical Books, as we shall attempt to show. And how the mere name can be made a qualification, is a still greater mystery. Is not honey just as sweet, the rose as beautiful, or gold as precious, called by any other name? Suppose our name should come to be universally used, as a covering for Rationalism and Infidelity, and some other name should be employed, as indicating the pure truth, would any honest Christian man hesitate a moment, as to which party he would go with? It is the quality and substance, that we want and not the name. If we take the Lutheran Church itself, we shall find thousands who do not know what the doctrine of the Church is, concerning the Holy Supper; and in other Churches, the majority are precisely in the same condition. Many have never heard anything said upon the subject, except to repeat the words of Christ and the Apostle, without any explanation. These cannot be said to be in error, or to condemn the truth, when they only want proper information to receive and embrace it. Many denominations, also, hold so loosely to their own Confessions that they may fully believe Lutheran doctrines, and remain, where they are. And as we are not a proselyting sect, we cannot make it our business to change their names, but must be satisfied, when they honestly confess and steadfastly hold the truth. But our opponents say, none but Lutherans, in name and fact, can come to the Communion. What light does the Word of God give to this position? There are but a few portions that can be made to bear directly upon the subject. We might begin with the first institution of the Supper by the Lord Jesus himself, and inquire to whom he gave it, and what they were? His example is esteemed as of the utmost importance in other things, and it is reasonable that it should be

in this. The fact is, we can only be his, when we follow his example in all that is imitable. Now he gave the Holy Supper to his disciples, and said of the bread, "Take eat, this is my body ;" and of the cup, "Drink ye all of it ; this cup is the new testament in my blood." He did not ask them, whether they *believed* it. He gave it to them, not upon the condition of a particular credence, or act of faith in the mysterious and incomprehensible doctrine, contained in his declaration, but upon the general condition of their discipleship. He deemed it sufficient to tell them what the bread and the cup were, without calling upon them to make a special confession upon the subject of the wonderful doctrine involved. This is the more noteworthy and remarkable from the fact, that the disciples did not fully believe that Christ, should be crucified at all, or his blood be shed, until they saw it with their own eyes. Peter rebuked the Master and said, "Far be this from Thee," when it was announced to him ; but yet he took the Holy Supper ; and after he had taken it, he tried to prevent the apprehension of Christ by the sword, which shows that he neither understood nor distinctively believed that he was partaking of the broken body and shed blood of the Redeemer. And how was it with Judas? We suppose, that it is conceded, that he also partook of the first communion. And if so, he probably of all the Apostles had the most distinct comprehension and belief in the words of the Saviour, "This is my body broken for you"—"This is my blood shed for you." He of all the Apostles alone *knew* that Jesus Christ would be crucified. And according to the advocates of Close Communion, he must have had the qualification most important, and upon which they so strenuously insist. Yet all will admit that he ate and drank damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body in the proper sense. He, no doubt, had a theoretical faith in general, and a particular faith in that part of the history of Christ, set forth in the Holy Supper ; but he lacked one very essential qualification, and, in our estimation, *the only* qualification for a worthy participation of the Communion of Christ's broken body and shed blood, and that was, *saving faith in Christ, dwelling in a purified heart.*

The next and the only thing that is left in God's word, referring directly to the qualifications of communicants, we find in Paul's epistle to the Corinthians, where

he says, that a man shall "*examine* himself, and so eat of this bread and drink of this cup." This examination, according to the context, is intended to be applied to the suitableness of the charater as a whole, and not to any one particular doctrinal feature of the eucharist, isolated from its connection. The Apostle is speaking of an entire misapprehension, of the Lord's Supper, a perversion and abuse of it, feasting, drinking, rioting to excess, for the gratification of their fleshy appetites, instead of the solemn purpose of showing forth the Lord's death until he come. This he reproves and seeks to correct, and hence his warning, and his exhortation to them, to examine themselves and repent.

But as the advocates of Close Communion have never, as far as we know, very much attempted to defend their views with Scripture, we will, for the present, dismiss this part of our argument. Their mightiest weapons, as they maintain, are the Symbolical Books. We shall, therefore, with pleasure go with them into their chosen field. We will first take the Apostles' Creed, and what do we find here? "I believe in the communion of Saints." But the "Saints," according to Prof. Walther, are not all found in the Lutheran church, but some "lie imprisoned and concealed in the different sects" around us. Luther, in his Larger Catechism, says: The communion of Saints, is the *community* of Saints—a holy community—a congregation or assembly of all those truly believing in Christ, and called and sanctified by the Holy Ghost. He applies the term *community*, which he says is the proper rendering of *communion*, to the collective body of true believers, or saints, many of whom Prof. W. says "lie imprisoned and concealed in the different sects around us." Now as Luther tells us who constitute this community, we might easily ourselves infer what the relation and duty to each other ought to be, of those who constitute it. But we may be assisted in this inference by consulting our standard philologists, as to the meaning of the word *community*, which Luther applies to the invisible church. Webster, than whom we can find no better authority, gives communitas, *Latin*, communita, *Italian*, communidad, *Spanish*, communaute, *French*, all being directly equivalent to the English *common*, from which the word communty is derived. Hence the meaning of the term he says is: "1. *Properly* common possession or enjoyment; as a *commu-*

nity of goods. 2. A society of people having *common rights and privileges*, or common interests, civil, political, or ecclesiastical." With Luther and Webster, as our authorities, we can then come to no other conclusion than that the communion of saints in the Apostles' Creed requires all Christians to regard each other as upon a perfect equality, jointly entitled to a participation in all the rights and privileges of the children of God everywhere, under all circumstances and in all times. Absolutely nothing can be claimed by one which is not the lawful inheritance of all. And it is impossible to introduce invidious distinctions among that class of persons here designated, being all true children of God upon earth.

Let us next examine the Augsburg Confession from the negative part of which the law of Close Communion is sought to be logically deduced. In Article X. concerning the Holy Supper, the negative part is in these words: "Therefore the opposite doctrine is rejected." What is rejected? The opposite *doctrine*. Not the persons of those holding the opposite doctrine, but the doctrine, itself. And how do you reject a *doctrine?* How will yon reject the un-Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper? Can a *doctrine* come to the Lord's table in such a manner, that you can take it violently by the arm and thrust it back, and thus reject it? Yet our Confession teaches us only to reject the doctrine. But if we cannot seize hold of a false doctrine with our hands, and forcibly reject it from the Lord's table, nor employ our church officers thus to reject it, then how will we reject it? It does not say that we shall keep the doctrine from coming to the Lord's table. It simply says, "We reject it." In the former part of the Article it is said, "We *teach* that the true body and blood of Christ are truly present in the Lord's Supper, and there administered and received." To reject the opposite view is, therefore, to reject it from our *teaching* and our *faith*, to brand it by the authority of God's word, as false and dangerous, and warn others from holding it, from teaching it, and from trusting it. When we have thus clearly put the seal of our condemnation upon it, neither receiving it ourselves, nor allowing our hearers to receive it without exposing its fallacy, we have certainly rejected it, both in the letter and spirit.

But if, after I have done this as a faithful preacher of the word, there should come to the communion, one of

Christ's "other sheep which are not of this fold," one of the many saints that "lie imprisoned and concealed in the sects around us," shall I not step out and send him to his seat, and say to him; "Sir, this is the Lutheran table, not the Lord's table, and none but Lutherans can be admitted to it?" God forbid that I should ever so corrupt the teachings of God's word and of our venerable Confession, so misrepresent and pervert a Catholic Christianity, and do such violence to the dictates of charity and common sense! "Not by *power*, nor by *might*, but by my *spirit*, saith the Lord of Hosts." How do I know, that those pious persons who would come to the Lord's table, and have every other spiritual qualification, have not also the necessary view of the solemn nature of the Holy Eucharist? Am I not to regard the appearance of pious Christians of other Churches at the communion in my Church, after I have explained it to them, if not of itself, as a decided and emphatic declaration that they approve of my doctrine, at least, as evidence that they do not despise, or reject it? And does not my responsibility cease, when I have rejected the doctrine, instead of the men? We are indeed "stewards of the mysteries of God," but not proprietors. It is manifestly our duty to provide the means and facilities, necessary for the communion, and the edification of God's people, but the conditions and terms can only be authoritatively stated by the Lord himself, and applied by the individual believer. I can, indeed, speak of the qualifications that are necessary, (yet only as far as the plain letter of God's word goes, and no farther,) but whether the individual possesses *all* these qualifications is quite another thing. I shall, forever, shrink from determining who is qualified to come to the Lord's table, and who is to be violently rejected, *except in the case of the openly wicked*, until I shall have imparted to me the attribute, or power, of omniscience, which will enable me to look into the heart, and try the reins, the motives and the sincerity of the soul. If I should see a man bowing before an image of the Virgin Mary, and performing his devotions to her, as the divine mother of God, should I take the man forcibly by the arm, lead him away, close his mouth, and thus seek to prevent his sin of idolatry and clear myself of all responsibilty in his case, when he might at the same time have a hundred other images elsewhere, to

which he would go, his heart and mind being unchanged by the violence I offered him at one place, and thus he continue in his sin? Or would it not rather be my duty to seek to enlighten his mind by argument from the word of God, and convince him of his error, so that by God's blessing he might become a converted and renewed man? And if I failed, might not the man be left to his idol and I be clear? I cannot see that the Lord's table, and the terms of Communion are, in any respect, different from the relation we, as ministers, sustain to truth and error on all other subjects. It is clearly our duty to teach the one, and condemn the other. And it is equally clear that the responsibility of believing the truth and being saved, or believing error and being lost, rests with the individual himself.

But our opponents charge us with holding un-Lutheran practices, because we admit Christians to the Lord's table, upon the simple condition of their being true Christians without respect to their names, when circumstances indicate its necessity and propriety: we must therefore meet them upon the specific ground of Lutheranism. And as we know of no acknowledged standard of Lutheranism, except the Symbolical Books, and as the friends of Close Communion profess to derive their views from them, we shall be justified in appealing to them, as well as the inspired word of God. But we have searched in vain to discover that for which they contend. On the contrary we find in every allusion to the subject, either directly or indirectly, a doctrine taught utterly at variance with the intolerant and uncharitable positions, assumed by the advocates of Close Communion. In addition, Article X. of the *Augsburg Confession*, our chief Symbol, we proceed to add the testimony of the *Apology*, as to what persons are qualified to come to the Holy Supper. "Such are rightly prepared for the Sacrament, viz: who have an alarmed conscience, who feel their sins, are afraid of the wrath and judgment of God, and seek for comfort." But are there none except Lutherans, that have "alarmed consciences," "feel their sins," would flee the "wrath of God," and desire "comfort" and peace for their souls? Are none such to be found in other Churches? Can we judge of their *feelings*, their *desires*, and their *convictions?* The thing is simply absurd! Our opponents cannot, therefore, make

a *logical* deduction from either the Augsburg Confession, or its Apology, in favor of their position.

We turn next to the *Smalcald Articles*, and inquire concerning Church discipline. What persons are to be excluded from the privileges of the Church, and especially kept back from the Lord's table? "This is the proper Christian discipline, that we shall not allow the openly wicked and stubborn sinner to come to the Sacrament and other privileges of the Church, until he has reformed, and put away his sins." Why is this article silent as to the peculiar doctrine of Luther concerning the nature of the Saviour's presence in the Eucharist, if it was to be made the test for Communion, and a divergence from it was to be considered an offence of such magnitude as to require the discipline of the Church? Especially as it is known that different views prevailed already at that time. If the want of Luther's views was to exclude any and all from the Communion, would not Luther have classed it with the gross immoralities and stubborn impenitence, that were made to call for ecclesiastical interference and punishment? There seems to us to be something exceedingly inconsistent in the position of modern exclusivism. Its adherents admit with Prof. Walther, that there are many thousands of pious and devoted Christians in the various Protestant Churches, and even in the Papal church, who hold the truth in spite of their connection, being the true children of God, and will therefore certainly, also, be saved. Now by their own admission, the *name* and *connection* they bear, are not in themselves sins of such a nature as to exclude from the *favor* and *fellowship of God*, and the Communion of the Church *invisible* and *triumphant*. How can they then from the lower and inferior Church *visible* and *militant?* And yet by this exclusiveness it is declared, not only that those who differ from our Church on a single point of doctrine, and that not essential to salvation, as they themselves admit, but that the mere fact of being in another organization, even though they should hold the true doctrine, is a sin of so heinous a nature that it must be classed with those specified by the Smalcald Articles as calling for the discipline of the Church. Would it not be far better to say with candor and honesty, that all, who are the children of God, and have a good hope through grace of eternal life, are entitled to all the privileges of the Church upon earth, let their

name and relation be what they may? For if they are fit for the Communion of God, and saints in heaven, and the privileges of the Church triumphant, are they not fit for the Communion of imperfect saints on earth, and the privileges of the visible Church?

But let us proceed, for perhaps we may still find something in the Symbolical Books, which expressly forbids us to allow a Christian that does not bear our distinctive party name to Communion in our Churches at his Master's table. For as our friends of the the Iowa, Wisconsin, and other Synods request the General Council *expressly* to declare, what in their judgment is implied in the Fundamental Principles which they helped to adopt, they surely would not want us to go *beyond* the Symbolical Books, in giving expression to what we do not find in them. We turn then to the Smaller Catechism of Luther and read the question. "Who then receives such Sacrament worthily?" ANSWER. "Fasting and bodily preparation are indeed an excellent outward discipline; but he alone is truly worthy and well prepared, who has faith in these words, 'given and shed for you, for the remission of sins.' But he who does not believe these words, or doubts them, is unworthy and unprepared; for the expression '*for you*' requires truly believing hearts." Now then we ask who is to come to the Lord's table by the authority of Luther's Smaller Catechism? Surely those whom he declares to be "truly worthy and well prepared," and such are all those who believe the words, "given and shed for you, for the remission of sins." But can none believe these words except those who are in the *Lutheran* Church? Who will contend for such a theory? It does not even say that we are to believe that the true body and blood of our Lord are present and distributed and received; and if it did, others might believe that also, as well as ourselves. Who then is to be *excluded* from the Lord's table according to the Catechism? Plainly those who are unworthy, and such are they who do not believe or, doubt the word, "for you," for this requires truly believing hearts. But this is not making much progress towards establishing the doctrine of Close Communion by authority of the doctrinal standards of our Church. And yet it is a matter of so much moment with the Iowa, Ohio, Missouri, and other Synods that they cannot acknowledge those as true Lutherans who differ from them, or have fellowship with them in

Synods, or the General Council. But we will proceed, and give them the full benefit of all that bears upon the subject in the Symbolical Books. It is a matter of surprise to us, that some even of those who oppose the adoption of this intolerant custom by the General Council, nevertheless seem to admit that it is the true doctrine, and only urge *apologetic* reasons against it; such as the history, relations, and circumstances of the other Synods, to which they belong. They are constantly assuring the champions of intolerance and bigotry, that we are making rapid progress in their direction, and exhorting them to have patience, that we will be all right after a time.

But let us proceed, and examine the *Larger Catechism*, and perhaps we shall there find the bulwark of our opponents. Here we read that we must "discriminate among the people as follows, viz: Those that are bold, defiant, and wild, must be told to stay back; [it seems, however, that telling is enough here, without the personal violence that some employ,] for they are not prepared to receive the forgiveness of their sins, as they do not desire it, and would unwillingly become pious. Others, however, who are not thus rough and loose, and desire to be pious, shall not be kept back, even if they are weak and sinful. * * For no one will ever get so far, that he will not retain daily many transgressions in flesh and blood." This does not say, that every man must be a perfect man, either in his faith or practice, in order to come to the Lord's table. Much less does it say, that he shall have his name upon *our* lists, or adopt all the doctrines, in full, of the Lutheran Church. On the contrary, his faith may be very weak, and his life full of shortcomings; if he only have the *desire to become pious*, he shall be encouraged to come. Once more, then, we ask, in all simplicity and candor, are there not many thousands of persons, that have received a valid baptism, and are connected with Churches of other names, that "desire to become pious?" The Larger Catechism says: "We shall encourage such to come." Who is to know, however, that they have this desire? Are we ministers to know? Suppose even that we should ask each one separately, whether he has this desire, and all should answer affirmatively, could we know that they were sincere and told the truth? And would not the responsibility of this inward preparation and qualification rest upon the individual himself? Why not then say,

first, what you will have to say, last. That is, state the inward qualifications that are necessary, in addition to the outward ones which we can see, and allow when circumstances require it, all those having such qualifications to come. And let them decide the matter with their own conscience and their God; for we could never tell, to an infallible certainty, who has these qualifications, if we should privately examine them a hundred years and put them to the tortures of the inquisition to elicit the truth. And if we ministers are to bear the responsibility of all those who receive the communion unworthily in our Churches, then God help us! But thanks be to God, there is an old Church Father, who says: "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to *himself*," and not to us.

But we must yet consult the *Formula Concordia*, and then we shall be done with the Symbolical Books. Here we read, that "There is only one kind of unworthy guests, viz: *Those who do not believe*, of whom it is written, 'They are judged already,' which judgment is heaped up, made heavier and greater by an unworthy use of the Holy Sacrament." No true believer, as long as he retains a living faith, no matter how weak he may be, receives the Supper to condemnation, which is especially instituted *for the weak in faith*, yet penitent Christian, for his comfort and the strengthening of his weak faith. All the worthiness of the guests of this heavenly banquet consists alone in *the most holy obedience and perfect merit of Christ*, of which we become partakers, by a true faith, and is insured to us through the Sacrament; but not at all in our own virtues, or inward, or outward preparation." This ends the authority of our doctrinal Standards upon this subject, and by this we are willing to stand or fall. No man has any right, as a *Lutheran*, to go beyond this. It has been made the test of our Lutheranism, and as such we have viewed it. Our opponents may, perhaps, refer to the *example* of Luther, and the *usage* of the Church; but if these should be made to *differ* from the teachings of the Confessions, they could not be of equal authority with the latter, much less could they set them aside; they would, at once, be regarded as departing from the written Creeds of the Church, and most dangerous guides. For thus there might be as many different standards of Lutheranism set up, as there are nationalities; each country adopting usages of its own, and

all the authority of the Confessions would be, at once, annulled. You may judge me of my Lutheranism, by what is *in* the Symbolical Books, but not by what *is not* in them. I dispute your right to try me as to my faith, or practice, by the standard of your judgment, your prejudices, or your education. Neither do I arrogate to myself the unwarrantable prerogative of pronouncing any man unsound, as a Lutheran, by the mere power of my individual opinion, or by my interpretation of the legitimate consequences of the doctrinal articles of our Cenfessions. If we once permit any one to *interpret* the language of the Confessions and take *that* for a *basis*, we are at sea without a compass or a guide. Just here is the opening through which Rationalism has entered, and found an easy access to the vitals of Christianity. And it is only too doubtful, whether or not an over-exacting, too confident, but mistaken, bigotry, under the name of orthodoxy, has not made this opening, and is now keeping it open. We are for shutting up this place of ingress and egress to the kingdom of darkness, in order that the people of God may be a separate, holy and peculiar people, and this we understood to be the position and work of the General Council. To establish the Church upon the unequivocal basis of the acknowledged doctrinal standards of the Church, is a grand and noble conception. Its importance is not measured by continents, centuries, languages, or time, but by the illimitable and eternal of spiritual existence. And well might we call upon all the lovers of purity and truth, and simple submission and obedience to the will of God, to come to our aid, and unite with us in making one body that may stand complete in the form of the Bride, the Wife of the Lamb, "fair as the moon, bright as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners," such as God will delight to honor with the marriage Supper, and Jesus Christ shall lead safely upon his arm, through all the storms of earth, up to the mansions that he has prepared, to enjoy forever the sweetness of his love, and the comforts and bliss of the heavenly communion.

ARTICLE IX.

CHRIST'S PROPHECY OF HIS SUFFERINGS, GOING UP TO JERUSALEM.

By Rev. H. Louis Baugher, A. M., Professor in Pennsylvania College.

Every one needs some to be nearer than the outside world, needs at least a friend and confidant. Human nature desires to express itself; and secrets, strictly kept in one bosom, will burst the vessel that contains them, and come out notwithstanding. The most perfect human being feels this need. It belonged to Christ too, and it was supplied, though imperfectly, in the *twelve:* and in that circle of near disciples, there was an inner one, composed of three, and, among those three, one specially called "the disciple whom he loved." To these twelve he said: "I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you." What he spake to the multitude in *parables*, he afterwards expounded to them as those, to whom it was permitted to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God. More than once they were cautioned to "tell no man" the secrets entrusted to them. But his private talks with them were not only for his own sake, but also, and perhaps chiefly, for theirs. He was educating them for apostles, when he should be "no more in the world." But they were far from looking forward to any such time. They were looking to him "to restore the kingdom to Israel," to set up the throne of David and reign upon it in Jerusalem; and James and John, with their mother's influence backing them, applied to be prime ministers in the realm, and when Jesus once spoke of his falling a prey to his enemies and dying at their hands, Peter promptly rebuked him saying, "This shall not be unto thee, Lord!" And not only he, but all the rest, savored of the things of men, and earthly kingdoms and glory. In reading the prophets, they seem to have passed over their testimony, to the "sufferings of Messiah," and looking only at "the glory which should follow," were dazzled by it, and forgot it was to follow, and not precede, in God's economy!

But Jesus, knowing the Scriptures better, and "the things concerning himself," several times tried to impress upon his friends the certainty and nature of the sorrows which *he knew* must come upon him. Now he was going up to the Passover: his journey was to be triumphal; mounted as a king, on an ass whereon never man had sat, there would be a multitude going before and after crying with every other manifestation of joy: "Hosanna to the Son of David; Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest!" His entry would rouse all Jerusalem, and the very children in the temple would catch up and make it re-echo with the cry of "Hosanna to the Son of David." On the way, and in the temple too, he would manifest unwonted authority and power: and how all this would feed the carnal hopes of his friends: they would be ready to think the kingdom *they expected* had come; they would already feel themselves titled princes! Therefore, knowing how it would be and how it would end, Jesus took the twelve apart—before the journey began—and "said unto them: 'Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man, shall be accomplished. For he shall be delivered unto the Gentiles, and shall be mocked and spitefully entreated and spitted on; and they shall scourge him, and put him to death: and the third day he shall rise again.'" That would, indeed, be a tragic experience for any one, but particularly for "the Christ, the Son of the living God." They did not then know what these things meant, but it was destined for them to know thereafter. For his own sake, therefore, and for theirs, Jesus had with the twelve this private conversation—to them so strange—to us, in the light of events, so plain, and yet no plainer to us now than they were then to Him who foretold them then. We notice here

I. *The Saviour's prescience of his fate.* Jesus knew from the beginning what was to befall him. He knew it from *the Scriptures*, and from his own *consciousness*. He felt within him his *mission*. He knew more than his parents, at twelve years old. "Wist ye not," saith he, "that I must be about my Father's business?" No doubt, during his abode with them at Nazareth, from then on, till he was thirty years old, of which period we have no account, many things occurred which his mother "laid up in her

heart," besides that event at twelve. In all that time was he not preparing for his latter end—*thirty years* preparing for *three?*

He, a man of destiny, felt instinctively that he was such, and learned what that destiny was through the Divine Spirit that was in him, and through the Scriptures, which the same Spirit had indited concerning him! Every young man, of any reflection, will often revolve in his mind his relations to life and the world, into which he has been born, will consider what he is to do when, leaving home, or home leaving him, he must look out for himself! The future came before Jesus too; and as he heard often in the synagogue at Nazareth the reading of the law and the prophets, and at Jerusalem, during the great feasts, witnessed the bloody sacrifices at the temple, how everything conspired to say to him, in unmistakable terms—"Thou art the man, in whom all these things are to be fulfilled!" As John afterwards pointed others to him—his own thoughts and the knowledge which he stored up every day pointed him to himself, saying: "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world"—and he saw it could be only by sacrifice, for without shedding of blood is no remission!"

Of Jesus' private life at Nazareth, his preparation period, we have no account: but when he comes out into public life at thirty years of age, we see abundant evidences that it was with a full consciousness of his mission and foreknowledge of what was to befall him. His answer to John's hesitancy to baptize him: "Suffer it to be so now; for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness"—implies this. So does his declaration that he came not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to *fulfil* them to the very jot and tittle. His quotation from Isaiah, in the synagogue at Nazareth, and his discourse thereupon, when "he began to say unto them, 'This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears,'" will not let us doubt that he was acquainted with the other parts, too, of the evangelical Prophet and as well with that wonderful 53d chapter which so minutely describes his sufferings and death! Telling his disciples that they should be hated of all men for his name's sake, he must have based his prophecy on the foreknowledge that he himself should first be hated and hunted down by men! But by and by, as the time drew on, Jesus began to tell his little circle of frinds, who ex-

pected such great things of him, in so many words, that at Jerusalem he must *suffer* many things of the chief priests and scribes and elders, and be killed, and the third day rise again." He told them this once and again, and about to go up the last time to Jerusalem, where and when he knew they would see enacted publicly what he had told them privately, again he took them aside, and forewarned them that he should "be delivered unto the Gentiles, and mocked and spitefully entreated and spitted on—and they shall scourge him," said he of himself, "and put him to death, and the third day he shall rise again." Recall his talks with the twelve after they had come to the city, and while they awaited the day of the Passover, how he said: "The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified," and added the process, saying. "Verily, verily, * * except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and *die*, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." How he told them of the betrayal, the denial, their leaving him alone to his enemies:—you remember his *agony* when as yet no man had laid hands on him, and his friends were yet about him! Ah! it is clear that Jesus well knew beforehand all his fate; and if it is true, he never smiled, *no wonder!* Let any one ask himself how he feels when surely *expecting trouble*, when his prospective eye sees *evil ahead?* Why, they who are joined in holy wedlock, the very *fear* that their sick husband, or wife, *may die;* they who are parents, the bare *idea* that God *may*, one of these days, take *their* little ones from earth to heaven—makes their hearts flutter, it takes away their appetite; sleep leaves their eyes or, coming, brings along such scenes that they are glad to wake and find it only a dream!

There is a man haggard and worn, by the bare possibility that his business may fail, and he be left, in middle life or old age, a poor man! "Coming events cast their shadows before;" and the shadows create more of a shudder than the events. The *expectation* of evil is more agonizing, often than the evil itself! How then must Jesus have felt, who had not even one little *doubt* to rest a hope upon, who saw his fate, (Oh! such a fate,) coming on, not peradventure or probably, but as a dead certainty! His sorrows were not crowded into a short space; all his life he was "a man of sorrows," and "acquainted with grief" from his infancy to his grave! Oh! He was a

suffering Saviour! He was crucified before ever he saw the cross, on which at last he hung; *daily* he *died*!

But, did he repine, and murmur and fret?—Prophecy and history say he "opened not his mouth!" Did he withdraw from among men and, as an ascetic, bewail his destiny? *Nay;* be wrought while it was day, because he knew the night was coming; instead of shutting himself up, he went about doing good. He put none of his burden upon others, but bore it all, and bore it patiently; nay, more, gently, bidding others refrain from tears on his behalf, he could not prevent his own from welling up in view of others' calamities. Did he seek to escape his fate? Sure, he might, if he had willed! For no man could take his life from him: the power to lay it down and take it again was vested only in himself; he who saved others *might* have saved himself. The power that made that midnight band, that took him, fall prostrate on the ground, might have kept them there forever. Yet he awaited his "hour," and when it came, though all the keenest sensibilities of a perfect human nature constrained him to cry, "Save me from this hour," he we ntto meet it; and though the awful burden of his soul led him to pray; "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me," yet he took and drank that cup every drop! There was not from the beginning, an effort to avert the impending evil. Before He came into the world, he saw what would be the consequence of that coming; and for that very hour of his utmost grief, he had come into the world! In striking contrast with one of Earth's great monarchs who "came and saw and conquered," the King of kings, the Christ, *saw*, and came,' and *suffered!*

Christ said to the twelve: "Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and *all things that are written* by the prophets, concerning the Son of man, shall be accomplished." It was those things which *were written* which, He knew he must fulfil, and it may be profitable for us.

II. To consider what had been written of Him in the Scriptures. As we do so, let us remember, that his appreciation of what was written was not only higher, than that of the teachers, and taught of that day, but higher too than ours. None ever *knew* or *understood* the Scriptures as *Jesus* did; and in all the scope of them, their testimony is of Him—and there he read his destiny! That testimony was given, not only in direct words, but also in

types and shadows, whereof Jesus knew that He was the substance. The whole system of sacrifices pointed to a *vicarious* suffering and death—to *blood* as the only atonement for sin. In them, whether he read of their establishment in the book of the law, or looked on, as they were offered on the altar, at the temple—*there* Jesus read his fate. The high priests and elders laying their hands on the victim's head, confessed the people's sins; and there Jesus saw that some one must bear the sins of men, and knew that this burden would be laid on him. Was not his name called "Jesus" for this very reason? God spared Abraham's only son by "providing himself a lamb," and Jesus knew that God spared Abraham and his seed, by not sparing himself, and that He, God's only Son, was the Lamb provided, to take away the sin of the world. In this sense he read that scripture (Ps. 40 : 6 &c.) "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a *body* hast thou prepared me. In burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin, thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, 'Lo I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God'." In the account of the serpent lifted up in the wilderness for the healing of Israel, Jesus read an illustration of his being lifted up upon the cross, and in Jonah's three days living death, an illustration of his expected three days' abode in the tomb! In many of the Psalms Jesus read beforehand his history, his epitaph, particularly in that wonderful twenty-second Psalm, whose opening sentence was to be his dying cry, and was the expression of the greatest sorrow that can come on a righteous soul to be *forsaken of God!* There it was written that he shonld be "a reproach of men and despised of the people," that in his distress, men would "laugh him to scorn and shoot out the lips, and shake the head, and say, 'He trusted in the Lord, that he would deliver him: let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him.'" There he read of himself: "I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint; my heart is like wax: it is melted in the midst of my bowels. My strength is dried up like a potsherd; and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws; and thou hast brought me into the dust of death. For dogs have compassed me; the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me; they pierced my hands and my feet, I may tell all my bones: they look and stare upon me. They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture."

In the Prophets he read the same thing: "I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting." Isaiah. 50 : 6. Further, in that 53d chapter of Isaiah, what a fearful passion was written out in prospect, for him to fulfil! Daniel, too, announced that Messiah should be cut off, yet not for himself. Chap. IX. v. 26. These are only some of the most prominent, of the things which "were written by the prophets concerning the Son of man" and which Jesus read, as none other ever read them, knowing that they were all to "be accomplished" in his own person! Truly if the prophets and Moses said anything, they said distinctly "that Christ should suffer," and He who opened others hearts to understand the Scriptures, must surely have understood them well himself! Every one is apt to think his trials greater than those of others, or than have been borne before; but such reflections must need be quieted by a consideration of our suffering, life-long suffering, Saviour. In the light of such reflections as these from Christ's prophecies of his fate, we see Him saying: "Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow!"

ARTICLE X.

THE TOTAL ECLIPSE OF THE SUN OF 1869.

By Prof. C. F. Himes, Ph. D., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.

The total eclipse of the sun of August 7th, 1869, excited scarcely less of a sensation throughout the civilized world than "the Devil, the Turk, and the Comet" in midæval times. Always impressive, this phenomenon had been thrust, by very recent progress in science, into an unusually prominent position. Never before had such an event promised so much of a revelation. No phenomenon shows more beautifully, in the means of its observance, the startling progress of science in the last decade, and the growing interdependence of its various branches. The seeming lines of cleavage, upon which the study of nature

has been divided for sake of convenience, grow fainter with every advance.

In all ages the unusual and terrifying phenomena of total solar eclipses have been marked events, and have frequently affected the face of history. The astronomer, by calculating backward to them, has been able to rescue from obscurity chronological data. Thus for example, Herodotus unconsciously fixed with mathematical precision the date of a battle between the Medes and Persians, when he narrated that: "while the two armies were engaged the day suddenly became night," and that they desisted from combat, and became desirous on both sides of making peace. It has however only been since the eclipse of 1706, that attempts have been made to observe them with scientific fulness, and accuracy; and since then, when accessible, they have been closely observed, especially that of 1842, visible as it was in a large portion of the civilized world. The profound interest, which it excited in the minds of the leading scientific men of that day, produced results which, although wanting in definite information, were filled with mysterious hints at the constitution of the sun. The highest talent, and skill was brought to bear on the succeeding eclipses in 1851, and 1858, with but faint hopes however of interpreting much of the mystery. The mass of observations, even of the best trained observers, condensed into the very general statements, that, in the region over which the shadow of the moon careered with its frightful velocity, whilst the black moon hung before the sun, a corona of light flashed out in startling brilliancy, and beauty around it, and red tongues of flame fringed its border; everything assumed an unnatural and unearthly hue; the air grew cool; the wind moaned; dew and clouds formed; animals were deceived by the apparent night; and even the unconscious flowers folded their petals for a night's rest. Whilst all were lost in wonderment, the sun burst forth; the unusual vision passed away, leaving no definite traces on the memory, or in the note book. Statements by the best observers differed; it was impossible, in any case, to sift the objective from the subjective. One thing seemed generally admitted, namely, that the red flames, or prominences, and the corona were accessories of the sun. With the eclipse of 1860 a new era of observation dawned. The photographic camera was impressed into service. Its un-

blanching eye, with its highly sensitive, and indelibly impressible retina, sees everything, and leaves no chance of slips of memory. There is no inaccuracy with it, no personal equation to be allowed. Under the auspices of the English government, Warren de la Rue obtained excellent photographs of totality in Spain. Much that had escaped the eye of observers was recorded upon them. But photography is color blind. It was still a vexed question, even as to the color of the prominences. There was scarcely ground to hope that a question as to their constitution would ever be answered. But about, the same time, a new mode of analysis made its entree into the scientific world. It had, at many previous periods, exhibited its leading features to scientific men, but it remained for two Germans, Kirchhoff, the physicist, and Bunsen, the chemist, to introduce Spectrum Analysis, as a practical reality. By means of it, chemistry, previously a purely terrestrial branch of science, became cosmical. It reached out into space as far as the telescope could penetrate, and began to analyze the sun and many other *celestial* bodies as readily, and accurately, as the ores in our hills, and thus to show new relationships, of our earth to the universe. To enter into a detailed explanation of the Spectroscope, the instrument used in this analysis, would lead us too far, but a few words will suffice to render apparent the underlying principle, and indicate the nature of the testimony upon which statements are made, which might otherwise pass as purest speculation.

By allowing a ray of sunlight to fall through a small opening upon a triangular glass prism, Newton obtained upon a screen a parti colored band of light, called the Solar Spectrum. This demonstrated, that the white sunlight was formed by the coalescence of the many colors of the band into which it was spread out in the spectrum,—usually described as shades of one of seven colors. Subsequent investigation showed that there were dark lines crossing this colored band, separating the finely blended colors. Many of these black lines were carefully mapped, and named, by letters of the alphabet, by Frauenhofer, of Munich, and called after him Frauenhofer's dark lines. Now many substances, when vaporized, give characteristic colored flames, of which fact the pyrotechnist takes advantage, in the manufacture of different colored fires,—as the red and green fires. It was noticed that, by allowing

light from one of these sources to pass through a prism, a spectrum was obtained, crossed by bright lines, instead of dark ones. Further investigation showed that the same substance always gave the bright lines in the same place, and, of course, of the same color, in the spectrum. Thus Baryta, the base of green fire, gives various bands of green lines; Strontia, the base of red fire, red and orange, and unexpectedly, a beautiful blue one; Lithia an intense characteristic red, and fainter orange. These combinations of bright lines then are characteristic of the elements producing them, and render the presence of almost infinitesimal quantities perceptible. By closing a book violently, within ten feet of the instrument, the presence of the almost omnipresent Sodium, in the dust, manifests itself at once by a bright yellow line. The presence of several elements at the same time, does not, as a rule, cause any difficulty. But in the sunlight, either direct or reflected by the planets and moon, and starlight only dark lines had been noticed. There was no hint at a connection between them and the bright lines given by terrestrial elements. Whilst preparing a chart of the bright lines, given by different substances, for purpose of description, it occurred to Kirchhoff to arrange his apparatus in such a way, that a spectrum of sunlight might be thrown immediately above that produced by the substance under investigation, so that the bright lines it gave might be described by their positions, relatve to the dark lines of the solar spectrum. The remarkable fact then revealed itself, that the bright lines produced by many terrestrial elements were represented by dark lines in the solar spectrum. Thus, sixty bright lines produced by iron, when in state of incandescent vapor, corresponded with sixty dark lines. So with the bright lines of other elements. The inference became irresistible, that the coincidences were not a matter of chance, but that they indicated some connection between the dark lines of the sun, and these terrestrial elements; that iron had something to do with the formation of some of these dark lines.

Further investigation showed, that if light, from a source giving bright lines, was made to pass through vapor of the substance emitting the light, before falling on the prism, dark lines would be produced in place of the bright ones. This theory of exchanges formed the foun-

dation of solar, or cosmical, chemistry. With as great a degree of certainty as attaches to any scientific statements, it could be affirmed, that part of the light of the sun is emitted by incandescent iron, and passes outward toward the earth through a solar atmosphere partially composed of vapor of iron, which reverses the bright lines of the iron spectrum. For similar reasons the presence of Sodium, Copper, Nickel, Gold, and many other terrestrial elements is affirmed in the sun, and many of the fixed stars, indicating to some extent a common composition. A little experiment will enable any one to appreciate this fact. If a little salt is placed upon the wick of a tallow candle, and its flame is brought before the flame of another tallow candle, similarly treated, (or what is much better that of an alcohol lamp colored by a soda compound,) it will be found, on close inspection, that the yellow flame will be bordered by a black line,—the yellow soda light from one source is absorbed by the vapor of soda, formed on the margin of the other.

Another fact, in this connection, has a bearing on our subject. It is found that the light emitted by solids or liquids, intensely heated, gives a continuous spectrum, without dark or bright lines, that that of an incandescent gas —with few exceptions—gives bright lines, and that we are in a condition therefore to determine, in many cases, the state of the body emitting the light. Thus nebulae, (not such as consist of remote groups of stars), and comets have been made to give an account of themselves, and, up to this time, seem to be composed of incandescent gases. These few facts in regard to the spectroscope will enable any one to form an idea of the reasonableness of the high expectations from the observance of a total eclipse, subsequent to that of 1860. Even the rigid mathematical astronomer felt that a total eclipse was good for something more than the correction of celestial measures, and weights, and grew interested in the prospect of learning something in regard to our relationship to our great central luminary. The expeditions to Aden and Guntoor to view the total eclipse in the preceding year, by partial success, had only excited more irresistible interest in that of the past year, and had indicated the best points and methods of observation.

It is not surprising then, that, for weeks beforehand, corps of scientific men, sent forward by governments, in-

stitutions of learning, liberality of private individuals, all handsomely supplemented by the liberality and courtesy of railroad companies, were to be seen converging upon the most accessible points in the belt of totality, about 140 miles wide, extending from Sitka to our North Carolina coast. Armed with all the recent appliances of science, telescopes, spectroscopes, polariscopes, thermometers, barometers, actinometers, and others of the large families of—scopes and—meters, the number of trained observers, and the number and variety of stations tended to eliminate the chances of clouds or haze, or other local, or accidental causes of failure.

All scraps of experience of previous parties had been collated, and carefully considered, and all previous experience indicated the necessity of most thorough division of labor. The great concentration of mental and physical energy upon the observation of this phenomenon was not therefore to be frittered away by diffused investigation, but each observer, with a friendly interest in every other feature of the phenomenon, devoted himself wholly to one. The highest accuracy was required of all, so that there were scarcely posts of honor, but there were posts of sacrifice. Some assigned to the photographic dungeon had to leave all hope of seeing the eclipse behind, others kept their eye on the chronometer to mark the time, others were devoted wholly to the dissection of the light, of the red prominences, or of the corona, by means of the prism of the spectroscope, to elicit new contributions to the rapidly increasing facts of cosmical chemistry, and so forth.

It was the fortune of the writer to be placed in charge of the section of Prof. Morton's photographic expedition, under government auspices, stationed at the ambitious young city of Ottumwa, Iowa. The instrument employed was that belonging to Pennsylvania College, a refractor with an aperture of six inches, and focal length of eight and half feet. It is from the celebrated establishment of Merz & Sohn in Munich. It is equatorially mounted, or in such a manner, that when ranged upon the sun, or a star, it can be made to follow the celestial object, in its apparent movement over the earth, by a movement on a single axis. This movement of the telescope, which directs it continually to the star, and thus keeps it in view, is accomplished by clock work, which, when properly regulated, relieves the observer from any care on this

point. This is especially necessary to adapt it to photographic purposes. For if a picture of an object is desired, which cannot be made to remain stationary, but that will move with a regular motion, the only plan left, to catch a well defined image, is to follow the object by a corresponding motion of the instrument, and thus cause its image to remain accurately upon the same portion of the photographic plate. This motion can only be effected, with the requisite degree of smoothness, and regularity, by means of a clock-work driver. The telescope with this adjustment alone is, however, simply fitted for purely astronomical observations. The eye piece unfits it for photographic purposes. For this reason the German expedition, to Aden, in 1868, employed the objective of the telescope alone. But the picture of the sun obtained in this way was so small, that it required subsequent enlargement, and, in enlarging, all defects of a photographic negative, taken under such peculiarly difficult circumstances, are correspondingly enlarged. For this reason it was deemed best to have modified eye pieces adapted to the instrument, that would render it possible to take negatives directly about two and a half inches in diameter, from which satisfactory prints could be made without enlarging. An ordinary photographic camera was screwed to the eye piece, and the image of the sun, formed by the telescope, brought into focus on the ground glass; the usual dark slide with prepared photographic plate then substituted for it, exposed to the image of the sun, and developed, the telescope merely playing the part of the short brass tube, with its lenses, on the ordinary camera. There were, however, several difficulties to be overcome. It is an easy matter for a photographer to expose his sensitive plate for just the requisite length of time to the image of the object to be copied, by removing the cap, or dark cloth, from the lens and replacing it. He deals with seconds of time. But the comparatively inconceivably short time required, and allowed to fix the image of the sun, and consequent effect of minute differences of time, render such a leisurely method of exposure unavailable for the solar photographer. A rather complicated apparatus was devised to control this operation satisfactorily. Without a drawing a detailed description would hardly be intelligible, but its general construction may be indicated. A brass slide, about three inches long, and about an inch

wide, was adapted to move smoothly in grooves between the eye piece, and the sensitive plate. In this slide a slit was made, transverse to its movement, one-fortieth of an inch wide. This slit was made to shoot past the eye piece, by means of one, or all, of three springs, readily attached, or detached, to regulate with nicety the time of exposure. A trigger held the slide in position, so as to prevent the image of the sun from falling upon the prepared plate. When all was ready a slight touch on the trigger released the slide, and, impelled by the springs, the slit flashed past the eye piece, the upper part of the slide covering the eye piece again, when it came to rest on a pin beneath. The passage of the slit occupied, probably, from the one-twentieth to one-fortieth of a second, and the light from the different parts of the image of the sun scarcely rested upon their part of the plate, the one-thousandth of a second, and yet in that time the image of the sun was impressed. Instantaneous as this may seem, it was found necessary, in addition, to cover a portion of the field glass of the telescope, (six inches in diameter), by placing a cap on it, with an opening of only two inches, in order to prevent an over exposure of the plate. This was done in preference to making the slit narrower, because light in passing through very narrow slits is diffracted, as physicists say, and the sun's image would have been rendered indistinct. During the total phase, when the sun was obscured, and only the corona, and red flames were to be photographed, the light from which is comparatively,—or rather photographically,—feeble, it was found necessary to take the cap off of the objective, and expose the plate from six to sixteen seconds, by substitution of another slide with a large circular opening, held in position by another trigger, for the desired number of seconds.

There is still another difficulity encountered in the use of an ordinary telescope for photography. The image formed on the ground glass, although beautiful, and well defined to the retina of the eye, is not so to the photographic plate;—it sees things in a different light. The eye is impressed principally by the yellow and red light, the photographic plate by the blue rays, or the invisible ones beyond. These different colored rays form images at different distances from the eye piece, that by the blue rays lying a little within that formed by the red and yellow. If the photographic plate is placed where the visual image

is most distinct, the photographic image, which impresses it, will be indistinct. Ordinary photographic lenses are constructed with a view to correct this defect, and Mr. Rutherford, whose lunar photographs are unrivalled, had a lens constructed for his telescope for photographic work. We were not in a condition to have that done; the objective at present with the instrument being worth probably two thousand dollars. But by placing the prepared plate a little nearer the eye piece, than the point at which the visual image was most distinct, after repeated trials the place of the most distinct photographic image was very accurately determined, and marked. For several weeks before hand, experiments were made with the telescopes of the expedition, placed in position in West Philadelphia, until most satisfactory pictures of the sun were obtained, finely marked with the dark spots and bright faculae on his surface, and nicely graduated in tone from the central parts to the periphery.

But whilst physicists, and chemists were concentrating the mental and physical toil of weeks upon investigations to be made during Totality, to which calculation assigned a duration at the most favorable points, of less than three minutes, the astronomer was hoping for a correction of the data upon which his calculations were founded,—to make for example a more accurate determination of that somewhat uncertain constant, the diameter of the moon. The exactness of the exact sciences rests primarily on facts of observation, and progress toward accuracy in the prediction of an eclipse, for example, could only attend increased accuracy of celestial data. No error is supposable in the computation of an eclipse, for mathematics, in the hands of a practical computer, is a practically perfect machine else. The astronomer had determined by calculation the instant at which the black moon would begin to roll between the eye and the sun, and to him it was of great importance to know the magitude of the error of his prediction. He desired the exact time of the beginning of the eclipse, beginning of totality, end of totality, end of the eclipse. It is very difficult to notice the exact time at which the invisible moon, should touch the bright sun; there is room for an error of the eye in detecting it, and the ear in noting the second. But, by taking several photographs of the partial phases, and noting their times accurately, they can by subsequent measurement be used

for determining the instant of contact by calculation. An attempt was therefore made to gratify the astronomer, by eliminating the errors of eye, and ear; the photographic plate was substituted for the one, and an electric chronograph for the other. The trigger which released the slide to allow it to flash past the plate, as it did so, was mdea to send an electric current to register the instant of exposure, by a pen similar to a telegraph pen, on a fillet of paper, aside of the seconds' marks made by another pen, tapped by an observer in charge of the chronometer. So accurate have been the results obtained in this way, that Prof. Pierce of Cambridge regards them as observations worthy of the highest confidence, and doubtless the previously adapted value for the diameter of the moon will be modified by them. The moon did not appear at the calculated time, being from five to ten seconds late, but the time calculated from the photographs obtained at one place, agreed to the one-third of a second with the observed time; the accuracy of the observed time being due to a new and beautiful application of the Spectroscope for this purpose. The eye piece of the telescope was supplied with a reticule of two spider lines, at right angles to each other, which were adjusted respectively parallel and at right angles to the celestial equator, and being photographed with the sun, served to fix the position of the sun and the moon, and objects of interest on the margin of the sun. The perfection of the arrangements was largely due to the scientific knowledge and skill of the celebrated optician Zentmayer of Philadelphia.

Equipped with this instrument, and all necessary accessories, the party was transported in a special car, furnished by the Pennsylvania R. R., to their destination; sections similarly equipped having been dropped at Burlington, and Mt. Pleasant, Iowa. Upon our arrival, on Wednesday evening preceding the eclipse, we found a convenient shelter shed, with sliding roof, already erected, under instructions from Professor Coffin, of the Naval Bureau, on what will be hereafter known as Observatory Hill, about a mile north east of the city. Next day the telescope was set up on cross beams, firmly set in the ground. The clock-work, somewhat deranged by transportation, was put in order. Cloudy weather set in on Thursday, and interfered with the proper adjustment of the instrument; but, notwithstanding the depression caused by

the state of the weather, the work of preparation went on with apparently as much faith in clear weather as in the mathematical calculation; this unremitted work created an impression on the minds of many, that the astronomical party had some guarantee of fair weather. A severe thunder storm on Friday morning, unroofed our shed, and in the evening, with sky overcast, we were inquiring by telegraph in all directions the prospects of the weather, with no encouragement from the chat. The most harrassing thought was, that even an unexceptionable eclipse might find us unprepared at the critical moment, by reason of absence of clear sky for a few hours preceding the eclipse, to make the final adjustment. About four A. M. on Saturday, Polaris exhibited himself, but for an instant, to the observer on the look out for stars. The morning after dawn was full of promise mingled with doubt, but finally the clouds began to resolve, a dry wind set in from the East, by ten o'clock only threatening little clouds were floating about, and by noon not even a sentinel cloudlet remained above the horizon. Silently, and almost breathlessly, but busily, preparations were completed; the last touches made in the adjustment of the instruments; the chronograph, and batteries set up, and one pen connected with the camera, the other with the key on which seconds were to be tapped. Other observers were busy with their particular preparations. An hour before the long expected moment all was in readiness. There was a lull that called to mind, that preceding the clash of immense armies, as they lie before each other manœuvering for position. A few minutes before the calculated time of contact, every one was at his post; the time caller began his clear but monotonous count of the seconds, only interrupted by the click of the chronograph pen as it recorded them. The telescope was accurately directed to the sun, a sensitive plate placed in the camera, and all glasses raised to catch the first contact. Finally the merest trace of a dark object was seen to indent the margin of the sun. The camera trigger was touched, the slide flashed past, and clicked upon the supporting pin beneath, and the chronograph pen tapped the response, as it registered the instant. Plate after plate was exposed in quick succession, and developed in the dark room, until five were secured. Then exposures were made every ten minutes, until the rapidly dwindling solar

cresent indicated the approach of Totality. Four plate-holders were filled with prepared plates, and five other plates brought to the last stage of preparation. Three plates were quickly exposed to the rapidly vanishing sun, the third catching finely the last quivering line of the sun, cut up into liquid, bead-like fragments by the projecting peaks of the lunar mountains. In a tenth of a second the phenomenon changed; as the last ray of pure sunlight, from Bailey's Beads, as the fragments are called, disappeared, the transition to comparative darkness was sudden. The stars seemed to spring out with peculiar brilliancy, without their usual struggle through twilight, but, superior to every other feature, in its impress on mind, and heart, the corona flashed forth in its indescribable beauty, extending far beyond the black central moon, of silvery whiteness, fibrous, slightly curled or twisted, like a cirrus cloud, reminding forcibly of a sudden outburst of a grand aurora. To the naked eye rose colored, approaching crimson, protuberances or tongues of flame studded the border of the moon, some seeming to indent it, as if volcanic eruptions on its surface. The unusual light gave a ghastly illumination to the landscape, and birds fluttered by in a troubled way. Breathless silence reigned among the scientific observers, as well as others, who had crowded observatory hill, in spite of the police guard. All seemed awed. The facts of cause and prediction seemed lost. An irresistible feeling of helplessness, and desolation, or rather desertion, took hold of every one. The great sustaining orb of day, that for an hour had been dying away, seemed finally extinguished; the rayless mass hung out in space, with the last flickering outbursts of light in the corona and protuberances preceding final darkness. "Great Pan is dead" seemed audible in the air, and written on the weird scene. But this was the time for full, and accurate observation. But human senses, unreliable at best, in presence of such a phenomenon, with a consciousness of extremely limited time, almost fail. The most self-possessed become confused. Without instrumental aids, such as have been alluded to, it is easy to comprehend, why a Total Eclipse of the sun should remain a wonder, and nothing more. We can almost pardon De la Rue for mentally registering a vow, as he was obliged to turn, from a sense of duty,

from such a sight, to the prosy, practical work of photographing it, that he would never take part in such observations again, except as a mere untrammeled observer; a resolution which, to the regret of all, he has strictly kept.

The cap was hastily removed, a slide with circular opening substituted for the one with the slit, plates were exposed respectively six, twelve and sixteen seconds, the fourth, after a few seconds' exposure, caught the first rays of the reappearing sun. A joyous feeling of relief succeeded the previous depression, which manifested itself in merry chatter and even loud applause. This was however no time for relaxation by the photographic corps. The astronomer desired negatives near this contact. The cap and previous slide were quickly restored, five negatives were rapidly taken, then others more leisurely, until the final contact was near, when, by rapid exposures, the last faint indentation by the moon was obtained and our two hours' work ended,—the eclipse was with the past. With the absence of the stimulus we began to feel the exhaustion of the travel, labour and anxiety of the past week, but the labor of taking down and repacking the instruments was light compared with the adjustment of them under the depressing circumstances. It must be confessed that we were disappointed to find that we had obtained only four negatives of Totality, but closer study of them, and accounts of similar parties have rendered us more than satisfied with our results. And as parties homeward bound crossed each other's paths a hasty comparison of experience showed an all-pervading feeling of satisfaction.

Space forbids a recapitulation even of facts, much more of deductions from them. In time, a full report will be published under auspices of the Naval Bureau by the government. In the meantime every scientific Journal, domestic and foreign has its quantum of Eclipse notes. The various reports, official and informal, in the September and October numbers of the Franklin Institute Journal, are especially satisfactory.

The photographs give only traces, many indeed nothing, of the corona. It does not impress the photographic plate readily. The red prominences are indicated by white markings on the margin of the moon, sometimes indenting it. Glass copies only are adapted to the rendering of the full details of the negatives, but the paper prints, exposed for sale, exhibit some prominences with

spreading branches at the top, as might be expected in a rapidly rotating cloud-mass—incandescent in this case, throwing off sprays in all directions. The spectroscope by the bright lines, which it detected in their light, declares them to be gaseous—mainly hydrogen, but the different lines, not yet fully interpreted, in different prominences, indicate a probable variation of kind and quantity of elements in them. Some were pointed, jutting out like the Aiguilles of the Alps—some, seventy thousand miles high, others seem to cling to the border of the sun, others to lie loosely like a rolling cloud-mass stretching hundred thousand miles, with, here and there, portions wholly detached from the sun. The latest view regards all these rosy masses as local aggregations of a gaseous envelope of the sun, called the chromosphere. The sun then would consist of a nucleus, intensely heated to be sure, but of feeble, radiating power, surrounded by a photosphere of high radiating power, constituting what we see and measure as the sun, most probably liquid or solid matter, but, as recent investigations show, possibly gaseous; upon it rests the chromosphere to a height varying, generally, from three thousand to eight thousand miles, except where elevated into prominences, and far beyond this, about a million of miles, extends the true atmosphere of the sun. This latter was supposed to cause the corona, by reflecting the light of the obscured sun, but the fact of the polarization of its light, upon which this hypothesis rested, has not been substantiated by use of better polariscopes in the recent eclipse, whilst the spectroscope, by the discovery of bright lines, singularly coincident with those of the Aurora of April 15th, 1869, suggests that the corona has an electrical origin and is a permanent Aurora, connected with the sun, only visible when his bright light is cut off by the interposed moon. Sun spots, and faculae are variously explained; the former as rents in the luminous photosphere by upward, or downward, rush of gaseous matter; the latter as portions of the photosphere thrown high up into the atmosphere, and consequently losing less light by its absorptive power.

The indentation of the moon by the prominences, and the marked increase of brightness, in the pictures of the partial phase, of the edge of the sun nearest the moon, a fact before noticed, but not decidedly enough to withstand explanation by the word subjective, hint at a lunar atmos-

phere, in spite of long admitted facts to the contrary. These photographs also, when slightly magnified by a reading lens, show beautifully, that the edge of the moon projected on the sun is not smooth, but jagged by the projecting peaks, that ultimately give rise to Bailey's Beads. The improvement produced by mounting the pictures as stereoscopic slides, as has been done, is due solely to the magnifying power of the lenses, as all the conditions necessary for true stereoscopic effect are wanting; and single pictures will, therefore, produce a like effect, if magnified.

These few facts will illustrate the nature of the observations, and deductions from them, and, it is hoped, serve the general reader, in some measure, as an introductory to the fuller reports upon this subject.

ARTICLE XI.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Epistle of Paul to the Romans. By J. P. Lange, D. D. and Rev. F. R. Fay: Translated from the German by J. F. Hurst, D. D. With additions by P. Schaff, D. D., and Rev. M. B. Riddle. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. Every Christian scholar should rejoice that this great Biblical work, which has engaged the services of some of the best scholars in Europe and America, and which combines the results of the most careful exegetical investigation, is progressing so rapidly towards a successful completion. The amount of labor expended upon its preparation can be readily seen from a brief inspection of its pages. This is the eighth volume in the series, and is in every respect worthy of its predecessors; it is a mine of wealth, rich, complete, exhaustive and suggestive. The Exegetical and Doctrinal parts of the volume were prepared by Dr. Lange, and the Homiletical selections by his son-in-law, Rev. F. R. Fay. The translation is by Dr. Hurst and Rev. M. B. Riddle, who have introduced some valuable matter. The preliminary chapters present a sketch of St. Paul, the character of the Pauline Epistles, with a history of that to the Romans, its interpretation, occasion, purpose, time and place of composition, its contents, and the authority upon which each statement is made, also a catalogue of the literature in this Epistle. There are important additions to the work by Dr. Schaff, who with ripe scholarship unites, in a high degree, Christian simplicity and an eminently devout spirit.

History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. By K. R. Hagenbach, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. Translated from the last German edition with additions.

By Rev. John F. Hurst, D. D. Vol. I. New York : Charles Scribner & Co. Dr. Hagenbach, as a writer, is well-known in this country. In his sentiments he is evangelical, occupying the same theological position as Tholuck, Julius Miller and Dorner in opposition to Rationalistic tendencies, and in his special department, belonging to the school brought into existence by Neander, that prince among Church historians. The work, however, can scarcely be called a History of the Church. It is rather a history of the leaders of theological opinion and of philosophy as connected with theology, and that mainly confined to the author's own country. England receives very little consideration, and the Church in America is entirely ignored. This work is less thorough and profound than the *History of Dogmatics*, yet it is very attractive and of great value. The sketches of Frederick the Great, Semler, Zinzendorf, Herder, Bengel and others are graphic and interesting.

History of the Reformation in Europe, in the time of Calvin. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, D. D. Vol. V. New York : Robert Carter and Brothers. Few works are more interesting and instructive than the productions of this venerable author, who here presents, us with the tenth volume of the *History of the Reformation,* The volume before us is devoted to England under Henry VIII, Geneva and Ferrara, and discusses that important period, with its thrilling incidents and vast interests, skilfully and judiciously, with its usual freshness and vigor of style.

Discourses on Truth. Delivered in the Chapel of the South Carolina College. By James H. Thornwell, D. D., President and Chaplain. New York : Robert Carter & Bros. In seven discourses to young men, the author discusses the ethical system of the Bible, the love of truth, sincerity, faithfulness, vows and consistency. Dr. Thornwell was regarded in his day as a great preacher, and, although he has passed away, his words will not soon be forgotten.

The Shepherd of Israel: or Illustrations of the Inner Life. By Duncan Macgregor, M. A., New York : Robert Carter & Bros. This volume contains sixteen discourses on practical subjects, such as the Shepherd of Israel, from which the book takes its title, the Unknown Way and the Known Guide, the Fiery Trial, the Wonders of the Bible and Times of Refreshing, discussed in the author's usual earnest and devout spirit.

Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher. An Autobiography. Edited by his daughter. Translated by Rev. M. G. Easton. With a Preface by Professor Cairns. New York : Robert Carter & Bros. This is a volume of peculiar attractions, containing not the mere detail of incident, connected with the life of a prominent divine, but abounding in historical information of the times and illustration of the various philosophical systems taught in the Universities, with pictures of domestic life, presented in a familar and animated style. The volume is adorned with a photograph of the author.

Sorrow. By Rev. John Reid. New York : Robert Carter & Bros. This work contains meditations on the characteristics and causes of Sorrow, with examples from many points of views, treated with much tenderness and beauty, sometimes with originality and force, exhibiting great familiarity with human experience, and written in the style of deliberate observation.

The Bible in Spain; or the Journeys, Adventures and Imprison-

ments of an Englishman in an Attempt to circulate the Scriptures on the Peninsula. By George Borrows. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. We read this volume more than twenty years ago, and the pleasure of its perusal is increased by the important events. which have recently transpired in Spain, where the author lived five years, and some of the fruits of whose labors are, at the present day, apparent.

Paul the Preacher: or a Popular and Practical Exposition of his Discourses and Speeches, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. By John Eadie, D. D., LL. D. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. The author is Professor of Biblical Literature in the U. P. Church and is well known as the compiler of the best edition of Cruden's Concordance. In this volume, he shows himself a vigorous writer and an earnest preacher, and, in his endeavors to explain and apply the words of the great apostle, he omits all technical exegesis, minute criticism, and the citation of authorities, simply giving results and aiming to press the truth on the attention and conscience.

The Martyrs, Heroes and Bards of the Scottish Covenant. By George Gilfillan, M. A. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. The author, with his marked peculiarities, in this volume, gives the reader a brief and interesting narrative of the Scottish Covenant, its history and the character of its principal actors, with a practical application of the subject to the great questions of the day.

Shining Light. By the author of Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. As the title indicates, the little work is of a religious character, and is full of earnest thoughts and striking incidents, illustrative of the general theme of Christian consecration and usefulness.

Scripture Manual, or Religious Exercises for the Morning and Evening of each Day in the Month. For Academies, Schools and Private Families. By N. C. Brooks, LL. D. Phila.: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. *Sabbath School Manual*, or Religious Exercises for the Morning and Evening of each Sabbath in the Year. For the use of Sabbath Schools and Private Families. By N. C. Brooks, LL. D. Phila.: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. These are two little Manuals neatly arranged, consisting of prayers, hymns and appropriate texts, suitable for reading aloud in the school-room, or the family, for both of which objects they are admirably adapted. They will be found of value to teachers and parents, and to all who would inculcate upon the youthful mind the cardinal truths of Christianity.

Emanuel; or the Titles of Christ: Their Teaching and Consolation. By Octavius Winslow, D. D. *The Tree of Life;* its Shade, Fruit and Repose. By Octavius Winslow, D. D. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. Both of these volumes are written in the interests of practical religion. They are evangelical, earnest and devotional.

The Dying Saviour and the Gipsy Girl. By Marie Sibree. *Affliction;* or the Refiner watching the Crucible. By Rev. Charles Stanford. *The Secret Disciple*, encouraged to avow his Master. By Rev. J. Watson. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. These are delightful little books, presenting sound views of religious truth in a pleasing style aud designed to enlighten the mind and impress the heart.

The Apocalypse. **A series of Special Lectures on the Revelation**

of Jesus Christ, with Revised Text. By J. A. Seiss, D. D. Vol. I. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. The Lutheran Book Store. These Lectures sixteen in number on the first seven chapters of Revelation, already favorably noticed in the *Quarterly*, are here gathered in an elegant volume of four hundred and fifty-four pages, and contain the author's peculiar views, fearlessly and forcibly presented. Although we dissent from many of the interpretations, his position is always maintained with great ability, and his arguments often difficult to answer. It is a valuable volume, and worthy of the attention of those who adopt or reject the author's views.

Outlines of New Testament History for Youth. Phila. Lutheran Board of Publication. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. This book, written by Rev. G. F. Maclear, is designed as a companion to the Old Testament History already noticed with favor in the *Quarterly*. It consists of three books, and embraces the discussion of the following points: (1.) The Connection between the Old and New Testaments; (2.) The Gospel History; (3.) The Apostolic History. We desire again to commend the efforts of the Lutheran Board, and sincerely desire that their services may be appreciated by the whole Church.

Tom Harding and his Friends. By Nellie Eyster. With illustrations. Philadelphia: Duffield Ashmead. This is the fourth volume of the *Sunny Hour Series* by a most excellent Christian woman, a member of one of our Lutheran churches in Harrisburg, who with her fine descriptive powers, knows how to interest children. Thomas Harding, is a Harrisburg lad, who goes South in a United States steamer, and in the attractive narrative, are depicted the novel scenes which meet the eye of the hero, and the strength of his Christian principle. It is a good book, and is worthy of a wide circulation.

Bessie at School. By Joanna H. Matthews. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. The Fifth of this interesting series owes its origin to the interest which its predecessors awakened. The authoress is doing a work of great value for the youthful reader by presenting, in her successful descriptions, the power of the truth upon the hearts of little children. "Bessie's Travels" will complete the series.

Little Drops of Rain. By the author of Nell's Mission. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is a charming little story, not only beautifully written, but inculcating practical lessons of duty, and illustrating the happiness, which results from doing good.

Songs of Gladness for the Sabbath School. Containing Music and Hymns, suited to over thirty purely Sabbath School Occasions. Also a choice selection of Prayer-meeting and Choir Tunes with over one hundred of the choicest old standard Hyms. By J. E. Gould. Philadelphia: J. C. Garrigues & Co. This volume, which is designed for all Christian denominations, and has been introduced into some of our prominent Sunday Schools, unites two very important features—beautiful music in connection with appropriate words.

Discourses on Various Occasions. By the Rev. Father Hyacinthe. Translated by Rev. Leonard W. Bacon. With a Biographical Sketch. New York: G. P. Putman & Son. This is a most interesting volume, embracing discourses on social and religious subjects, indicating a high degree of intellectual power and culture, united with a generous sympathetic nature and genuine eloquence by one who is

deserving of the interest he has awakened in our land, and who, although he still professes to be a Catholic, has certainly none of the Romanism of Rome in his composition. The Biographical Sketch of Father Hyacinthe, or Charles Loyson, as is his real name, is quite interesting as well as the excellent Essay appended on "Men and and Parties in the Catholic Church in France," by Rev. Edward de Pressense. The volume also contains a portrait of the eloquent preacher.

The Veil Lifted: or the Romance and Reality of Convent Life. Boston: Henry Hoyt. Every revelation of convent life, which correctly portrays the fearful influence of the cruel system, and leads to a proper apprehension of its evils, is of value. The book before us gives a graphic portraiture of the sufferings of those who have become the victims of a delusion, and have yielded to its iron rule. Whilst the anonymous character of the publication is not so satisfactory, we believe the statements, corroborated as they are by other writers, are reliable, and the book will do good.

Mental Philosophy; embracing the three departments of the Intellect, Sensibilities and Will. By Thomas C. Upham, D. D. In two volumes. New York: Harper and Brothers. This is a revised edition of what, for many years, was very favorably known as a text-book on the subject. It is a systematic and popular exhibition of the Scotch system of mental philosophy, although it can scarcely be regarded as fully equal to the progress of the science. The author is too earnest a disciple of Locke, and fails to give sufficient prominence to the elaborate investigations of Hamilton, Mill, McCosh, Hopkins, Haven, Porter and other more recent writers on the subject. The discussions, although neither profound nor exhaustive, are clear, pleasing and instructive, and the illustratrations of the more obvious truths are numerous and apt. The work is well adapted to those, who are commencing the study of the Science.

The History of Rome. By Theodore Mummsen. Translated with the Author's sanction and additions by Rev. W. P. Dickson, D. D. With a Preface by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. New edition in four volumes. Vol. I. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. This a beautiful edition of a work, pronounced by the ablest critics as the best history of Rome. It is carefully written, independent and thorough in its researches, exact and graphic in its style, and worthy of the high reputation, which Dr. Mummsen enjoys, as the finest scholar, now living in these departments of historical research. It is one of the best contributions the present century has given to the literature of history.

Ancient States and Empires, for Colleges and Schools. By John Lord, LL. D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. The contents of the volume are embraced in two books: (1.) The period anterior to the Abolition of the Monarchy; (2.) From the Abolition of the Monarchy in Rome to the Union of Italy, and in the discussions is briefly presented the God of History in those great movements, referred to in the Scriptures, so often ignored in our secular histories. The work is a symmetrical and substantial condensation of the subject and, although designed chiefly for schools, will be found useful for reference to more cultivated readers, The author is throughly acquainted with the ground over which he travels, and writes with great clearness and force.

The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812; or Illustrations by Pen and Pencil of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics and Traditions of the Last War for American Independence. By Benson J. Lossing. New York: Harper & Brothers. The author, in the preparation of this work, visited every place of historic interest connected with the War of 1812, making himself familiar with the topography and incidents of the battle-field, gaining information from the actors in its scenes, and gathering everything of special value, not found in books, that could illustrate his subject. The pictorial feature of Lossing's works is unique, and gives to them additional value and interest. There are nearly nine hundred engravings, chiefly from original sketches by the author, of portraits, maps and engravings admirably executed and constituting a history in themselves. It is a very attractive volume, abounding with incident and anecdote, and unfolding one of the most difficult of our early national conflicts.

Life of Jefferson Davis, with a Secret History of the Southern Confederacy, gathered behind the scenes in Richmond. By Edward A. Pollard. National Publishing Co. Philadelphia, etc. This work is full of information, relating to the leading Southern characters in the late Civil War, in connection with Jefferson Davis, and the intrigues of his administration by one who was closely associated with him, and who, as a journalist, had abundant opportunity to become acquainted with his character. To him the author ascribes the failure of the Confederacy. The work forms an interesting contribution to the literature of the Rebellion.

The Intelligence of Animals, with Illustrative Anecdotes. From the French of Menault. *Adventures* on the Great Hunting Grounds of the World. By Victor Meunier. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. These are both interesting volumes in the seriés of Scribner's Illustrated Wonders, to which we have before directed attention. In the first are given facts and incidents from original sources and the writings of eminent naturalists, designed as illustrations of intelligence in the animal creation. The second contains the adventures of the hunting field in every part of the globe with curious anecdotes of the animals themselves.

A Collection of the Proverbs of all Nations. Compared, Explained and Illustrated. By Walter K. Kelly. Andover: Warren F. Draper. The object of this book is to provide a collection of proverbs, adapted to general use. They are, for the most part, taken from British sources, and are arranged, according to their import and affinity, with translations of their principal equivalents in other languages, the originals being generally appended in foot-notes. Proverbs are so intimately connected with all human interests and with the very texture of a written literature, that such a work as this will be found of permanent value.

Mathematical Dictionary and Cyclopedia of Mathematical Sciences. By Charles Davies, LL. D. and William G. Peck, A. M. A. S. Barnes & Co. New York and Chicago. Dr. Davies is well known as one of the most accomplished mathematicians in the country, and Prof. Peck has been, for some time, engaged in giving instruction in the United States' Military Academy at West Point. We have been much interested in the work, presenting, as it does, in a condensed

form, definitions of all the terms employed in mathematics, an analysis of each branch and a general view of the whole subject, and we are sure the practical man will find it a useful compendium for reference.

The First Six Books of Virgil's Æneid, with explanatory notes, a Lexicon and Map ; together with an Appendix, containing Dr. S. H. Taylor's Questions on Virgil, and a Metrical Index. By Edward Searing, A. M., Professor of Latin in Milton College, Wisconsin. A. S. Barnes & Co. New York & Chicago. The preparation of the work originated in the wants of the Editor's own pupils, and, in its results, presents some very attractive features. The notes are concise and adapted to the object ; and the whole plan of the work is such as to advance the pupil, and to awaken an interest in classical study, in whose value, as a means of higher education, we have, with the Editor, an abiding faith.

A Practical Introduction to Latin Composition. For Schools and Colleges. By Albert Harkness, LL. D. Professor in Brown University. New York: D. Appleton & Co. This is a most excellent work, in its plan, arrangement, and execution. It is philosophical, simple, concise and comprehensive, well fitted to awaken an interest in the study of the Latin language, and to promote the cause of classical learning. Throughout the book there are evidences of accurate scholarship, and of a through acquaintance with the wants of the pupil.

The Æneid of Virgil. With Explanatory Notes. By Thomas Chase, Professor in Haverford College. *Caii Jalii Caesaris Commentarii de Bello Gallico.* By George Stuart, A. M., Prof. of Latin in Central High School of Phil. *Select Orations* of Marcus Tullius Cicero. With Explanatory Notes. By George Stuart A. M. *The Works of Horace,* edited with explanatory notes by Thomas Chase, A. M. Philadelphia : Eldredge & Bro. This classical series is admirably adapted to the purposes of instruction. The notes are concise and judicious, furnishing just the amount of help the pupil requires, whilst the size of the book, the clearness and beauty of the type, and the price at which the volumes can be procured, render the series a desirable one for introduction into our schools.

Manual Latin Grammar. Prepared by W. F. Allen, A. M., Professor of Ancient Languages and History in the University of Wisconsin and H. Allen, Cambridge, Mass. *Latin Lessons* adapted to the Manual Latin Grammar. Boston: Edward Ginn. We are much pleased with the plan and execution of both these volumes. The authors by their labors have rendered great service to the cause of classical learning. The Grammar has marked excellencies. It embraces the general principles of the language, expressed in clear and accurate language, and in a compass brief, yet sufficiently ample to meet the wants of the pupil in the earlier stages of his course.

Plain Educational Talks with Teachers and Parents. By Albert N. Raub, A. M. Philadelphia. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. This is not a scientific treatise; it is simply what its title indicates, but the important and practical views it offers are worthy the intelligent attention of parents and teachers. It is an acceptable addition to the literature of the subject.

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The *Evangelical Quarterly Reveiw* for January opens with a sermon on "The Importance and Connection of Works and Faith," by Dr. Webb. Dr. Lintner discusses "The Influence of Revivals." Reminiscences of G. B. Miller, D. D., are given. Prof. Loy discusses the Relation of "Piety and Property." President Valentine, "The Greatness of being Useful." Rev. J. A. Kunkelman considers the "Chinese Problem;" Rev. G. N. H. Peters, "The Ascensions of Christ," with much patient and minute scholarship; Prof. Harkey considers the question of "Close Communion in the Lutheran Church;" Prof. Baugher, "Christ's Prophecy of his Sufferings;" and Prof. Himes gives a learned account of the late "Total Eclipse of the Sun." It will be seen that this *Quarterly* means this year—as it has been used to do—to earn its money by good solid hard work, and plenty of it.—*Congregationalist and Boston Recorder.*

The *Review* is devoted to the exposition and defence of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, to Theological discussion, Biblical Criticism and Church History, by means of articles both original and translated from the German and other foreign journals. It is edited by Prof. M. L. Stœver, LL. D. of Pennsylvania College, who is one of the most genial, scholarly and large-hearted gentlemen in the Lutheran, or any other denomination.—*National Baptist.*

The number has an interesting variety of articles, and each one has its own attractive features. The "Biography of Dr. Miller" will be read with profound interest. The article on the "Ascensions of Christ" is attractive for its earnestness and its ability, for what may be called even its originality. The "Chinese Problem," though short is yet clear, thorough and timely. "Piety and Property" discusses an important question of Christian morals with great earnestness and accuracy, whilst the Sermon on "Revivals," the Sermon to "Young Men," and that on the "Passion" may be read with edification.—*Lutheran and Missionary.*

The article of Dr. Webb is a terse and practical discourse. Its simple directness of style and manner of illustration are quite refreshing. The article on "Revivals" is a judicious and useful presentation of the benefits of *Revivals* to the Lutheran Church with discriminating notices of some of the evils, which have sometimes attended them. The biographical sketch of Dr. Miller, written in the editor's best style, is a fitting tribute to the eminent worth of a great and good man.—*Lutheran Observer.*

THE

EVANGELICAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. LXXXII.

APRIL, 1870.

ARTICLE I.

GOD'S CARE OF HIS CHURCH AS EXHIBITED IN THE REFORMATION.*

By M. VALENTINE, D. D., President of Pennsylvania College.

The strong care of the Divine Love over the Church is most strikingly assured in the words of the Redeemer: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Full protection is forever guaranteed. Jesus saw that the Church He was founding on His own atonement, would be tried both by the power and treachery of the counsels adopted against it in the gates of hell, sometimes drenched in the violence of wrath, sometimes imperiled amid the fair deceits of unsuspected strategy. But God from above is mightier than power and treachery from beneath. The first and plainest idea of the promise is assured safety. But it is the safety which Love pledges and gives. He that touches the Church touches the apple of Jehovah's eye. It is in the centre of His heart, and therefore, can-

*Discourse, on the Anniversary of the Reformation, delivered in the College Church, Gettysburg, Oct. 31, 1869.

not be plucked from His hand. Thus the passage becomes a disclosure of the sure guardianship of God's love over His Church. In this sense, we wish to apply it. Never, perhaps, was there a more striking illustration of it, than in the Reformation. Never, probably, as during the six long, dark centuries preceding, had the steady, artful malice of the gates of hell seemed so near prevailing against the Church. Never, more signally than in the Reformation, did Love lift up a banner against the adversary; and, against the violence of wrath and power, bear it on to victory.

In this divine care of the Church, as exhibited in that blessed interposition, there are three prominent features, to which attention must be called. They may be marked as its *Providential*, its *Doctrinal*, and its *Practical* aspects. In these three points, the divine promise has received most striking illustration.

I. ITS PROVIDENTIAL ASPECT.

In the peculiar combination of external providences, concurring in the accomplishment of the Reformation, there is a marked display of God's careful love. An apocalypse of His love may be given in the dealings of His providence as truly as in acts of redemption. These dealings are, in fact, points of its outshining, to which He calls the view of men:—"Behold I,"—in the ordering of providence,—"will make them of the Synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, but are not, to come and worhip before thy feet, and to *know that I have loved thee.*" Rev. 3 : 9.

Full of God as History is, few events in its annals present more manifest and striking displays of His ruling providence than the Reformation. Few periods have been so full of the signs of His guiding presence. As plainly as in Israel's march from the brick-yards of On, through sea and wilderness, under God's pillar of fire and cloud, did His hand appear in this deliverance. It shines all through it. In every movement and at every turn, in the separate acts, and in their varied combinations, involutions, and evolutions, in all the stirring and sublime procession of its great events, the proof of His guiding arm of care is seen flashing out. While the ship was laboring through the storm and waves, He who sits on the throne, with all power in His hands, was holding the

helm, to bring it out under clear sky, and on peaceful sea. A few particulars will best illustrate.

1. *It is seen in the needful antecedent preparation for the work.* Sudden and abrupt as that religious revolution seems to have been, and really was, God had long been preparing the way, and marshaling the agencies and forces for its accomplishment. Epochs of history are not immediately and sharply sundered from each other, but the later usually has its causes in the earlier, and in turn, becomes the soil in which the succeeding is rooted. As confluent streams look to the formation of the river, the bending lines of many events were pointing to this grand religious restoration. Providence had brought the errors and corruptions of the Church into glaring and painful disclosure, and awakened a deep longing for a reformation. The consciously felt need of a disenthralling and purifying change had been long and urgently announcing itself. There was a profound impulse to throw off the burden; and the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have been marked on the pages of history, as a period of frequent reformatory effort. The sighs of anxious hearts were heard in heaven, and incipient endeavors began to break the quiet of many parts of Christendom. England, France, Germany, and Italy had been made to feel the agitating movements which heralded the coming deliverance. Such men as Wickliffe at Oxford, Wesel at Erfurt, Huss and Jerome at Prague, and Savonarola at Florence, were sent as fore-runners of the fulness of the appointed time—John Baptists, to prepare the way. These Reformers *before* the Reformation failed; for the times were not yet ripe. But their labors, and martyr-blood helped to ripen them.

Along with this, was the revival of learning, out of the intellectual degeneracy and decay of the Middle Ages, opening anew the treasures of classical and scholastic lore, and awakening literary and philosophical pursuits. The Art of Printing, invented in 1440, seems to have been just sent by Heaven, to scatter these fruits of learning among the nations, and to fall into the hands of the Reformers, to enlighten the earth from the Bible, and carry on the conflict of truth with the powers of error and darkness. This revival of learning, together with the art of printing, provided philological, philosophical, and general knowledge, without which the faithful interpretation and translation of the Scriptures, the needed revision of

dogmatic theology, and the rapid enlightenment of the popular mind, and enlisting of the popular heart, which marked the Reformation, could hardly have been successfully accomplished. Such men as Agricola, Reuchlin, and Erasmus appear to have been sent to collect the scattered materials, for the reconstruction of the temple of sacred knowledge. Circumstances were moving into readiness. In unmistakeable clearness, God was guiding the varied procession of events, in straight, sharp lines, to the hour when he would put a divine commission into the hands of Luther.

2. *An item, in this providential aspect, is seen in the preparation of Luther.* When God has a special work to be done, he provides and prepares the instrument for it. A Noah for a witness to the antediluvians and rescue of the race by the Ark—a Moses for the deliverance of an enslaved nation—a Samson for judgment on Philistine tribes—a David for the service of song in the house of the Lord—a Paul for the grand missionary labor in the infant Church—all this method is continued in a Luther for the Reformation. When God's love for his Church called for a successful Reformer, his providence and training provided one.

Bringing Luther's early life under the light of his appointed mission, it is seen to be full of the planning and moulding care of God. From the very first, God plainly said of him, as he said of Saul of Tarsus, "*He is a chosen vessel unto me.*" His youth was cast into hardships, but they could not repress him, or arrest his course. They were the early burdens, by carrying which, his soul was to develop the muscle and nerve of a conquering strength. He who charged the waters of the Nile not to destroy Moses, gave charge to the waves of time, on which Luther's early life was cast. The selection of a reformer from the hardy race of miners among the hills of Eisleben, his compulsory songs, in which he came into victory over the privation and hardships of his school days, the diversion of his mind from Jurisprudence to Theology, by the sudden death of his friend Alexis, his deep conviction of sin by the Holy Spirit, who is sent to convince of it, the severe discipline and instructive experiment of mistaken monastic life, the throwing into his way of the long hidden Word of God, the intense spiritual conflicts, and the profound spiritual experiences, through which God brought

him into a clear and stable apprehension of the way of salvation and the truths of the gospel, the imbedding in his deep soul of the great heart-doctrine of the cross—justification by faith—the insight given him of the corruptions of Rome, by sending him there to look into the home-workings of the "mystery of iniquity,"—all these things exhibit the clear and direct lines of Providential preparation and guidance for his appointed work. God thus brought him out into a clear view of Christianity, and it lay before him as a newly discovered land, through which he was to lead the way of others. In the endowments and training of his co-laborers, and the correlation of their intellectual and spiritual characteristics to their assigned and necessary parts in the great work, the same Providence is manifest. Whilsts the faltering mildness of Melanchthon, for instance, would have disqualified him for pressing on the leading, aggressive movement, yet, in mutual co-operation with the impetuous ardor of Luther, his gentleness and culture added elements of safety and strength to the sublime revolution. But, in the training of Luther himself, as the unquestioned leader in the great work, we have sufficient illustration of the point, of which we speak. In the reformation of this chief Reformer, the whole Reformation had been carried on in miniature, and all its fundamental principles and life had been given. The same Providence that prepared the times, most marvelously provided and fitted the agent for the ordained work.

3. *A most striking feature of this providential care is seen in the combination of varied national and governmental circumstances, by which the movement was protected, from its beginning to its accomplishment, from the power and machination of its enemies.* This is illustrated in a number of particulars:

(1) In its very commencement, a loving Providence is seen, affording it the counsel and protection of the Elector, Frederick the Wise Few princes have been so prudent, just, and firm in trying circumstances. Rarely has history presented one who could have met the emergency so well. His establishment of the University of Wittenberg, not only showed his noble love of learning, but founded the seat of the Reformer's power. All through the early perils of the Reformation, his unyielding determination and favor raised a bulwark about the person and work of Lu-

ther and his co-laborers. Neither the displeasure of Pope nor Emperor could break the strength of the shield which he held outstretched for the evangelical cause. Surely God was kind, and his providence was clear, in giving the power and wisdom of such a prince for the sheltering of the feeble cause. He appears to have specially raised him up, and endowed him, for this service. The page of history will ever present his relation to the Reformation as a striking illustration of the ways of Providence. "His memory," says Salig, "will be blessed as long as the Lutheran Church exists on earth."* All Protestant Christendom is enjoying the fruit of his services.

(2) The Providence that thus took in hand the holy cause, was never afterward withdrawn. That hand was soon again revealed. A storm of hierarchical and secular wrath soon rose over the Reformation, and burst forth in the edicts and bans of the Diet of Worms. A word of doom went forth against Luther and his adherents. The imperial decree meant all the bitterness of death. The guiding hand of God, however, moving the plans of the Elector, thwarted the wrath of foes, in a sudden withdrawal of Luther to the Wartburg. This was clearly the voice of heaven, saying, as once of old: "Come, enter thou into thy chamber, and shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself as it were for a little moment until the indignation be overpast."; Is. 26 : 20. But history adds the further statement,—"Divine Providence took his cause more effectually under its protection, by at once crippling and arresting the execution of the sentence of extermination, by the war in which the Emperor was immediately entangled with France."†

(3) Again, after the Diet of Augsburg, at which our great Confession, which has been ever since shaping the theology of Protestant Christendom, was read, the recess now ordered the execution of the suspended edict of Worms. For nine years, between the arrest of the edict of Worms (1521) to the recess, or edict, of Augsburg, the work of the Church's deliverance and restoration had been going on, always through difficulties, and sometimes bitter persecution and the flow of martyr-blood—a clear line of real progress, even through the sore trials of fanatic disturbance and peasant wars. But now, through a juncture of circumstances seemingly favoring their wishes, the uni-

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*Hist. Augs. Conf. †Giessler IV p. 58.

ted Papal and Imperial powers felt strong enough to carry out the delayed purpose of extermination. The peril was impending. The prospect darkened into alarming gloom. The Smalcaldic League lifted its banner for defence, weak and comparatively helpless as it was. But He who makes the wrath of man to praise him—using even his foes for his purposes of love—caused the Emperor to see three hundred thousand Turks, under the warrior Sultan, Soliman, on his imperial borders. God thus said to him, "Thus far mayest thou go, but here shall thy proud wrath be stayed." Thus the relation of the parties was so changed, that at the next Diet the Protestants were not the suppliant party, but the besought. The moving thousands of the Sultan left the thwarted Emperor no resource but to compromise. And thus, the first *Nuremberg Peace*, though brought to the Protestants by the hands of the Turks, was sent by God.

(4) Subsequently, the Turks being defeated by the help of the Protestants, the Emperor, unfaithful to given pledges, and ungrateful for received aid, persistent and true only to his hatred of the Reformation, and irritated especially by the Protestant alienation of Wurtemberg from his house, determined, again, to inflict the blow.* But in the revolving providences of God, an arrest was again put upon his movements. His hands were restrained by the threatened descent of the bold pirate Chaireddin, from Tunis, on his Italian and Spanish States. And as soon as the corsair was defeated, a war with the emperor, Francis I., of France, engaged all his energies and resources. So, again held back just when he was ready to overwhelm, he was compelled to seek the aid of those whom he had been planning to destroy.

(5) Still later, when the pressure of disability was apparently lifted off of him, when his prospects were clearing up brightly, and he was fortified in his purposes, and expectations of success, by the Nuremberg League, signed by the Roman Catholic States, for the execution of the recess of Augsburg against the Protestants, a guardian God once more stopped the eager Emperor, and by touching the course of events with His divine hand, and turning them, like the clouds, whithersoever He would, involved him in political complications and helplessness which should have

*Kurtz, Ch. Hist. II. pp. 78, and 81.

drawn from him the recognition, "O, God, Thou hast done it." The States of the Smalcaldic League, having seen the coming storm, and recognized the imminent peril, had drawn closely together and compacted their inadequate strength, expecting to have to meet violence with violence, or sink beneath the sweep of the papal and imperial power. But they had only to "stand still, and see the salvation of God." His special love was still pavillioning His holy cause. After the last baffled attempt of its foes, He had been restraining "the remainder of wrath," still left in smothered burning, until the broken power of Soliman was recovered; and when the Emperor is once more ready to strike,—lo, the Turks again!

These are instances and illustrations of the over-ruling care of of Him who had, ages before, said, "The gates of hell shall not prevail." It is interesting to note how many things God marshaled in the turns, movements, and procession of his providences. The circumstances of the times, the balance of political power between Pope and Emperor and Princes, the disturbed state of foreign relations, the strange turns of internal policy, the almost ceaseless hostility and threatening of Frank and Turk, and pirate, all these things kept both angry Pope and chafing Emperor involved in complication after complication, so that while they, all the time, wished to arrest the Reformation, they never could do it. Whenever they thought that their hands were free, the manacles of an arresting Providence were, again and again, put upon them, and new concessions were forced from them for the Protestant cause.

II. THE DOCTRINAL ASPECT.

In this, no less than in the Providential aspect, God's loving care of his Church is seen. The *doctrines* of the gospel are the arteries and veins for the flow of the life-blood of Christianity through the Church. It was largely through a corruption of these, that her woes had come on her, and the gates of hell had been threatening to succeed. Her salvation was to be secured through a doctrinal reformantion. The principle was to be fulfilled again: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

The two chief doctrinal aspects of the Reformation are marked and unmistakeable. They are made to stand out in bold relief, on the pages of history, in what are known

as the *formal* and *material principles* of the great change.

1. In the *formal* principle, we have *the doctrine of the supreme and sole authority of the word of God, as the Rule of faith and practice in the Church.* Into this God led the movement, through the decisive experience of Luther, already mentioned. In being able to find the way of salvation only through the direct teaching of the Bible, the Bible was, at the very beginning, put into its long-lost, but essential place and authority in the Church. The lesson was effectually learned, that the Holy Scriptures were to settle the doctrine and practice of Christians. The voice of God which went out through the darkness that had then rested on Christendom for centuries, "*Let there be light,*" was an imperative summoning of His word into its divine authority and liberty in the Church. In the revival of religion, after its decay in the Jewish commonwealth, the long-neglected Law was brought forth and read to the people. So Luther brought forth and read the Bible. This fact not only became *his* power, but tthe power and security of the Church ever since. The strength of the Reformation was, that it was not only *by* the Bible, but *to* the Bible. The fact ran into doctrine—the doctrine, that in all faith and practice, the Holy Scriptures are the only authoritative and sufficient rule. It was made a first principle for all Protestantism. By this doctrine God has anchored the Church forever to safe moorings. If it is the sum of all woes to the Church, to drift away from the simple teachings of the Gospel, if this prepares for the incoming and prevalence of every kind of destructive error, if it is a part of the adversary's ceaseless effort, to cause men to make shipwreck of hope through a perverson or denial of the faith, if the the whole Church, by neglecting the chart of the Scriptures, may become as a ship without star or compass, drifted off on dark seas, amid rocks and bars and varying currents, if all the transcendent interests of immortal souls are wrapped up in the preservation of the pure and saving truth as it is in Jesus, then, we cannot but be impressed with the love of God to His Church, in binding up the whole reformation movement to this fundamental law of the supreme and only authority of the Word of God in the faith and practice of His people. It was an essential starting point for a safe reform. It was an indispensable condition to subsequent security. By thus installing

again the supreme authority of the Scriptures in the Church, making her adopt, as a life-principle, the law of sitting at the feet of Christ, through a study of it, and taking it as the fountain of doctrine and the arbiter of controversies, the Reformation broke forever the tyranny of pope and priest and councils. The blessings will go down through the ages. It was the effectual word of God's love, saying: "The gates of hell shall not prevail."

2. The other chief doctrinal aspect to be noted, is the still more striking *material principle* of the Reformation, —the great doctrine of *Justification by faith.* We all know that the entire doctrine of salvation had been deeply corrupted, and the gate of heaven hidden from a perishing world. The chief point of the entrance of this corruption was the notion of work-righteousness and human merit. From this false notion, perverting errors ran in every direction. With wrong views of sin and human helplessness, men were led to depend on their own good deeds, penances, and self-mortifications, for acceptance before God. The only way of salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ, was hidden from view. Not only were the subordinate doctrines darkened under the shadows of this error, but the entire Church-life was corrupted, in all its manifestations.

But now the loving care of God is seen in restoring the vital truth, whose perversion had darkened all. He applied the corrective of all in one. Shaping the doctrinal developement of the movement from Luther's own deep and clear experience of the way of salvation, He caused this great, essential, and all-including doctrine of the Gospel, *Justification by Faith*, to appear as its vital and most prominent feature, rising high above every thing else in the conflict. It was the Protestant grasp on this doctrine, which marked the point where the heart of the struggle was felt to be. The Reformation could never have been wrought by any, or all, of the doctrines which lie on the circumference of the Christain system, outside of its heart, or moving about its doctrinal periphery. But with its roots in deep personal experience of sin and helplessness, the movement was divinely guided, from the very first, to the recovery and establishment of this fundamental doctrine of the Gospel—the doctrine which itself *is* the Gospel, the glad-tidings of salvation. The great truth went forth as the divine light through the Church's gloom.

The way of life lay, open and plain again, to the view of men,—"*Justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.*" "*Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.*" "*By grace are ye saved, through faith.*"

It is a shining exhibition of the loving care of the great Head of the Chrch, that attention was not now allowed to be taken up and absorbed by minor, collateral, or incidental truths, or practices, or directed simply to the lopping off of abuses and reforming the outward order of the Church, but that the movement seized and recovered this central and all-inclusive doctrine, in which every thing else is recovered. It is to be borne in mind that men are are very *prone* to go off in side directions, and in giving undue importance to secondary things, or their own little notions, to lose sight of fundamental and essential points. The history of that very period presents sad, but instructive, facts, which illustrate the need of supernatural guidance, to save from the destructive results of this tendency. *Fanaticism* did run off from the heart-doctrine of the Reformation, and the melancholy excesses and disorders thus brought to the surface, show into what wreck and ruin such mistake would have sunk the Church, had it become general. But God, in His watchful kindness, had so vivified the grand work with the doctrine of justification by faith—so bound up the very life of the Reformation with this mighty truth—that the onward movement, through all its perils, remained true to the Gospel, true to the Church, and true to the blood-bought souls of men Thus, whilst the Papacy fell from grace by the loss of this doctrine, the Church rose, in renewed power by its recovery, and stands, not in ossified, but living, strength, with all its life compacted in divine symmetry around it —every other doctrine and truth falling into its place, in the unity and harmony of the everlasting gospel of the grace of God.

We cannot be too grateful that the Reformation, destined to send its own characterizing features and forces down the centuries of subsequent history, was formed around the *real* centre of the Gospel. If the Church, as it moved on from that period, was not absolutely right in all its details of truth, or fully reformed in all its order and practice, its heart-truth, and all-regulative doctrine, were right. God restored to it, fully, the inner life-doc-

trine, which strongly tends to make all right,—to assimilate to itself all God's truth, and reject everything else. In this, as well as in restoring the authority of the inspired word, God's love was carefully providing for the security of the Church for after times. For it is only to the Church, that holds forever to Justification by faith, "through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus," against which the gates of hell shall never prevail.

III. ITS PRACTICAL ASPECT.

The Practical aspect of the Reformation relates to *life*, both ecclesiastical and personal.

1. Without doubt, Christianity is a "life," and any reformatory movement which should not be pervaded by this idea would be false and barren. Christ's words "are spirit, and they are life." All doctrine is for life, as the tree is for fruits. Its end is not in itself but beyond itself, in renovated, redeemed character. Its fruit is to be life, power, sanctification, and all the holy activities of regenerate humanity. It is, under the Holy Spirit, to bring forth the life of Christ into constant manifestation in mortal flesh.

2. The Reformation was made to proceed from the practical idea, and developed as a power of divine life to the Church. Having its birth in a deep experience of grace, and earnest personal religion, it became a revival of living Christianity. It wrought from within outward. Luther, having come into the light through an inner work of the most thorough and vital kind, with a soul all alive to God and duty, could do no superficial work. In his conception, Christianity, was a religion of the heart and of practical power. In his labors, he was concerned, not with doctrine for its own sake, but as the regenerating truth in the midst of life. It was manifestly not the purpose of God, to allow the work to become a simple mending of the outward form, order, or ritual of the Church. He taught the great man whom he employed as his chief instrument, that if the Church were once filled with the pure truth of the Gospel, and the power of Christ's life, its outward reform would occur as a matter of course. The necessity of this *vital* element is made apparent in the failure of the earlier reformatory efforts. For more than two centuries these movements had been rising on the surface of ecclesiastical affairs. But by attempting the reform, as it is said, only

"in the head and members," and not in *spirit*—not from the inward life, going outward—the efforts failed. They were but as a pruning of wild branches, instead of making the tree good, and *so*, the fruit good. Here it was, at least in part, that the reformers before the Reformation missed their true power and success. But God's time being now come for the deliverance of his Church, he made the movement take this character, in which alone the Church could arise and shine, and stand forth again, as the power of regeneration, life, purity, and salvation to the world. And the Reformation came into victory over the Papacy,—and it holds the power of ceaseless victory, —not only by having the true faith, but also the *life* of the true faith. Its faith was shown by its works, and "by works was faith made perfect."

It must be recognized as showing the loving care of God over his Church, that, in the Reformation, it was made to combine the living, practical element with the doctrinal, in true and beautiful harmony. It is, perhaps, harder for the Church to retain this element, than purity of doctrine. The life of the Church usually first departs —then the eagles of error and heresy to the carcass. And we may say that, had the Church continued in the line of this first period, holding all the results already reached in doctrine, and steadily and vigorously developing its true life and practical power—had it not divorced doctrine from life, leaving orthodoxy stand as the only essential, although cold and uninfluential—there would have been no need or occasion, at a later day, for the earnest labors and struggles of the pietistic workers, whose conflicts with a lifeless Churchism have given their names honorably, and even grandly, to the Christian world. And more— there would have been little room for the inroads of that fearful neology and rationalism of still later time, bringing on a period which even the efforts of pietism could not prevent, though they stayed the advancing flood. But it is to be remembered with lively gratitude to God, that his guiding love, in reviving the Church in the sixteenth century, he made it so truly a *living* Church, that it can never be wholly and permanently turned from this law of its divine constitution. It was only by such revival of its life, that he could insure it against the gates of hell.

This view of the interposing love and guiding provi-

dence of God, on behalf of his Church, gives emphasis to several practical thoughts:

1. We should be deeply thankful to God for the Reformation. There are some who are not. While we are able to trace the loving providence of the Lord, like a line of silver, through the history of that era,—while we see how, both in doctrinal and practical aspects, he was restoring and saving to man, all that is great and priceless as the continued fruit of redemption,—there are those, bearing the Protestant name, who undervalue and depreciate this work, and, treating the Reformation as a mistake and failure, are setting their faces Romeward. They appear to be closing their eyes to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures. They seem blind to the lessons of history. They turn away from the signet of heaven put upon Protestantism in its liberating, uplifting, purifying energy among the nations, upraising the race, wherever it goes, as on a wave of before unattained sanctity, power, enterprise and moral elevation. While a few choice spirits in the Church of Rome, are beginning to see some of the false positions of the Papacy, and seem to be coming into broader and nobler conceptions of the gospel, these false Protestants are hankering after the supposed unity of Romanism, apparently ready to lay down their private judgment and manhood at the feet of the grand usurper and despot of Christendom. I think we may see the trouble with these misguided men. We have seen, that the characterizing feature of the Reformation was the bringing out of the great, central, all-inclusive doctrine, and the real *life*, of Christianity. It was a subordination of everything else to these grand and fundamental things of the gospel. But the course of these men shows that they are letting these great and essential things slip, in reaching after something else. Never could they go toward Rome, except by losing sight of the very heart of the gospel,—the doctrine of justification by faith, with its quickening and all-regulative power —by undue exaltation of some remote, imperfectly revealed, or collateral notions, as, for example, about the Church, or the ministry, or ritual forms. These notions, with their connected observances, are more to them, than Christ apprehended by faith. Let us never be like them. But, seeing how wonderfully God interposed to deliver his Church from evils and perils, through which the gates of hell were threatening its overthrow, and how clearly he

has given us again the very heart of the gospel, and the whole gospel, let us cherish a sense of lively and ceaseless gratitude.

2. Again, as members of the Church of the Reformation, we should feel it our duty to preserve her true doctrinal and practical life. We need a revived interest in the great doctrine of justification by faith, as the central column of divine teaching in that Church of God which is the pillar of the truth. It is to be feared that with many this essential doctrine is not clearly apprehended, or rightly appreciated. It may be questioned whether it has its rightful prominence in the minstrations of the pulpit. If it was through the preaching of it, that God regenerated and reformed the Church, it is still, and forever, the great truth to be preached for the life of the Church and the salvation of men. And the faith meant in this justification, must be presented as no dead faith. The spiritual experiences through which God took Luther, and the work of power he made him do, are a divine protest against a religion of mere forms or dead dogmas. The idea of the need of personal piety, repentance, faith, thorough conversion, lies at the very roots of Lutheranism. Our Church rose in the very midst of a revival, and as the fruit of a revival. This glory God has given it. It would seem to be almost a specialty in the mission he has assigned it—to maintain this idea, with its reality, of a living Christianity, and carry it down the centuries in constant illustration. Let it be held fundamental in the character of our Church, as it *is* in the character of real Christianity.

ARTICLE II.

REMINISCENCES OF DECEASED LUTHERAN MINISTERS.

LXXVIII.

JOHN HECK.

"How beautiful it is for man to die
Upon the walls of Zion, to be called,
Like a watch-worn and weary sentinel,
To put his armor off, and rest—in Heaven."

The life of a minister of the Gospel, in the ordinary discharge of his duties, although conspicuous, is not distinguished by many incidents. Often quiet and tranquil, unmarked by great vicissitudes or achievements, its story may be easily told, its narrative briefly given. It may have been, perhaps, the life of an obedient and loving child in the household, of a conscientious and diligent student at school, a devoted friend and a faithful pastor, a successful preacher of the Gospel, richer rather in human experience than in those eventful incidents, which so frequently characterize the career of men engaged in other pursuits. But he, nevertheless, deserves to live in the affections of the Church. The remembrance of his virtues will be as lasting, as it is blessed.

When we recall our recollections of the subject of the present sketch, we love to think, not so much of his eminence as a scholar, or of his great achievements and high reputation, as of his pure and beautiful life, his consistent and unsullied character, his influence and success in the great work, to which he had consecrated himself. He was truly a disciple whom Jesus loved. He had won his way to the hearts of all men. At College we loved and trusted him. Subsequently associated with him in various relations, we honored him for his faithfulness and integrity. When he passed away, so exalted a type of the man, the Christian and the minister, we could not but feel that we had sustained a personal bereavement; a shadow, more dark and lonely, seemed to fall upon the earth, since the counselor of our youth, and the friend of our maturer years had gone. The influence of his example, his cheering words and fraternal acts, will always be remembered. The light of his life will continue to shine upon our pathway, until the journey is ended. Very dear wast thou to us, dear brother! Thou hast gone before us, but we are following after, and pleasant as our intercourse was in the past, more pleasant still in the future will be the greetings beyond the River.

John Heck was born in Chambersburg, Pa., December 11th, 1809. Reared under religious influences, in early life he united with the Church under the ministry of Rev. Henry Moeller. For several years he was engaged in secular pursuits, but his mind having been deeply exercised on the subject of the Christian ministry and feeling it his duty to prepare for this field of usefulness, he aban-

doned his business and entered the Preparatory Department of Pennsylvania College at the commencement of the winter session of 1833, although in the twenty-fourth year of his age. Having successfully passed through the prescribed course he was graduated from College in 1839, the subject selected for him by the Faculty as his *Commencement* exercise, being the *Character of Christ.*

Mr. Heck's career, as a student, was very successful. He possessed rare industry, and maintained a high position in his class. His piety was sincere, simple and consistent. His Christian example was felt by the whole College community. He exerted an influence over his fellow students, such as is the privilege of few to exercise. His very presence, even when he kept silent, was an element of power, although he never hesitated to give utterance to his convictions when duty required it. Never could he be induced to sanction a measure of doubtful propriety. Professors and students alike had confidence in his Christian character. In his Literary Society, in the meeting for social prayer, in every relation he sustained, and every position he occupied, as Sabbath School teacher and superintendent, and Tract Distributer, as member of the Temperance Society and Manager of the Bible Society, you always knew where to find him; conscientious and faithful his motives were never impugned, his conduct never questioned, He was indefatigble in his efforts to do good. He seemed as anxious to find opportunities for usefulness as some are to avoid them. He loved the Lord's Day, the sanctuary, the communion of saints, the souls of men and the glory of God. After spending two years in professional study in the Theological Seminary, making in all a residence of eight years at Gettysburg, he was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Synod of Maryland, at its session in 1841.

He commenced his ministry, as Pastor of the Newville charge, Cumberland Co., Pa., where he labored with success for three years. During his pastoral connection with this people, we spent a Sabbath with him and heard him preach a most earnest and pungent discourse from the words: "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." The selection of the subject, the tones of his voice, the sincerity and earnestness of his manner, all indicated, that his heart was in the work, that he realized

the responsibility of his calling. We heard him, also, in German, and although we could not so readily follow him in this service, there seemed to be the same spirit, the same faithful devotion to his Master's business. It was on this occasion he remarked to us, that he did not regret he had spent so long a time at Gettysburg in the prosecution of his studies, although many of his friends, on account of his age, had advised him to abridge his course. "I believe," he added "my efficiency in the ministry has been greatly increased, and that with the blessing of God I can accomplish more in one year than I could, with superficial preparation in several years. Old as I am now, if I were to begin *de novo*, I would pursue the same course."

From Newville, Mr. Heck was transferred to the Waynesboro' pastorate, which he served with satisfaction for twelve years. In 1857 he received and accepted a call to Smithsburg, Md., where he continued till his death. A painful disease, the monitions of which he had for fifteen years felt, and which was, doubtless, aggravated by his necessary exposure, developed itself, a few months previous to his death, with a severity which compelled him to abandon his labors. But he was perfectly resigned. Firmly planted on the "Rock of Ages," and fully conscious of the security of his position, the closing scenes of his life were a realization of that promise, on which God has engaged to keep in perfect peace those, whose minds are stayed on him, a striking illustration of the faithfulness of our covenant-keeping Father, and of the peace and joy which crowns the Christian's life. "After the labors of twenty years in the ministry," he remarked, "I have reason to say, I am an unprofitable servant, but Christ is all and in all. The Gospel I have preached to others has been the guide of my life, and its consolations are the light of my death." His dying expressions were in perfect harmony with the general tenor of his life, ever exalting the infinite merits of Christ and hiding himself beneath the shadow of the cross. After an honored and useful life, radiant with truth and mellow with charity, with a character unsullied, and with nothing to dim the lustre of his name, in the full possession of his mental powers and the bright hope of a blessed immortality he finished his course, March 10th, 1861, and went to join the company of martyrs, confessors, and saints, in the rest, prepared for the people of God.

From all sections of the Church, among all who were brought in contact with the subject of our narrative, the testimony as to his personal worth and ministerial success is unequivocal and unanimous. "We never knew," says Dr. Anspach, "a man of purer motives, or more unblemished character. He was an honest man, and would have suffered martyrdom, before he would have varied an inch from the path of duty." He possessed, in an eminent degree, those elements of character, which secure for their possessor a powerful and a permanent influence. He was an able preacher, and no minister ever enjoyed more than he the confidence and affection of his people." Prof. W. F. Eyster, another classmate writes: "The marked characteristic of his life was *fidelity*. No considerations of personal advantage or ease, no fear of results could move him from a straight path, along which duty pointed. He was faithful to every engagement; persevering, laborious, diligent in the performance of every pastoral duty, reliable and punctual in the fulfilment of every promise." Dr. Krauth, also, a classmate says: "He was one of our most single-hearted, conscientious and faithful laborers. He gave himself, heart and soul, to his Master's work. We can gather not one memory to obscure the brightness of his Christian character. We loved him and we revered him, for with his kindness there was mingled a true Christian dignity. Christian love was in him the spring which in most men is supplied by ambition. Faithfully he bore its cross and performed its toils, and in eternal joy he now wears its crown."

From what has been presented, an impression of Mr. Heck's character may be easily formed. He was a laborious, faithful, fearless minister of the gospel. In every field, in which he was engaged, his devotion to his office was unremitted and effective; carefully watching over the interests of his flock, and concentrating upon himself the deep and abiding confidence of the whole community, his labors were richly blessed. He brought to the work a well balanced, fully disciplined mind. He had energy, strength of character, sound judgment, ripe experience, and large observation. The movements of his mind were calm, clear, sedate, and reliable. He was a man of eminent piety. It was not a mere impulse, but a settled, permeating, principle of life, carried into all the details of duty, and affecting his whole temper and conversation.

His preaching was thoroughly evangelical and instructive, with more of the practical than the doctrinal element; yet his power, as a preacher, lay not so much in what he said and thought, as in what he was. He was distinguished by his love of truth, his high sense of honor, and his freedom from all guile. He scorned a mean, dishonest action. He disdained cunning and intrigue, the adroit manipulation of men and of parties. He belonged to the class of men who think, and have the courage to speak and act as they think. "He acted openly," says Dr. Anspach, "without fear, or the hope of favor." He was self-reliant, firm in his convictions and unshaken in his resolutions. He was a man of positive opinions. He made up his mind without much regard to the views of others, and when he had come to a decision, he was not easily induced to swerve from it. He changed it only in obedience to strong reasons. He was, at all times, a zealous defender of his views, although he was tolerant towards those who differed from him. He was very decided in his political opinions, yet he was so sincere and honest, that no one thought less of him, no matter how strong his expressions of difference. He was faithful in his adherence to the religious faith in which he had been trained. But he had great charity for those whose theological views were at variance with his own, provided they held in sincerity and obeyed the cardinal truth, as it is in Jesus Christ. Doctrinal differences, such as are beyond the grasp of the human intellect, and which from the beginning have divided the Church, he considered of minor importance. He opposed fanaticism in religion, and manifested no sympathy with the extravagances, sometimes practiced in the churches. He was calm and intelligent in all his religious demonstrations. He was honored with many public and private trusts. He was a Trustee of Pennsylvania College, a Director of the Theological Seminary, frequently an Officer of Synod, and a Delegate to the General Synod, positions never sought by him, but conferred as a mark of confidence, as a testimony to his sterling worth, the duties of which he discharged with the most conscientious regard. In every relation of life, he always remembered his Christian calling and ministerial responsibility.

On the 2d of December, 1847, Mr. Heck was united in marriage to Annie Ziegler, of Leitersburg, who with five children survived him. Although he married late in life,

his habits were domestic. He loved the peaceful enjoyments of home and the society of his friends.

LXXIX.

MICHAEL DIEHL, D. D.

"It matters little what hour o' the day
The righteous fall asleep; death cannot come
To him untimely who is fit to die;
The less of the cold earth, the more of heaven;
The briefer life, the larger immortality."

On the 10th of April, 1869, Michael Diehl peacefully closed his earthly pilgrimage. He cheerfully resigned his spirit into his Saviour's hands. Although his voice is now silent among us, his brow is covered with heavenly glory, and he is among the stars with those who have turned many to righteousness. He occupies in his Father's house, a place in one of the mansions prepared for the blessed. He now rests from his labors, and his works do follow him.

The subject of the present sketch, was the son of Michael and Catharine Leininger Diehl, both natives of Lancaster County, and was born near Greencastle, Pa., February 12th, 1819. His childhood was characterized by a freedom from all vice, and exhibited that amiability of temper and goodness of disposition, which appeared, in so marked a degree, in mature life. In his intercourse, his conduct was kind and disinterested. He was willing to make any personal sacrifice for the comfort and happiness of others. He was never known to be angry.* The foundation of his Christian character seems to have been laid at a very early period, the result, with the divine blessing, of faithful, religious instruction. His youth was imbued with a knowledge of the great truths of the gospel, and those truths became very early, through the influence of the Holy Spirit, the controlling principles of his life. He united with the Church in 1837, during the ministry of Rev. M. Harpel. He continued to labor on his father's farm until he commenced his classical studies, under the direction of Rev. F. A. M. Keller, who, for a brief period had charge of the Academy at Greencastle, and on the removal of his teacher to Waynesboro', he accompanied him as a pupil. Here he completed his preparation for College.

* The above statement is a mistake, and if it were not be a matter for eulogy as it seems to be intended above. The man who could live fifty years especially in this age of the world, and never be angry is either very little of a character, or has li

Mr. Diehl entered the Institution at Gettysburg, in 1841, with a mind matured and capable of appreciating the advantages which he enjoyed. We remember him well at this time. How faithful he was in the discharge of duty, how conscientious in his regard for College law, and how Christian in all his conduct! During the entire course he maintained his integrity. His influence was always in the right direction, for Christ and his Church. His mind was intent on the progress of religion, and every good cause had his ready sympathy and help. The College prayer-meeting, the Sabbath School, the Bible and Tract interests found in him a hearty and untiring advocate. During his connection with the Institution, in the winter of 1843, there was enjoyed a very precious season of divine grace. From the beginning of the term, there was much secret sighing, and fervent prayer to God for the outpouring of his Spirit upon the College, in answer to which, the young men seemed prepared to receive the truth, and it became the sword of the Spirit, quick and powerful. It took in nearly the whole College. The entire community of students appeared to realize, as they had never before, that they were in the immediate presence of Jehovah, that they must walk humbly and softly before him. Mr. Diehl's heart was alive with sympathy in this good work, and he rejoiced to see six of his classmates brought under its influence, with full purpose of heart surrendering themselves to the Lord, and uniting with the people of God in his service.

Mr. Diehl was graduated in 1844, during the administration of President Krauth. The subject assigned him by the Faculty, as his *Commencement* exercise, was the *Power of Faith.* He immediately, with much zeal, entered upon his Theological studies in the Seminary at Gettysburg. In the Spring of 1846, having received an earnest and importunate call to teach in Wittenberg College, an Institution recently organized under the auspices of the Lutheran Church, with Dr. Ezra Keller as its President, he agreed temporarily to accept the position, and, at once, transferred his home to Springfield, Ohio. He was, soon after, licensed to preach the gospel, and it was his earnest desire to enter upon the active duties of the pastoral work. But his services were regarded of so much value to the youthful College, that he was urged to continue them longer, although he still wanted to consider it only a tem-

porary arrangement. He was elected Professor of Ancient Languages in the Institution, but his heart was in the ministry. And, although he remained in his office as an instructor, until within a year of his death, he seemed to be in his element when engaged in preaching the gospel, or performing some pastoral labor. He generally had charge of congregations in the country, sometimes preaching as a supply, and always, when necessary, officiating in turn, on the Lord's Day, with his colleagues in the College Church. In consequence of impaired health and failing vision, his official connection with the Institution terminated in 1868. The Board of Directors, with reluctance accepted his resignation, and, in grateful recognition of his services and sincere appreciation of his abilities, conferred upon him the honorary degree of D. D.

His health continued to decline, but so gradually, that his death was sudden and unexpected to his friends. He was able to sit in his chair, until within an hour of his calm and peaceful departure. The last words he uttered were: "Raise me up, that I may testify for Jesus, my Saviour!" His sun went down in the serene beauty and tranquillity of a piety, which had illumined his whole Christian life. "Never before," says Dr. Sprecher, "did I when standing by the bed of death, feel so deeply, how desirable it would be for me, were it the will of God, to die, if mine could be just such a death as his."

The death of Professor Diehl created quite a sensation in the community. His remains were followed to the grave by a large concourse of people, and it may with great truth be said, that the whole surrounding country, as well as the Institution with which he had, for twenty-two years, been connected, mourned his departure. The solemn occasion was improved by an impressive discourse, delivered in the College Chapel by Rev. M. W. Hamma, the Pastor of the Church. The sad event was by all regarded as a public calamity. His colleagues in the Institution, in their resolutions of sorrow, "publicly testify that they have lost one of their loveliest associates," that "the College has been deprived of one of its best teachers, and the Church of one of its most devoted ministers." The *Miami Synod*, of which he had been so long an honored member, resolved, that by this bereavement "the cause of education has lost a most ardent friend, the Church, one of her most spiritual sons, and the world a good

man," and the *General Synod* deeply deplored the death of "a most faithful teacher, who had labored with special fidelity and success for the spiritual interests and improvement of the students" and that "the Church had been bereft of one of her most spiritual, zealous and beloved laborers."

Professor Diehl was married in 1851 to Harriet, daughter of Dr. Winwood, of Springfield, O. From this union there were four children, two of whom with their mother are still living to mourn their irreparable loss.

Few persons have been more universally esteemed than was Professor Diehl. His purity, integity and childlike confidence shone forth in his intelligent face with perfect radiance. "He was not," says one* who knew him well, "intellectually great above others, but in goodness of heart, blamelessness of deportment, strength of Christian principle and devotion to the cause of the Master, he excelled most men, with whom I have been acquainted." Eminent for his private virtues, amiable in his disposition, affable in his address, gentle and unobtrusive in character, he attracted to him the hearts of all men; eminent for his deep spirituality he awakened the love, and secured the sympathies of all true Christians. Dr. Sprecher speaks of him as "one of the loveliest manifestations of human life." "Associated with him for twenty years in all the discussions, trials and labors of the Institution," he says, "I never heard from his lips one unkind word, or discovered in his acts one ungenerous principle." Dr. Conrad, also for some time, associated with him in the instruction of Wittenberg College, writes: "Discreet, genial and courteous, upright and consistent in all his conduct, he became a general favorite. He was endowed with natural and spiritual graces, so admirably blended, as to constitute him a Christian after the type of John, the beloved disciple."

Dr. Diehl was a man of earnest piety, of deep religious convictions and of strong religious attachments. He impressed all with the idea that he was a man of God, an example of intelligent, consistent and faithful devotion to the cause of the Redeemer. "His great characteristic" says Dr. Sprecher, "was his love of experimental religion." He loved the Saviour. He loved his fellow men. His naturally warm heart was wholly consecrated to the glory

*Rev. Dr. George Diehl, of Frederick, Md.

of God and the salvation of precious souls. The chief joy of his life was the advancement of genuine piety and the conversion of sinners. He loved to preach the gospel. Often for consecutive weeks and months, after the labors of the day in the recitation room, he would go into the country and preach to congregations during seasons of spiritual interest. During the winter of 1868, there was more than ordinary concern on the subject of religion in a small congregation, of which he had charge, several miles from his residence. For six weeks, every night, notwithstanding the inclemencies of the weather, he held services in his little church, so deeply interested was he in the progress of Christ's kingdom. He never seemed so happy, as when engaged in preaching the gospel and urging sinners to return to their Father's house, from which they had so ungratefully revolted. Repeated religious awakenings, and large accessions to the Church during his ministry, attested his fidelity and success in the work. It was his religious character that gave him so much power in the College. You always knew where to find him, when any Christian principle was involved. His views were clearly avowed and fearlessly maintained. Although naturally amiable and yielding in his disposition, he was firm and uncompromising in the support of what he thought was right. Most decided he was in all essentials, but gentle, unobtrusive and even diffident in all matters merely incidental. In the solemnity of his deportment and heavenly-mindedness, he very much resembled Dr. Ezra Keller.

Dr. Diehl was a man of clear intellect and sound judgment. But with the double duty of teaching and preaching, he did not find much time for special literary labor. He sometimes wrote for the Church papers, but the only work he ever published, was the "Biography of Ezra Keller, D. D., Founder and First President of Wittenberg College," issued in 1859. Perhaps, it was a mistake that he yielded permanently to the desires of those who wished to retain him in the Professor's chair, for the duties of which he had not any great enthusiasm, or special fondness. His mind was of a very practical character. For the pastoral work he was eminently fitted. He was adapted, beyond most men, to produce an impression on the people. This was his proper sphere. "He always," says

Dr. Conrad, "preached with general acceptance to his congregations, and with his time and energies devoted exclusively to the ministry, he would have made one of the most useful and popular Pastors in the Lutheran Church." He had a heart in sympathy with every truth he uttered, and in answer to prayer, he expected success from God, through the promised blessing of the Holy Spirit.

Such a man is a blessing to the ministry of the Church. The influence of his holy life must be felt in any community. It will continue to live and do good. God grant that such illustrations of the power of the gospel may be multiplied, until Christ shall dwell in all hearts by faith, that "they being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length and depth and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that they may be filled with all the fulness of God!"

ARTICLE III.

LUTHER ON THE OFFICE OF THE MINISTRY. TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF A. W. DIECKHOFF, D. D.*

By Rev. A. Martin, A. M. Professor in Pennsylvania College.

We purpose chiefly to show, in these citations, that our Church has Luther, in his later writings, in her favor, while, in her organization, she more and more decidedly rejects the erroneous theories which were linked, at first, with that great and important doctrine of the Reformation —the doctrine of the equal priesthood of all Christians. Of course, Luther never yielded a single point of the doc-

* The Translator thinks it but justice to himself, as well as to the author, to say, that in aiming to give, as near as possible, the real force of argument and course of thought in the original, and yet to make it readable English, he often found it necessary to sacrifice a strict literalness, and, in some instances, to leave out entire sentences.

trine of the universal Christian priesthood. That doctrine is identical with the very rights of the Christian faith itself, which were established in the Reformation.* The error which attached to the early doctrine of Luther on this point, consisted in his manner of conceiving the relation of the universal spiritual priesthood to the office of the Christian ministry, as it is ordained of God: namely, that he confounded the duties and functions of the ministerial office with those of the universal priesthood, and then beheld in the office the exercise of the functions and the discharge of the duties of the priesthood of all representatively in one, to whom these functions and duties were delegated by the rest. Just on this point Luther, in his later writings, differs from his earlier doctrine, and it is this, which it is of the utmost importance to observe.

It is not necessary to conceal the fact, that the separation from the former error, is not effected with perfect clearness and accuracy. A satisfactory development of the doctrine, in all directions, and from the true points of opposition, was not reached. We have here a phenomenon perfectly analogous to that of Luther's later relations to his earlier doctrine of predestination. The erroneous parts recede into the back-ground, and the opposite correct points of doctrine, in the most intimate connection with that which, from the beginning, was the very soul of Luther's work, occupy the foreground. Yet the significance and import of this circumstance is not weakened or diminished by these formal defects. Notwithstanding all irregularities and anomalies, nothing has ever appeared more clear, than the fact that Luther, in his later years assumed essentially a different position in regard to the relation of the spiritual priesthood to the ministerial office, as represented in his earlier teachings. Nor is it necessary that we should take, or elaborate, a complete statement of the doctrine of the office and its relations to the priesthood of Christians from the writings of Luther, either earlier or later. It is sufficient that we find the principles which the

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* The blending of the Christian priesthood with the gospel ministry, is an error which Luther found to his hand in the Romish system, and, in his vindication of the equal priesthood of all Christians against the pretensions of the Romish clergy, it cannot really be claimed that he established, or sought to establish, the true gospel doctrine of the ministerial office.

Lutheran Church embodied in her organization, in her entire history, somewhere expressed by Luther, although the doctrine of the Lutheran Church is not necessarily one and the same thing with the doctrine of Luther.

The changed position of Luther to the error in his earlier doctrine of the priesthood of Christians, and of the office of the ministry, is especially seen in his pamphlet entitled: "*Von Schleichern und Winkelpredigern.*"* Luther insists there most strongly, that only he who is regularly called and appointed, can be admitted to the sacred office: "Either show call and command to preach, or keep silent and cause to be silenced. For this is a matter of office—yea an office of preaching the word of God. But no man can have an office without commission and call."

To the "*corner-preachers*," who preach without "*commission*," he applies the word, Jer. 23 : 21: "I have not sent these prophets, yet they ran. I have not spoken to them yet they prophesied." And Luther does not now, as in his early theory, establish the right of office upon the idea that, for the sake of order, the duties and functions which belong to each, but cannot be exercised by all, are delegated to one, in the name and in the place of all. He rather places himself in direct opposition to this theory, by his exposition of 1 Cor. 14 : 30; from which passage the "corner-preachers" derived the right for all to preach.

In order to have the full import of Luther's present exposition of this passage, it is necessary to consider, that Luther himself deduced his former theory, respecting the right of all Christians to preach—the "*ministerium verbi*" —from this very passage. But now he says: "Some, indeed, pretend that St. Paul, in 1 Cor. 14 : 30, gives to every one in the congregatiou authority to preach, and liberty even to bark against the regular preacher." Luther declares this a false interpretation of the text; and contends that St. Paul here speaks of the "*prophets that are called to teach*," and not of the congregation (*Poebel*) who should listen. "But prophets," he says, "are *teachers who have the office of the ministry in the Church.* Let, therefore, these vagabonds (*Schleichern*) first show and prove, that they are prophets, and regularly called and commissioned teachers in the Church; and let them show who has appointed them to this office; and then let them be heard,

* Of vagabonds and corner-preachers.

according to St, Paul's doctrine." * * "These *corner-preachers* do not know what is meant in that passage by '*hearing*,' and what by '*preaching*'—what is a prophet and what a layman." * * "Let whoever will, read the entire chapter; and he will unmistakably find, that St. Paul there speaks of prophesying, teaching and preaching in the Church; *and does not command the congregation to preach;* but is dealing with the preachers who are appointed to preach in the congregation; else he could not forbid women to preach, who also belong to the Christian congregation."

And as it appears from the text it must have been in this wise, that the prophets and ministers and preachers sat among the people in the churches, and one or two read, or sang, the text, just as with us, in some churches on high festivals two are accustomed to sing the gospel responsively. On such text then one of the preachers or prophets present preached, and expounded it; when he had finished, another one *of the preachers* might make additional remarks."

Most decidedly does Luther now distinguish between the office of the ministry and the universal priesthood of Christians. He asks derisively, why these "*corner-preachers*" do not establish their rights upon the fact, that in the Old and New Testament women also prophesied. "Here they might plume themselves, and indeed give *women* authority and power to preach in the churches; and how much more therefore might the men preach and teach when and where they chose."

"And yet the Holy Spirit has ordained, through St. Paul, 1. Cor. 14 : 34. that women, notwithstanding they have the spiritual priesthood shall be silent in the churches. And although the apostle knew well, that the prophet Joel had foretold, that God would pour out of his spirit upon his '*hand-maidens*;' and he had himself even seen and heard the four daughters of Philip prophesy. Acts 21 : 9. But in the congregation and church women are to be silent. It is plain from the entire chapter, that the apostle here commands the congregation to *hear* and be *edified*, and not to preach." And Luther never justifies his own reformatory proceedings and all his official and public teaching and action by any reference to his spiritual priesthood, but always by reference to his office and calling.

In his exposition of the 110 Psalm *(A. D. 1539) Luther expresses himself still more decidedly if possible in regard to the relation between the priesthood of Christians and the office of the ministry. In this commentary Luther treats of the Christian priesthood, and while he endeavors to show that all Christians are priests, he distinguishes the office of the ministry from the priesthood of Christians, as something which does not belong to Christains as such, by virtue of their priesthood. He says; "Here distinction must be made between the office or service of bishops, clergymen and preachers, on the one hand, and on the other, the common ranks of Christians, (*dem gemeinen Christenstand.*) Clergymen and preachers are indeed in the ecclesiastical office; but they are not therefore *priests*, just as they are not, therefore, Christians." "It is indeed necessary that every one be first a Christian, a born *priest*, before he can become a preacher or bishop; and neither the pope nor any other mortal can make such a priest. But when one has been born a priest in Holy Baptism, then the office is added, *and makes a distinction between him and other Christians.*" "For although we are all *priests*, it is neither possible nor proper that we should therefore all preach or teach and govern"

"But if you ask, wherein does the priesthood of Christians consist, and what are their priestly functions? Answer: '*teaching sacrifice and prayer.*'" Luther refers to his discussion of the universal priesthood; and we must observe that he specifies the duties of the ministerial office as "*preaching or teaching and governing*," whereas the duties of the priesthood are, "*teaching, sacrifice and prayer.*" The difference of functions thus appears very clearly. And it cannot be objected, that "*teaching*" is one of the functions of the priesthood as well as of the office. For although "*teaching*" is one of the functions of the priesthood, Luther distinguishes very plainly the "*teaching*" of Christians, by virtue of their sacerdotal rights, from the regular public "*teaching*," as it is the work of the ministerial office, of preaching and governing. Hear him:

"If we have become Christians through this High priest (Christ) and through this High priesthood, and we have in Baptism through faith been incorporated into him, we receive also power and authority to teach and

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* Erl. Ed. vol. 40 pp 38 etc., cf. p. 168.

profess the word which we have from him, before all men, every one *in his calling and position.* For although we are not all in the public office and calling, yet every Christian may teach, instruct, exhort, comfort reprove his neighbor, with the word of God, as there may be necessity and occasion, as father and mother their children and household, one brother or neighbor or citizen or peasant, another." Then after having further treated of the priestly "*sacrifice and prayer*" of Christians, Luther concludes: "Behold every Christian has and exercises such functions of priesthood, *but over and above the same is the regular office which teaches in public, and this belongs to clergymen and preachers.*

And in his sermons on chaps. 3 and 4 of the gospel of St. John, Luther now lays special stress upon the truth so inconsistent with his early *theory of delegation,* (*Uebertragungstheorie,*) that it is God who *sends* pastors and teachers.* "John here speaks of *the divine sending,* which however is manifold. He speaks however especially of *the sending of the Son:* and treats of two kinds of *sending:* first, namely, that God sends his ambassadors (Leute) without means, as he sent the prophets and apostles, Moses and St. Paul, who were not called by men as through means, but without all means, sent by God, and have verbal command and commission directly from him. There never was any *sending* of this sort, except when God was about to begin something new, as through Moses and the prophets. In the New Testament he has discontinued *this sending;* for that of the apostles was the last. That is the high sending which is immediately from God. There is, indeed, another *sending,* which is also from God, but is accomplished through men and means, after the office is ordained by God, that there shall be preaching and the use of the keys. That then is to continue, and there will be no other ministry. But the same persons do not always abide; therefore provision must always be made for new preachers. And that cannot be done without means. The office, such as God's Word, Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper, is immediately from Christ. But afterwards there is another *sending,* which is through men, but not by men. Thus we are sent, and we again send others, and place them in the office, that they

* Erl. ed. vol. 47. p. 163.

preach and administer the sacraments. And indeed this *sending* also is from and by God. For God has commanded it, and by this, his command, *he himself sends laborers into his vineyard;* and yet he does it through men."

In his tract "*De conciliis et ecclesiis*" Luther recounts among the marks by which the church is known, such as the word, the sacraments, the keys, also the office of the ministry. "Fifthly is the church known by *consecrating* and calling ministers, or having offices and filling them. For there must be bishops, preachers and ministers, that shall give and administer the means of salvation, in the name and on account of the church—but much rather and chiefly *by virtue and on account of the institution of Christ.*"* "Wherever now you see such offices and officers, you may know assuredly, that there is the church; for the church cannot be without such bishops, preachers, clergymen and ministers; and again they cannot be without the church, they must be both together."

Along side of the means of grace which God has given to the church, and whereby he begets its members, and builds it up, keeps and governs it, Luther places the office of the ministry. It occupies in his eyes, the position of service and instrumentality in the hands of Christ as his peculiar *institution* for dispensing the means of grace, and the "powers" of salvation, and for building and sustaining the church. In a sermon Luther says: "God could govern the world without judges or any offices of of Government. So he could make the day without the sun—as in the first three days of the creation—but he has created sun and moon that they should rule the day and the night. So likewise the preacher is ordained to preach. God could indeed make people pious without preaching, but he has not seen fit to do so; but wishes to retain the office of the ministry, that the ministers might be his co-laborers, as teaches St. Paul. 1. Cor. 3 : 5. For a preacher is also called an angel of God, Mal. 2 : 7. just as David is called an angel in the scriptures, because he had the office of helping God to govern his people. God could rule the world without any of these offices, if he saw fit, but he has otherwise ordained."

Thus the ministry appears not as the office and service of the universal priesthood, whereby it accomplishes its

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* Erl. ed. vol. 25, p. 364.

functions of worship, sacrifice and divine service before the Lord; but it is the institution, the ministry, the service of Christ, whereby he accomplishes his divine work in the Church.

In his tract, concerning the "*corner-mass*," Luther says again: "Finally, the office and the sacraments are not ours, but Christ's; for he himself has ordained them, to be used and practiced in his Church, to the end of the world." * * "The holy Church teaches, therefore, that neither pope, priests, nor Christians, can make a single sacrament, not even the holy Christian Church. Our office is not to institute, nor change, but simply to give and administer. So a clergyman, or preacher, does not make the gospel; and by his preaching, the word does not become gospel; but by his preaching he offers and gives the gospel, which the Lord Jesus Christ has made, produced and left to us, and first impressed it on the hearts of his apostles, and ever since, through *their successors*, impresses the same upon the hearts of Christians."

In the most intimate connection with these thoughts, this also finds a prominent place in the later writings of Luther; namely, that there have always been, from the beginning until now, sent by God, first immediately, then mediately, ministers of Christ, in the Church, the apostles and their "*successors*" in ecclesiastical office. Never has the office in the Church, which was ordained and instituted by the Lord, which the Lord himself has "made," grown out of the congregation, as its product for the regular execution of its authorities and powers—"made" by the congregation—as if the Lord had immediately called the invisible Church into existence, and it then had become the creator and originator of the ecclesiastical office. As such an instance can avowedly not be shown, in the history of the Church, so such a view, which is, indeed, given in Luther's early theory, contradicts the clear fact of the origin of the office, and is equally inconsistent with the very nature of this office, as an office of Christ for the service of his work of salvation in the Church, both which facts are now made so prominent by Luther, and are so strongly insisted on.

By all this, the ministerial office is placed in a point of view in direct antagonism with Luther's former theories. The erroneous blending of the functions of the office with

those of the priesthood, which formerly found expression in the theory of *delegation of duties*, for the establishment of the office in the Church is removed; and the difference between both is brought out most forcibly. The functions of the office have to do with the work of Christ himself in the hearts of men, reconciling and renewing them, preserving and completing them in the new life, by which work of Christ men are made, and continue to be, priests —members of his priestly nation. This is the purpose and institution of the office, that Christ continues (although not immediately yet mediately) to preach upon the earth, and to spread his holy gospel, more and more, that he continues to communicate his gifts unto salvation and eternal life, and works mightily, by the Holy Ghost, in the means of grace, and continues to gather and create for himself a people in whom he reigns and officiates forever, as High Priest and King. For this purpose he has instituted the office of his word, and sent, without ceasing, the "*apostles and their successors*," and will continue to send them to the end of time. He will, indeed, take his ambassadors, and must take them, from the people of faith which he creates. The believers, in their works, serve him in his Saviour's work; but the offices, and the ministers in the offices, are ordained to functions in which his work of Saviour is executed in the Church. His preaching is continued in the preaching of the "*apostles and their successors*:" in their office they give, communicate and administer the means of grace created by himself—the Word, the Sacraments and power of the Keys; and in them he executes his communication of the eternal treasures and powers of grace which he has purchased for, and brought to, us. The office is not the product of the priestly nation, by which such priestly nation executes its functions and service before God; but it is from the Lord, who works and rules in his Church, as the Ever-Present One, and is ordained by him for his service in this, his work with man.

ARTICLE IV.

EXPOSITION OF LUKE 16 : 9.

By Rev. W. H. Settlemyer, A. M., Wilmore, Pa.

The complaint, of the Pharisees and scribes, that Jesus received sinners and ate with them, called forth four or five parables, illustrating what is the true fitness of persons and things; and vindicating his own conduct before them. Among these parables is that of the unjust steward; which is followed by a thought that associated itself in Christ's mind with the parable. This thought is clothed in the following peculiar language: "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations."

The main ideas attending the parable of the unjust steward, are: 1. The end or design he had in view; 2. The means of attaining that end; and 3. The reason or motive for so doing. If, therefore, the sequel of the parable represents the leading ideas of the parable itself—and this point is, in general, conceded—then we have, in the sequel, the same corresponding points. These points, in both cases, find their expression in the same original words.

Following the order given in the text, we have: 1. *The doing*, or the means of attaining the end in view, expressed by ποιησω (v. 4), or ποιησατε (v. 9); 2. *The reason*, or motive, *for so doing*, expressed by ἱνα ὁταν; 3. *The end in view*, expressed by δεξωνται με, or δεξωνται υμας.

I. *The means of attaining the end; or the "unrighteous mammon."* To determine the proper idea conveyed by the term "unrighteous mammon," it will be necessary first to find what is meant by the word "friends." For Christ exhorts his hearers to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness. Is mammon, therefore, an instrument in our hands to make friends to ourselves of our fellow creatures, or are riches themselves to be the friends? The former view is advocated by Jacobus, Rosenmuller, Lange, Bengel and Alford. Wolf makes the apostles and evan-

gelists to be the friends. Ambrosius, Ewald, and Meyer, suppose them to be the angels. Morris and Smith state that "by friends here, we are not to understand any particular persons or things. It is equivalent to the phrase "*securing happiness.*"

It is impossible, within our allotted compass, to review all these opinions, but the reason why we do not believe that it has a reference to our fellow creatures—which is the most plausible of the given views—is, because the system, or plan, of making true friends, by means of money, is unphilosophical, whether regarded from a psychological, or practical point of view. Friends, in the proper sense of that term, are not made by the instrumentality of physical resources; even when these resources are considered in the light of their commendable qualities, much less are riches the means of making true friends, when considered in relation to their uncertainty and deceitfulness. The rewards of such instrumentality, result in nothing more than to attract a host of moths about a brilliant light. The heathen philosopher, Cicero, understood better than to put the basis of friendship on money, for he distinctly declares that "there can be no friendship but between the good." "*Amicitia, nisi inter bonos, esse non potest.*" So Christian congeniality, a term embracing everything pleasant, attractive and true, must be the true instrumentality of Christian friendship. It is well known that true friendship is not at all dependent on money; and if such a signification is attached to these words, it makes Christ the author of an unphilosophical and untenable maxim. It is equally well known, on the other hand, that pecuniary resources are, in themselves, a blessing or a curse. Riches, then, rightly appropriated, may, in a figure, be called friends, for friends are at all times blessings. The unjust steward did not care so much for the friends personally considered, as for friends considered in a pecuniary point of view. The real friends which he had in view, were the means of livelihood; the ostensible friends were the persons in possession of the needed resources. This project of the steward was commended; therefore, it is not inappropriate to regard available resources, in this case also, as friends. This will become apparent in the consideration of the last clause, "that they may receive you," &c.

This position, that one cannot make friends with money, will be seen, upon a little reflection, to be valid, whether

mammon is regarded as certain, *i. e.*, true to its sphere, or uncertain; reliable, or deceitful. But as αδίκιά has a bearing on the context, as well as on the word which it qualifies, it will, in itself, require some investigation.

Mammon itself, the Syriac word for riches, as used in the New Testament, implies a doubt concerning the appropriate use of those riches to which it is applied. But when the *unrighteous* mammon—the unjust (*injustitiae*—*Montanus*) the iniquitous (*iniquitatis*—*Vulgate*) that which is the fruit of fraud, oppression and plunder, for this is implied in the ordinary signification of αδίκία—is to be made the object of friendship, then is there reason to doubt whether the *usus loquendi* of αδίκία should, in this case, be employed. Among commentators, μαμωνα της αδίκίας is, for the most part, explained as unstable, fleeting, deceiving riches. This view is set forth by men, accredited for learning, but, unfortunately, without support. Nor, on the other hand, can such men as Olshausen, Lange, or Alford, be said to be *opposed* to this view, but they do not by any means accord with it. But, leaving the opinions of men, can it be substantiated by argumentation that αδίκία has, in this case, any reference to delusive or deceitful riches? I think not. However I do not intend to argue that riches are not uncertain, αδηλοτης, as they are called in 1. Tim. 6 : 17, which reads; "Charge them which are rich in this world not to trust in the uncertainty of riches," but that αδίκία does not signify uncertain or deceitful: 1. Because in the sixty two times that it is used, either in the form of a noun, verb, adjective, or adverb, in the New Testament exclusive of the three times used in this connexion, it bears no such signification. 2. Because classic lexicographers attach no such definition to the word. 3. Because there is no condition connected with this passage, or the context, that demands such an explanation. On the contrary, riches are regarded, in the context, as true to their sphere, honorable, and worthy to be made an object of duty. Then if αδίκία does not signify unstable or deceptive, are we to make friends with what is worse—the unrighteous, or ill-gotten mammon? No. We do not take αδίκία to mean unrighteous, or fraudulent, but *less* righteous. It is true that we have not the ordinary New Testament use of the word to warrant us in this—nor the classical use, but philosophy, or more aptly, the common sense and experience of men, which finds its ratification

in the scriptures, favor it, as well as analogous scripture passages, and the context.

1. To the common sense and experience of men, there is no need of proof that wealth, properly accumulated and employed, is as a friend to us in this world. Though fraudulent gains are in no case to be employed for our sustenance, yet it is also taught that a corban is not well-pleasing to God when a father is in want; and that if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he has denied the faith. If therefore wealth has its sphere, which contributes to the true comfort and pleasure of men, its commendation by Christ must refer to that sphere. Wealth is never represented as uncertain or deceitful, except when our hopes for soul-happiness is founded thereon. It moreover reflects on the goodness of God to regard his gifts otherwise than good, and true to their design.

2. As for the analogous use of terms, *i. e.* antithetical language used tropically for comparative, it is only necessary to refer to Christ's own use of μίσεί τον πατερα, (Luke 14 : 26) for φίλῶν πατερα * * ὑπερ ἐμὲ. (Matt. 10 : 37.) "If any one come to me and *hate* not his father," &c., for, "he that loveth father * * *more than me.*" This analogy might be deemed sufficient, but a few more examples will better illustrate this idom, which obtained place in oriental modes of thought.

It is said that Jacob loved Rachel *more than* Leah, (Gen. 29 : 30—31,) but in the verse immediately following God saw that Leah was hated.

Again, He that spareth his rod hateth his son, but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes. (Prov. 13 : 24.) The rod is not usually *spared* under the plea of *hatred*, but of *love*. That less parental instinct, which regards the present feelings of the child, controls the parent, instead of that nobler purpose which regards its future, as well as its present welfare.

It is moreover said, that he that loveth his life shall lose it, and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it, &c. (Jno. 12 : 25.) Is this life here spoken of the personal self—the *ego?* then does Christ also say: "Love thy neighbor as *thyself.*" (Mat. 19 : 19.) Self is therefore not to be absolutely ignored, but it is not to be made the supreme object of our affection. Thus the same sense of hating is here unfolded as above.

The case of Esau and Jacob can easily be shown to imply a similar use of terms. (Rom. 9 : 13.) This is seen by (1.) The recognition of the rights of Edom when opposed to the chosen people of Israel—even when they defied Israel they escaped without a rebuke from God. (Num. 20 : 14—21.) (2.) The Lord's prohibition to Israel to meddle with Edom. (Deut. 2 : 4—5.) (3.) The similarity of God's Providence over them, and the continued recognition of their brotherhood. (Josh. 24 : 4. and Deut. 4 : 5.) (4.) Esau's receiving the blessing of faith concerning things to come. (Heb. 11 : 20. and Gen. 27 : 39.) God does not bless what he absolutely hates—therefore Esau was only less loved.

3. It was also said that the context favors this view. (1) The verse following, which bears directly on the passage under consideration, informs us, that he that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much, &c. The marginal notes refer the explanation of this verse to the parable of the talents in Matt. and the parable of the pounds in Luke, and rightly, for the results, or rewards, are the same. In these parables much was represented as given, because faithfulness was shown in that which was little. Then what the "least" and the "much" signify is not difficult to determine, viz., temporal and spiritual interests. Faithfulness in the one is the pledge of faithfulness in the other. Having now determined the sense of the 10th verse, let us follow on to the next. If therefore —*i. e.* if he that is faithful in the least &c.,—if therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon—*i. e.* that which is least, or less valuable, who will commit to your trust the true. Here we have the unrighteous mammon clearly put in apposition with that which is "least," or least valuable; and the least is clearly representative of temporal goods, as shown above. These two verses expose the 9th verse quite clearly; but the 12th throws another light on it. And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's who shall give you that which is your own? That which is the least, and that which is the unrighteous mammon, is here represented as that which is another's. To represent riches as belonging to another is in perfect harmony with other portions of the scriptures; for we are the stewards of God's gifts, (Ecc. 3 : 13. and 5 : 19,) wherein we are commanded not to be slothful, (Rom. 12 : 11,) lest the Lord

take away what he has given into our hands. (Mat. 25 : 28. Job. 1 : 31.) But the true (inheritance) is not given to us as stewards, for the servant abideth not in the house forever, but as heirs, even joint heirs with Christ, and will never be taken from us—therefore it is quite appropriate to say that they are *our own*. In this you observe the contrast beautifully set forth between temporal good, and spiritual.

2. Another reason from the context, why the *un*righteous mammon may be regarded as only the *less* righteous, is from the antithesis of terms. The true antithetic term for αδίκία, is δίκη, but here we have αληθης—α and ληθη, that which cannot be forgotton, or cast into oblivion, real, perduring, abiding forever, and therfore of *greater* value, in contrast with that which shall pass away, as earth and sky. This fact suggests, by virtue of the attending circumstances, as well as by the words set in contrast, the idea of temporal good, or that which is *less* valuable, as riches, without reference to their delusiveness as such, or to those that are ill-gotten, but rather with a reference to their typical relation to the true riches; for faithfulness in the one is regarded as a high recommendation for faithfulness in the other.

When, therefore, this idea is connected with the interpretation of αδίκία, it relieves the whole passage from further difficulty, and renders the exposition otherwise natural and easy. This view, viz., that the unrighteous mammon signifies ordinary temporal resources, has also been shown to have more substantial basis than that which assumes the idea of *deceptive* riches, and therefore claims the preference.

II. The second proposition—the motive for making to ourselves friends—will find sufficient explanation in the following one, and need not, for that reason, consume further space.

III. The end in view—ἵνα * * δέξωνταί ὑμᾶς εἰς τας αἰωνίους σκηνας The first question that arises here, is, who, or what is meant to be the subject of δεξωνται? In answer to this Lange says: "The friends acquired with our money." So Bengel, Doddridge, and others. Rosenmüller makes it "a Hebraism, by which the third person of verbs is used impersonally. It is God who receives us into this everlasting habitation."

These answers are very unsatisfactory, and why they

are so, will be seen by observing some answers, given to another question. How can your friends, that have been made by money, receive you?

Bengel says that "Liberality alone is not sufficient, but yet this removes a great impediment (*grande impedimentum*) in the way of entrance into the everlasting habitations." Here Bengel assumes that more than liberality is necessary, while the text makes the mammon itself sufficient to gain an entrance into these habitations. To say, on the contrary, that liberality removes a great impediment in the entrance to heaven, and steer clear of work-righteousness, is certainly no less difficult of execution than to gain a passage between the Scylla and Charybdis. Jacobus says: "This is the provision which is to be made by the Christian, in things temporal." Provision for what? For an entrance into heaven? Then the sacrifice on Calvary is inadequate! Then Christ is not sufficient! Morris and Smith say: "Employ your money in such a way, that when you are discharged from life, you may be received into *eternal mansions* in heaven." But how can the proper employment of money obtain for us an entrance, unless, indeed, our works are acknowledged as meritorious?

For these reasons are we dissatisfied with the answers to the first question; for there is no expedient, by which we can avoid work-righteousness, in case the money, or the friends acquired with the money, are made to receive us, or to be instrumental through the prime agency of money in obtaining for us a reception into heaven. To understand God as the subject of δεξωνται, breaks the grammatical connection, besides being otherwise quite objectionable.

The act of making friends of mammon, which is the only given condition of entrance into the habitations spoken of, and the salvation of the soul, have no possible logical connection—*i. e.*, as a certain sequence unquestionably resulting from a given condition, as the text demands, unless, indeed, by our own actions we are enabled to purchase—papist-like—our tickets for the portals of bliss. No exegete, or logician, on Scripture grounds, can make salvation issue as a legitimate sequence from the best possible use of money, *per se*. If these answers are unsatisfactory, to which unsatisfactoriness all will readily assent, how can the question be solved? Simply by following

the natural and grammatical construction of the language. The subject of δεξωνται is a pronoun understood, and refers to φιλους as its antecedent. These friends we have shown to be temporal blessings, in the form of pecuniary resources. But how are *pecuniary resources* to gain for us an entrance into τας αἰωνἵους σκηνας? The question has been made difficult, because two ideas have been assumed that are utterly at variance with each other. The one, that friends are to be made of, or with, mammon; the other, that heaven was to be the result. Whatsoever view of mammon you may desire to take, whether it is regarded as sure, or deceitful, it cannot, as the *primal and substantial cause, per se*, effect any such result. That it is represented as the primal and efficient agent, *per se*, for effecting an entrance into τας αἰωνίους σκηνας,—whether directly by its own means, or more indirectly through the medium of some personal instrumentality—no one will deny. Then, for reasons already given, it is impossible that τας αιωνιους σκηνας should refer to heaven. Σκηνη is a tent, or tabernacle, designed for shelter and comfort. Αἰωνίος means everlasting, but, when applied to finite substances, is limited in duration, and "sometimes means *during life*." Euripides uses it in this wise (Alcest. 337). Ἀλλ' ἐς τ' ἂν αἰων οὑμος αντεχη. "As long as my life holds out." To say, then, that τας αιωνιους σκηνας may mean "life-long habitations," is only to give it a perfectly natural and legitimate signification. This, we think, is the real and designed intent of this sequel, or conclusion to the injunction in the former part of the verse. 1. Because the words expressing the three main points of the unjust steward's resolution, the design of which was commended, are the same as those which characterized Christ's injunction, viz., the doing—the reason for it—and the design. The steward made provision for the days of temporal want; this, then, we infer, is also the design of Christ's admonition. 2. Because it is in harmony with the context. To be faithful in securing comforts for declining life, is a pledge of faithfulness in securing the true comforts of a coming, though endless, future. 3. Because it frees every other part of the passage from every conceivable difficulty, save the figurative use of αδίκία, which we have shown consistent with Christ's design and use of metaphors. 4. It is altogether conformable to the analogy of faith. 5. Because it is the only logical and natural result flowing from the proper use

of money. 6. Because εἰς with the accusative demands that mammon should be a competent means for the transferring its possessor from one state, or condition, *into* another; and not simply receiving them *in* another, as some explain it. But mammon has no power to make friends of any kind that shall be capable of receiving us *into* heaven; wherefore it is evident that σκηνας must have reference to earthly tabernacles. 7. Every other view is attended with insuperable difficulties. Therefore we conclude that τας αἰωνιους σκηνας should be translated "*life-long habitations.*"

There is yet a word in the midst of this verse, expressing the time of entrance into these habitations, which has caused commentators some trouble—εκλιπητε. There has been some doubt in reference to this word, both as to its form and signification. In regard to form, it is now very well agreed that the *textus receptus* is the better reading; but in regard to signification, it is not so clear to some expositors that its use, in this place, has any reference to death. This word is used in but two other places in the New Testament. Once it refers to faith as failing; and once to failing years. Εκλείπειν does not, in general, signify "to die," as many translate it, but has its sense admirably expressed in our version, when "*ye fail.*" To "fail" is a very significant and common expression among us at the present day, and well expresses the enfeebled condition of old age—the age in which one cannot sustain himself, or find comfort, unless he has made to himself friends of the unrighteous mammon. Classical usage also fully endorses this sense of the word. Among the definitions given, are such as these: "To fail," "to be wanting," "to be deficient," "to faint." In the passive, where the word here used is found, it bears the ordinary signification of being abandoned or forsaken. Similar illustrations are even found in the active, *e. g.*, ψυχη λελοίπε τα οστεα᾽ παντα λέλοίπε με: "Life or energy has forsaken the bones, and all things have left me." The rendering of this word in our authorized English version, is, therefore, a happy one, and expresses to our ears just precisely what the context requires, and what the original word, in itself, is naturally designed to convey.

Having separately and critically examined the alleged points of difficulty, let us now combine these points of fragmentary criticism, and sum up the whole by paraphras-

ing the text, which, in modern phraseology, may be expressed in this wise: Gain for yourselves the blessings flowing from the proper accumulation and use of temporal and pecuniary resources, that when you become enfeebled, they may be to you a source of sustentation and comfort. Or more briefly and literally, make to yourselves friends of temporal resources, that, when ye fail, they may receive you into life-long habitations.

This view may not commend itself on the ground that Christ does not teach for this world; but a reference to Mat. 3: will dissolve these clouds.

It may also be regarded by some as unique, but it has the sanction of economy, the authority of experimental wisdom, the warrant of reason, the support of analogy, and the consistency of truth.

ARTICLE V.

THE IDEALISM OF BERKELEY, AS SET FORTH IN THE THREE DIALOGUES BETWEEN HYLAS AND PHILONOUS.

Among the self-confident Materialists of the reign of George I. the Idealism of Berkely fell like a philosophical bomb-shell and, though its explosion injured not their portly bodies, it addled their dry heads in a manner most perplexing. It was introduced, too, at a most auspicious time, for, like the old Athenian who was tired of hearing Aristides called the Just, the world was weary of the old song of Materialism, and hailed with delight the new Philosophy which bade fair to make Materialism and its disciples, too, the most airy sort of ideas imaginable. As a second favorable circumstance, the new system had been matured in sublime simplicity and beauty by a master-mind, by a learned, pious and merry Bishop, who was either ignorant of the results which in the future should disgrace but perfect the system in the hands of Hegel, Schelling and Fichte, or who, in event of finding no possible retreat from this position, planted his God, Terminus in

what was still solid earth, at a safe distance from the philosophical precipice which ends in Infidelity.

Although in the "beautiful woof of a philosophical brain and in trains of purely abstract thought, all his Idealism may seem an inconstructible reality, yet, when lowered from this lofty sphere to the baser earth and practice, it seems the purest sophistry. David Hume said of it: "No man can believe it, no man can refute it." Now I cannot believe and therefore, if in my hardy endeavors to do it battle, I should display but my own weakness, may the authority of the great Scotchman cover up my shame.

The question is one of great importance and charming interest, and demands a deeper consideration than the argument of the wit implies, who said, that: "If there were no such thing as matter, it was no matter what Berkeley said:" and Dr. Johnson's stubbed toe will do more damage to his own and his disciples feet than to the accomplished trotter in the bogs of metaphysics.

In this paper I propose only a short review of Berkeley's doctrines, as stated in his three dialogues between Hylas and Philonous. These dialogues are distinguished as well for their beauty as for their success in vindicating the doctrines of Idealism and, being almost his last publication on the subject, should be supposed to contain his latest and most matured views. They profess to prove:

I. That nothing sensible exists without the mind, that neither the primary nor secondary qualities can exist unperceived.

II. That there could not possibly be such a thing as a substratum of material phenomena.

III. That our ideas could not possibly represent material objects.

The proof of the first two of these propositions would be a complete demonstration of the non-existence of matter and confirmation of Idealism. The third, though indirectly, a blow at the existence of matter, is chiefly valuable because it shows us his real belief on certain doctrines, with regard to which, I believe, he has been misconceived. I hope to show that Berkeley has not established himself in these three positions

In order to make his argument more tangible, I have reduced the whole in a series of syllogisms expressed gen-

erally in his own words. These form the foundation stones of his doctrine and the more one can tear away, the weaker will his edifice be. To this end I shall consider each separately.

Again in reading such works we are apt to confine ourselves to the principles and illustrations given by the author; whereas a more extended application might demonstrate their weakness by their absurdity. Among others there are certain fundamental principles and axioms in the breast of every religious and of almost every thoughtful man, which are to him, through faith or instinct, self-evident, and anything that is repugnant to these by that very fact proves itself false. This will form the second ground of examination.

The first step of Berkeley's argument,

1. To prove that nothing sensible exists without the mind.

Sensible things only such as are immediately perceived by the senses.

Take away all sensible qualities and there remains nothing sensible,

But sensible qualities exist only in the mind.

Therefore, nothing sensible exists without the mind.

In the first place, logically considered, Berkeley has begged the question; he has assumed in his minor premise what he proposed to prove. This is an unpardonable error and invalidates the conclusion.

But, supposing, the argument to be logically legitimate, I think that the falsity of one premise—that nothing sensible exists without the mind—is apparent. A sensible quality is a quality that can be perceived, but it seems absurd to say that it cannot exist, except when perceived.

While I admit that the perception of a sensible quality can exist in the mind alone, I deny that a sensible quality cannot exist without the mind, or unperceived. For all the organs of perception are in man, whereas all things perceivable are in matter; therefore, though all the organs of perception were swept from the earth, it does not follow that all things perceivable would go too. I might, by a few changes, make this syllogism just as strong for Materialism, as it seems for Idealism.

To prove that *everything* sensible exists without the mind.

Take away everything sensible, and there remain no sensible qualities.

But everything sensible exists without the mind.

Therefore, no sensible qualities exist in the mind.

Now this syllogism, though as strong as the first, is open to exactly the same objections.

2. To prove that the secondary qualities exist only in the mind.

Heat is a sensible quality.

Great heat is painful—little heat is pleasant.

But neither pleasure, nor pain can exist in an unperceiving substance as matter.

Therefore, great or little heat cannot exist in material bodies.

This would look to an eye more experienced in pursuing the practical than in hunting a theory through the mazes of the brain, uncommonly like sophistry. All that Berkeley has proved here is, that the perception of pleasure and pain cannot exist in an unperceiving substance as matter. And again he has defined heat by one of its contingencies and then substituted the contingency for the thing itself—thus making a part equal the whole. Great heat is not only painful, but it is also a reducing agent, and it would be just as fair to substitute this attribute in the syllogism, and make the argument *materially* different.

Heat is a sensible quality.

Great heat is a reducing agent.

But a reducing agent cannot exist in an unextended substance as the mind.

Therefore, great heat cannot exist in the mind.

Now here, I commit the same error as Berkeley in forcing matter into the province of mind in the same grossly inconsistent way he forces mind into the province of matter.

He uses exactly the same form of argument against the ordinary secondary qualities as against heat, *e. g.*, against taste. A sweet taste is a kind of pleasure ; sugar has a sweet taste, but pleasure cannot exist in a material substance like sugar.

Every quality gets its name only by its relation to our senses : if we had no sense corresponding to it, the quality would be to us unknown and unthought of. We can readily conceive that there may be qualities, not corresponding to any organ of perception in us, and therefore, to us as zero. On the very same ground, since we deny all organs of per-

ception to matter, we can understand a quality painful to us existing in it, unperceived, because it has no faculty of pain.

To prove the impossibilty of any quality inhering in matter he says: "Suppose now one of your hands hot and the other, cold, and that they both, at once, are put into the same vessel of water in an intermediate state; will not the water seem cold to one hand and hot to the other?" Now that the water should be hot and cold at the same time, he goes on to say, is a manifest absurdity and since no true principles lead to an absurdity these principles must be false. Now the real difference of temperature is stated to be in the hands, and then transferred to the water. Every quality is named and estimated in relation to our senses. Here the sense of feeling in one hand was different from that in the other, hence the same body, applied to each, ought to have a different effect. To the hot hand the water seems cool, to the cold hand it seems warm—the difference manifestly lies not in the sensible thing, but in the sensation of the sensible thing by senses under different circumstances. In short, the difference lies in the senses themselves. The wise Berkeley in this example makes himself the very brother of the ancient fool who observed, with astonishment, a man blowing upon his porridge to make it cold, and his fingers to make them warm. But the ancient observer was not an Idealist and, little suspecting the theories that could be founded on this culinary phenomenon, concluded, to put no trust in a man who could deal so doubly. Berkeley sees a similar phenomenon, and finding water, to seem both hot and cold, immediately concludes that there can be no such thing as water. The fool, however, can justly claim the priority of observation.

The same strictures are applicable to his treatment of the other secondary qualities.

Arguments to subvert the real existence of the primary qualities in matter.

3. Against figure and extension.

A pebble appears to our eye very smooth, small and regular.

To a mite it would seem rough, large and irregular.

Its qualities are, therefore, changed.

But no quality, inherent in any object, can be changed, without the object itself be changed.

Now how does Bishop Berkeley know that the pebble would seem rough, large, and irregular, to a mite? It is a mere logical deduction which proves no change in the pebble, but simply the difference between a man and a mite, which might have been done at much less length. Because a mountain, 600,000 times as big as a man, would appear rough, large and irregular to him, he supposes and, justly too, that a pebble 600,000 times larger than a mite would appear correspondingly rough, large, and irregular to it. But this proves only what we would naturally expect, that the difference lies in the perceptive organs of the man and mite. As in a former illustration the difference lay, not in a single basin of water, so that it should be hot and cold at once, but in a difference of sensation in two hands. For all our ideas and conceptions are relative to ourselves, our senses, and our associations, so that we are forced to suppose rather, that the comparative size and organs of the man, as compared with those of the mite, made the difference, than that a single stone was two different things at the same time. Just as an inhabitant of a level plain, if suddenly transported to the smallest mountain in Switzerland, would think it large and grand; while the chamois hunter whose mind from youth had been expanded by far greater and grander scenes, would consider it but little worthy of such wonder and admiration. This difference is one rather of opinion than fact, one which we naturally ascribe to the associations of the two men, and not like Berkeley to a real difference in the hill itself.

4. Against motion.

Time is measured by the succession of ideas in the mind. A's ideas may succeed each other three times as fast as B's. Now a wheel, which would go three miles an hour to A's mind, would go only one mile an hour to B's. Therefore, it is moving both fast and slow, which is impossible. This is a very good definition of time as estimated relatively to each man's mind, but time absolute is measured by the revolutions of the heavenly bodies.—Berkeley derives a certain conclusion from time as understood in the first definition and applies it to time as understood in the second. Assuming that time be measured by the succession of our ideas, and that the succession of ideas in A's mind that correspond to an astronomical hour is three times as great as the succession of ideas in B's

mind in an astronomical hour, then as far as time goes one-third A equals one B. Now here the astronomical unit of time, the hour, remains unchanged and absolute throughout, and the only thing established is what was assumed that A's ideas move three times as fast as B's, and not that one hour equals three. What was already assumed in his premises, I say, state explicitly that the difference lies in A's mind as compared with B's, and yet in his conclusion he contradicts his first statement and attempts to fix the difference on the single wheel by proving that the wheel is doing two diametrically opposite things at the same time, which would be annihilation.

But the syllogism does not justify such a conclusion, its whole import being that A's ideas move three times as fast as B's. The wheel, indeed, though moving absolutely according to our fixed unit of time two miles an hour, may relatively to our ideas move fast or slow without inconsistency, as when a man hurries to the bed-side of a dying friend, his ideas move so quickly and are withal so deeply impressed upon his mind, that the fastest vehicle which can bring him to his journey's end seems cruelly slow to him. Or again four hours may pass in pursuits of pleasure and seem but two to us. This brings me again to the principle already stated, that every quality possesses a degree of intensity or estimation relative to the temporary state of permanent character of each man's senses. To the feverish man an amount of heat is painful, which in his natural state would be agreeable. In disproving these primary qualities, he says he has disproved all the rest, and gives them no more attention.

The necessary existence of matter, as a substratum of the qualities we perceive, seems its last stronghold and to storm it the Bishop marches with flying colors.

5. A substratum is something which is spread under the qualities of an object to support them.

Its nature must be different from the qualities it supports; *e. g.* it is spread under extension but its own nature must be different and distinct from extension.

Therefore, it is spread without extension, which is impossible.

We have shown that sensible qualities, Idealism to the contrary notwithstanding, can exist in material bodies. It is the intuitive belief of our nature, the testimony of

our consciousness, that they do. The authority which Berkeley thinks sufficient to establish his own existence he ignores, when it testifies the existence of matter. A quality or phenomenon of matter as well as of mind must be a quality or phenomenon of something, in which something it inheres. This has led philosophers to assume the necessary existence of a material substratum, in which material phenomena inhere. That we do not entirely understand, and cannot accurately explain this bond of union, which is beyond all experience and above demonstration, should not be considered an argument against its existence. On the contrary, the grounds upon which we assume its existence are like the grounds upon which we assume the existence of a God. Certain effects are seen which demand a cause and we supply a cause, whose nature we can never hope to grasp, or aspire to conceive.

In his argument on this point Berkeley has diverged not a whit from his customary sophistry. That which should be really regarded as just as untangible as the mind itself, he grossly supposes to be *spread under*. As well might we say the mind is an *unextended*, indivisible, spiritual, substance and in it inheres an infinity of phenomena, but without extension, it cannot support or contain anything. This would be a grossly literal and unphilosophical way of treating such a subject. And he points out its impropriety when applied to the mind, but employs it with stranger inconsistency against matter. If there be no substratum of mental phenomena, then we are but a succession of ideas, governed by certain laws of combination and sequence. Here mind and matter are both done away with, and we arrive at the pure Idealism of Hegel. But granting that no such substratum as matter can exist, then these phenomena must inhere in the substratum-mind. Under these circumstances the great barrier between the microcosm and the macrocosm is broken down. All I see without me, the universe and all its wonders, are as much my mind as that unperceivable subtile spirit within me, which I think eternal and immortal. The thoughts and ideas of one part of my mind I am only conscious of, but those of the other I can see, feel, and taste. To taste an idea seems curious but I may well believe it, since Berkeley shows me that God has filled this beauteous earth for generations with races whose eyes were blinded and whose strongest beliefs were but infatuation.

6. To prove that since Ideas exist in the mind alone, they cannot represent material objects.

Material objects are perceived by sense.

They must be immediately perceived.

Therefore, they cannot be perceived through the medium of ideas.

7. To prove the same.

If our ideas are representatives of external objects, they must be like them.

External objects have a stable and independent nature.

But our ideas are ever-fleeting and variable.

Therefore, they cannot be like them, and consequently cannot represent them.

These two arguments are employed to show the error of Hylas in trying to reconcile the existence of the external world thus: "I think there are two kinds of objects, the one perceived immediately which are likewise called ideas; the others are real things or external objects perceived by the mediation of ideas, which are their images and representations. Now I own ideas do not exist without the mind, but the latter sort of objects do." Yet a philosopher as great as Hamilton, entirely misconceiving Berkeley's opinion on this point, has classed him among the philosophers who believe in the theory which he here attacks. To substantiate this assertion, let me quote a few more passages from his works.

In his principles of human knowledge Art. LXXXVII, when speaking of our sensations he says: "But if they are looked on as notes or images referred to things or archetypes existing without the mind, then we are involved all in scepticism. We see only the appearance and not the real qualities and things."

"I am not for changing things into ideas, but rather ideas into things: since those immediate objects of perception, which according to you are only appearances of things I take to be the real things themselves."

These are arguments directly against that school of philosophers, who, while believing in the existence of material objects, supposed that we never perceived them directly, but through the medium of ideal representations. They are indirect blows against any possible existence of matter for, having proved before that we do not perceive it, he now adds that we do not even perceive its representation.

A few general remarks upon Berkeley's doctrines will conclude this paper. He classified existence into spirits and ideas. The first being all thinking, reasoning, intelligent subjects; the second being what we see, hear, taste, feel &c. He admitted that what we call external things had a real existence, but only when perceived. Few men looking at the moon see not one, but ten moons, each being an idea in their minds. I cannot believe that Idealism as a system can be conceivable; I am certain that it has never been acted upon in every-day life. The belief, that consciousness forces upon us every moment of our existence, cannot be eradicated by arguments, however plausible. Yet these doctrines lead to the contradiction of a fundamental belief, to a denial of the veracity of the testimony of consciousness. All the moving bodies he sees are to every man virtually but ideas: he may with safety predicate his own existence alone and yet disciples of the Idealistic school, more unscrupulous than Berkeley, consider this a doubtful step, perhaps an ungrounded liberty. Ideal water-falls drive ideal mills, which have a separate existence in the minds of the miller and the mill boy. A law of gravitation holds together an ideal universe, that has no existence without the mind. An ideal body wears out and frees a real soul. A want of ideal food and money drives men to destroy an everlasting spirit. Heaven, where spirits hold sweet spiritual communion together, differs from earth in this alone that here we spirits are tormented and corrupted by an ideal world, that we are delusively compelled to regard, as a real material, external existence. What then means the earth we live in, the sun and moon and stars we see, the angry thunder and the roaring cataract. What madness gave eyes and ears to see and hear that which is as unextended and as spiritual, as our souls themselves?

Over all that we perceive by our senses, he says, we have not the slightest control. But what we perceive by our senses he calls ideas. Now men certainly think that they have control over ideas; as for instance I know that if I go into a certain forest, I shall see there a spring, "but our ideas are imprinted on the mind by a spirit distinct from us," and we control them not at all. If we can doubt of our control over what we shall see, do, or feel, we may likewise doubt our control over what we shall say or think, and may suppose that our other mental modifica-

cations are also imprinted on our minds by a spirit distinct from us. With the fall of our control over sense-perception, falls our control over self-perception. But from this state of affairs come two very formidable deductions.

1. The existence of subject and object would be annihilated, and we would consist of a series of thoughts, sensations and ideas, over which we have no control, but which are the mechanism of some blind chance or created and dispensed by the wisdom of a supreme Being. Thus mind itself would at last be sacrificed to those very principles, whose express object is to glorify it.

2. That great fundamental principle of man's free agency declared in Revelation, incorporate with our very being and involved in the relation of Creator and created, falls. And thus not content with denying reality to all that seems solid in creation, the Idealist deprives of its glory the last resource of the simple believer, and demonstrates that the whole end of man's creation is a sublimely mechanical idea. For the ideas of the external world are limited and bound down by immutable and universal laws, and as upon Berkeley's hypothesis there seems ground to suppose that all the phenomena and affections of our minds also are governed by similar immutable laws, together they would demonstrate rather the creation of a blind fate than that of an intelligent Creator.

Let us then, still confiding in consciousness, our senses and our common sense, bid fare-well to this philosophy of dream-land, to this doctrine of doubts and of shadows, assured that the greatest arguments against it will be the monstrous absurdities of its wisest disciples.

ARTICLE VI.

LONELINESS OF HAMLET.

By Rev. E. Ferrier, A. M., Professor in Pennsylvania College.

The contrast between the Hamlet and Macbeth of Shakspeare is of the most marked character. Macbeth is all

action. We are hurried along amid wars, rebellions, crimes, from point to point, almost as on the bosom of a rapid stream. It is full of the noise and bustle of a stirring world. Hence it is easily understood, and one of the most popular of dramas. Not so with Hamlet. It addresses itself more to the reflective faculty. It is all thought. The ghost of a murdered King throws across it a mystery which has never been penetrated. There are problems which the shrewdest criticisms of centuries have not solved. The soliloquies, the real or feigned madness of Hamlet, his strange and seemingly cruel treatment of the young, beautiful and artless Ophelia, suggest questions which press the mind of every intelligent reader for an answer.

As shedding some faint light on these features of this most wonderful drama, and explaining in some degree the strange conduct of one of the most mysterious characters ever drawn by the Prince of dramatists, we propose to develop and illustrate the thought—The loneliness of Hamlet.

Real solitude pertains to the mind and heart rather than the body. We may be alone in the streets of a crowded city, or amid a throng pressing on in business and pleasure. Hands may touch ours, but there may be no kindred fellowship of spirit. We may look into each other's faces, but there is no meeting of heart. Words may fall from our lips, but they come back like an echo, through a dreary solitude. Such a loneliness is deeper, and more real, and more oppressive, than if we dwelt on the mountain top, or in the desert, the birds and beasts our only companions.

Hamlet, son of the murdered King of Denmark, is of princely beauty. He is with the crowd of heartless courtiers and politicians that gather for royal favor. He is brought in close contact with their interests and schemes and projects. But while Claudius, the murderer, is making firm the royal State, and the falsehood as to the fate of the late unhappy King is widely circulated, and credited, the ghost of the murdered father appears to the son. It is significant that nearly the whole of the first Act is occupied in the interview between the ghost and Hamlet.

A great secret is put in possession of the son. It comes from the supernatural world. A spirit is the bearer of the secret. So holy and so sacred is the communication, that it shall not be spoken, until Hamlet is alone.

It must not fall on other ears. That is a thrilling part of the drama where the strange visitor beckons Hamlet apart from the rest, to impart the appalling secret. While Hamlet is at first amazed, and cries out:

> "Angels and Ministers of grace defend us!
> Be thou a spirit of health, or a goblin damned?
> Bring with thee airs from Heaven, or blasts from hell?
> Be thy intents, wicked or charitable,
> Thou comest in such a qnestionable shape,
> That I will speak to thee: I'll call thee Hamlet,
> King, father, royal Dane, O, answer me, and tell me
> Why thy canonized bones, hearsed in death
> Have burst their cerements,"

and Horatio warns him:

> What if it tempt you toward the flood, my Lord,
> Or to the dreadful summit of the cliff,
> That beetles o'er his base into the Sea,
> And there assume some other humble form,
> Which might deprive your sovereignty of reason,
> And draw you into madness,"

Yet in spite of perplexity and admonition, the Prince breaks from Horatio and Marcellus with the exclamation:

> My fate cries out,
> And makes each petty artery in this body,
> As hardy as the Nemean lion's nerve.
> Still I am called; unband me, gentlemen;
> By Heaven! I'll make a ghost of him that hinders me."

That lonely interview between the ghost and Hamlet is the key to the whole play. It has peculiar significance. Like one of the opening utterances in Julius Cæsar.

> "These growing feathers plucked from Cæsar's wing
> Will make him fly an ordinary pitch,
> Who else would soar above the view of men
> And keep us all in servile fearfulness,"

pointing to the spot where great Julius fell; like the resolution of Lear: "I'll crawl unburthened to the grave," spreading its deep significance over the whole complicated plot, like a flash of lighting in the night of darkness opening to the vision the broad landscape, thus for profound meaning stands at the opening of this drama, the

solemn conference between Hamlet and the ghost. At this meeting, the dreadful secret of murder is put in possession of the Prince:

> "Know thou noble youth,
> The Serpent that did sting thy father's life,
> Now wears his crown."

The dread secret is not only communicated, but the charge given:

> "If thou hast nature in thee, bear it not;
> Let not the royal bed of Denmark be
> A couch for luxury and incest;
> But, however thou pursuest this act,
> Taint not thy mind; nor let thy soul contrive
> Against thy mother aught; leave her to Heaven,
> And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge,
> To prick and sting her."

Note thus his position. The great task of retributive justice has been committed to him. He has been supernaturally entrusted with a secret of the most fearful kind; a secret which he durst not impart to any mortal ear.—How it separated him from the whole world! It made an impassable chasm between him and all other men. What cared he for court-schemes and interests, just fresh from the vision of a murdered father, and his sight daily pained with her who had married the uncle:

> Ere yet the salt of most unrighteous tears,
> Had left the flushing in her galled eyes?"

He feels himself singled out of heaven. The interview fills him from the crown to the toe, top-full of the direst vengeance—and he vows:

> "I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
> All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,
> That youth and observation copied there;
> And thy commandment all alone shall live
> Within the book and volume of my brain,
> Unmixed with baser matter: yes, by heaven,"

This necessary loneliness of Hamlet accounts for one marked feature of this drama. No other drama of Shakspeare contains such lengthy *soliloquies*. They are the utter-

ances of an overburdened heart. They are the natural effusions of a soul, that possessed a secret which could not be committed. While the suspicion only of murder is rankling in his bosom, and he is pressed to earth with a sense of his desolate condition, he says:

"O, that this too, too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw and resolve itself into a dew!
Or that the everlasting had not fixed
His canon 'gainst self-slaughter. O God,
How weary, stale and unprofitable,
Seem to me all the uses of this world."

And after the dread secret of his life has been imparted, he relieves his burdened spirit in a soliloquy, containing arguments for suicide that make one tremble. They are so much like the address of despair to the Red Cross Knight, that Shakspeare must have read the Faery Queen of Spenser:

For what hath life, that it may loved make,
And give not rather cause it to forsake?
Fear, sickness, age, loss, labor, sorrow, strife,
Pain, hunger, cold, that makes the heart to quake;
And ever fickle fortune rageth rife,
All which, and thousands more, do make a loathsome life.
Die shall all flesh? What then must needs be done,
Is it not better to do willingly,
Than linger till the glass be all out-run?
Death is the end of woes. Die soon, O Faery's son."

It is the same argument which we hear from Giant Despair, from those huge keeps, and moss-grown, frowning battlements of Doubting Castle in Pilgrim's Progress. In these cries of despondency, in these wails of despair in Hamlet, he moves before us, as one upon whose soul too great an action has been laid. The burden is so heavy that he would sink beneath it, in the grave. The mission of revenge is too mighty for one so weak. As one has said: "It is an oak tree, planted in a costly jar, which should have borne only pleasant flowers in its bosom; the roots expand, the jar is shivered."

It is thus we explain the failure of Hamlet to execute the purpose of his life, when he had the King in his power. While the King is engaged in his prayers, the work of vengeance might have been done. He flings away the op-

portunity, for which he had long been watching, and retreats with the determination.

"Up sword; and know thou a more horrid hent."

It was evidence of his weakness for the purpose, to which he had been commissioned. The native hue of resolution was sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought; an enterprise of great pith and moment was, indeed, turned awry, and lost the name of action. Hamlet, naturally reflective, weak, moody, is crippled still more for action, by his overweighty burden, and is kept from throwing it off with the hand of a suicide, only by the great thought of a world to come.

"The dread of something after death,
The undiscovered country, from whose bourne,
No traveller returns, puzzles the will,
And makes us rather bear those ills we have,
Than fly to others, that we know not of."

Like Macbeth, when the "genius and the mortal instruments, were all in council," as to the death of the "gracious Duncan," it was all clear enough:

"If this assassination
Could trammel up the consequence, and catch
With his surcease, success; that but this blow
Might be the be-all, and the end-all here;
But here, upon this bank and shoal of time,
We'll jump the life to come."

Oh! that great thought of a world to come, and a judgment! It palsied the arm of Macbeth, whose brandished steel on the field of battle smoked with bloody execution; it made the sword fall harmless from the hand of Hamlet, when he might have struck down his victim. Who knows how many plans of wickedness have fled before this great thought of a personal immortality, how many strong hearts have quailed before its power?

Let us in the next place, in the light of this loneliness of Hamlet, look at the much vexed question of his conduct toward Ophelia. Ophelia is one of the most interesting characters which genius has ever drawn. Innocent, artless, confiding, beautiful, she appears in marked contrast with the loftiness and grandeur of the Prince. We are constrained to believe that the affection of Hamlet for

Ophelia was of the deepest and purest kind. He had given countenance to his speech, with almost all the holy vows of heaven; and in that wonderful closing scence, when the funeral procession enters the church yard with the dead body of Ophelia, Hamlet, roused into a noble energy at the sight of the pale corpse, and excited by the empty and hollow show of grief, says:

> "I loved Ophelia; forty thousand brothers,
> Could not, with all their quantity of love,
> Make up my sum."

Why then the seemingly cruel and heartless treatment of one whom he loved so devotedly? In that conversation with her which follows the soliloquy on suicide, the unkind words addressed to the gentle Ophelia in answer to her inquiries, strike us with surprise. They drive her to grief and madness. The conversation is colored with those feelings of despair, to which he had just given utterance. Despair dare not love, but rather finds a wretched pleasure in tormenting the object of its affection: "Get thee to a nunnery. I have heard of your paintings too, well enough; God has given you one face, and you make yourself another, you jig, you amble and you lisp, and nick-name God's creatures, and make your wantonness your ignorance. Go to, I'll no more of it; it hath made me mad." He seems to have forgotten the past, and his language breathes only bitter irony, and suspicion of all female virtue and constancy.

There is nothing unnatural here. It is the just growth of that thing which was lodged in his heart by the ghost of his murdered father. It is the surrender of all things for the accomplishment of a work, committed to him by a supernatural power. His conduct is in perfect accordance with the vow he made under the most solemn circumstances. "I'll wipe away all trivial fond records from the table of my memory." The weak man gives up all for a work which was too great for him. History, both sacred and profane, is crowded with illustrations where men have crushed out the affections of the heart for the attainment of a favorite object. When the imagination of Lady Macbeth has been inflamed with the splendor of a crown, and the gilded trappings of royalty, she shrieks out, like one of those very witches who had beguiled her husband: "Come, ye spirits, that tend on mortal thoughts, make thick my blood; stop the access and passage to remorse. Come

to my woman's breasts, and take my milk for gall, you murdering ministers." Illustrations may be found, noble or debased in their character, as the purpose possessed the soul and animated the life. One of the most striking cases is the Son of God. The grandest of all ideas lodged in his divine bosom, was the mystery of Redemption. His mission was the rescue of uncounted thousands from the doom of the second death; and with this work full before him, more than once, in the prosecution of his high object, he seems to trample on human relations. When his parents sought him in the temple, he said as if in half-defiance of parental authority: "Wist ye not that I must be about my father's business?" When certain ones told him that his mother waited for him without, pointing to his disciples near him, he said: "These are my father and my mother and my brethren;" and on the occasion of that first miracle, when his mother remarked to him, "They have no wine," he replied in a way which has tasked the ingenuity of some critics to reconcile with his heavenly temper: "Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come." In this light, it seems strange that dramatic critics have dwelt at such length on the behavior of Hamlet towards Cordelia, and even charged Shakspeare with want of truthfulness to nature. The pages of history, all along down the ages, are written over with the truth. That apostle whom the Son of God commissioned to carry the word among the Gentiles, declares in the same spirit of unreserved surrender to his chosen work: "I am determined to know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified." Paul, in the likeness of an angel from heaven, but Hamlet like a fiend from the pit, his heart on fire with revenge, says: "I am determined to know nothing—not home, nor friend, nor lover—until I accomplish the will of my murdered father." What sacrifices has not thriftless ambition, that will raven up its own life's means," again and again made, for the attainment of its object? When the heart of Bonaparte swelled with the ambition of making Europe his empire, and himself the occupant of a throne that for splendor should more than rival those of the Ptolemies or Cæsars, sooner than any thing shall in the least hinder his purpose, he crushes the affections of a woman who had been his pride and his honor. For out and out cruelty, and wanton disregard of innocence and worth, the divorce of Josephine

may well be placed by the side of Hamlet's treatment of the fair Ophelia. The occasion of both misfortunes was, they stood in the way of projects, to which great souls had surrendered every faculty. Among those of princely beauty and royal worth that assembled in the court of the haughty virgin Queen of England, there was one, ever, the observed of all observers. Courtly, of more than ordinary elegance of manners, the Earl of Liecester shone the brightest of that gay throng. Yet his name is linked with an event in English history, that makes the heart bleed. Inspired with the hope of sharing the throne of the nation with Elizabeth, he permitted the countess, his wife, one of the queenliest of English women, to be put to death in the most shocking manner. He had looked at the dazzling object of his ambition so long, and so intently, that he was blinded to all else, and he who would drop a tear over the grieved and wronged, and maddened Ophelia of Hamlet, must pause in like spirit over the injured, the murdered countess, the Amy Robsart, of Sir Walter Scott's Kenilworth.

The third feature of this drama, and one which has given rise to much discussion, is the feigned or real madness of Hamlet. The more I have examined this question, I am disposed to think the madness was in the beginning feigned, and ultimately became real. He thought it meet to put an "antic disposition" on, for the accomplishment of his object. The feigned madness is closely connected with the whole plot. As Brutus played the idiot at court, that he might more surely remove the hated Tarquin, or as Kent in King Lear, that he might befriend the aged monarch in his toilsome pilgrimage after banishment from his daughter's home, in speech and conduct, behaved as one bereft of reason, thus Hamlet, so completely plays the maniac that Ophelia exclaims:

> "O, what noble mind is here o'erthrown!
> The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
> The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
> The observed of all observed, quite, quite down."

This disguise would give him access to all parts of the palace. His rambling here and there, in this feint, would excite no suspicion. It was a stratagem which the turbulent condition of his thoughts would naturally adopt. It was thus he actually lighted upon the King at his prayers,

alone and defenceless, and was afforded such favorable opportunity of striking the fatal blow. It certainly was less toilsome for his spirit, to wear the wild mask of insanity, than in such a court, in the presence of a murderer, and a dishonered mother, to keep up the counterfeit of a smooth, unruffled and contented aspect.

But this disguise of madness served a higher purpose, than simply a mode to advance the project of destroying the King. As we have remarked, the secret which had been committed to his keeping by a messenger from the other world, was one of the most dreadful character. If we held such a thing, it would crush or madden us to retain it. The feelings crowding our breast would be intolerable. It would be like a fire shut up in the bones, consuming in its influence. Hence, this outer show of madness furnished a vent for those pent-up forces, which were enough to unsettle the foundations of his being. It afforded scope for those feelings of distrust and disquietude, which could not be concealed. Those utterances of the maniac Hamlet, therefore, are not simply cold invention to support a fictitious madness, they exhibit the real temper of the man. The sarcasm, the disgust, the turbulence are all from the heart, the faithful expression of his inner life, sheltered by the incoherence and conduct of a maniac. Hence, in his wildest ravings, aged Polonius is forced to own: "Though this be madness, yet there is method in it. How pregnant sometimes his replies are. "A happiness that often madness hits on which reason and sanity could not so prosperously be delivered of." Scope was thus given for those disquieted feelings which could not be concealed.

One of the most remarkable parts of this drama is in the 3d Act, where in the hall of the castle, an entertainment of a dramatic kind is arranged. It is complete in itself, and is really a play within a play. The whole contrivance is designed to "catch the conscience" of the King, and make the crown for which he had taken the life of a brother, rest very uneasily on his brows. While on the one hand, again, it furnishes an opening for the escape of the wild commotion and turbulence which crowded the heart of Hamlet, on the other, it so quickens the guilt of the wretched King, that he says in agony.

> O, my offence is rank, it smells to heaven;
> It hath the primal eldest curse upon it,

A brother's murder. What, if this cursed hand
Were thicker than itself with brother's blood;
Is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens
To wash it white as snow?"

And with this thought of guilt in his heart, and this hope of mercy before him, he tries to pray, but in heaviness owns:

"My words fly up, my thoughts remain below;
Words without thoughts never to heaven go."

The advice of Hamlet to the players in this connection, beginning: "Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue," is one of the most remarkable passages in the whole English language. It is an epitome of all the principles of good elocution. There is more good sense, and discriminating advice given to speakers in this brief compass, than could be gathered from whole volumes on the subject, and he who can catch the meaning, and apply the principles here so admirably indicated, needs no other work on Oratory. Additional interest is given to this passage by the unquestioned historic fact, that Shakspeare through it, intended to give a sharp and merited rebuke to the prevailing style of elocution in the drama. It was true in those days, some of their most popular speakers, had "neither the accent of Christian, nor the gait of Christian—they strutted and bellowed as if some of nature's journeymen had made them, and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably."

But while the madness of Hamlet at the beginning, for the double reason which we have assigned, was altogether assumed, before the closing of the scene it became real. In the closing act, specially, there is scarcely a word or action, that does not indicate the maniac indeed.

"That noble and most sovereign reason,
Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh."

For a full, and harmonious, and well developed manhood, there must be some correspondence between the reflective and perceptive faculties of our being. The undue enlargement of either one, at the cost of the other, will not give us the highest style of man. The man of disproportioned reflective powers becomes moody, morbid, jealous, a habitation for various disturbing influences. When

those currents, from any arresting cause, which God designed should flow outward, unobstructed, are turned backward upon the soul, the waters become restless and turbulent.

It is the most grievous of misfortunes to feel that those invisible cords of sympathy, which unite us with the outer world, have been severed. It is really the beginning of a derangement bordering on insanity. Byron felt thus, and in his isolation, colored his poetry with a gloom, which like an infection, communicates its secret influence to all who read. Richard III. felt thus, because of his deformity, and the thought drove him to a life of villainy:

> "I, that am rudely stamped, and want loves's majesty,
> I, that am curtailed of this fair proportion,
> I am determined to prove a villain,
> And hate the idle pleasures of these days."

Such was the feeling of Shelley, and the feeling was poured out in a strain of bitterness, in his notes on Queen Mab, which has scarce an equal in any literature. And his Alastor or Spirit of Solitude, with all its poetical beauty, is but one long, loud wail, wrung from a heart that felt its loneliness. Men of reflective habits of mind should be on their guard against this subtle temptation. We need earnest, wholesome contact with the outer world, that we may exhibit that gladness of spirit, and that cheerfulness, which add so much to our happiness. The world is full of books, which are filled with these brighter colorings of mind, and it is not true, as has been alleged, that Byron with his gloom, Shelley with his bitterness, and Rousseau with his morbidity, are fair types of the class. Sadness and dejection are not the marks of genius. The French essayist Montaigne shows us in one of his quaint essays, that continual cheerfulness is the most indisputable sign of wisdom, and he tells the old story of Demetrius the grammarian, who finding in the temple at Delphi a knot of philosophers chatting away in high glee and comfort, said "I am greatly mistaken, gentlemen, as by your pleasant countenances, you are not engaged in any very profound discourse. Whereon Heracleon answered the grammarian: Pshaw, my good friend! It does very well for fellows who live in a perpetual anxiety to know

whether the future tense of the verb βαλλω should be spelled with one λ, or two, to knit their brows and look solemn; but we who are engaged in discoursing *true* philosophy, are cheerful as a matter of course."

Hamlet, by the very constitution of his nature, belonged to the class of moping, moody, lonely creatures. He said truly, when he told the Queen:

> "'Tis not alone my inky cloak, good mother,
> Nor customary suits of solemn black,
> That can denote me truly;
> But I have that within, which passes show."

The peculiar circumstances which surrounded him forced him in a still deeper loneliness, until the man of sentiment and reflection becomes the madman. It is that disease, engendered by looking too exclusively, and too intently inward. Hence there is no play of Shakspeare where we find so much of the reflective as in Hamlet. Thought is one of its great features. It is in Hamlet that we find that sublime apostrophe on the greatness of man. "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving, how express and admirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a God! the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals!" Or that other just and familiar reflection: "What is a man, if his chief good and market of his time, be but to sleep, and to feed? a beast, no more. Sure, he that made us with such large discourse, looking before and after, gave us not that capability and God-like reason to fust in us unused." We might multiply illustrations. The feature reappears in almost every utterance of Hamlet. The mind is ever feeding upon itself. If he cherishes a passion, he pauses the next moment to scrutinize it. If he forms a purpose, he stops to make it a subject of reflection. The author of this drama, with one of the highest efforts of his genius, has seized upon, and fixed for our study those deep, yet wayward feelings, which seem to be the changeful creatures of the mind alone—such apparently causeless things as Antonio speaks of in the Merchant of Venice:

> "In sooth, I know not why I am so sad;
> It wearies *me*; you say it wearies *you*;
> But how I caught it, found it, or came by it,

What stuff 'tis made of, whereof it is born,
I am to learn."*

It is in a deeper region that Shakspeare enters, in among those aimless aspirations of melancholy, those discontents which frame no wish—that meditative vacancy which spurns the detail of human existence, than when in the Tempest, he ranges through the kingdom of fairies, or in Macbeth and Lear, he makes tributary the world of spirits.

The catastrophe of the whole drama is contained in the last Act. And what a summing up it is. What a convention of agonies. "One woe doth tread upon another's heels." The madness of Hamlet spreads its gloom over the whole scene. Polonius has been slain, and dragged on the scene by the maniac. Ophelia has committed suicide by drowning, and the funeral procession is entering the church-yard. The Queen dies by poison. Laertes is slain. The guilty King is stabbed. Hamlet himself after that famous soliloquy on the skull of poor Yorick, dies by his own hand. What a cluster of misfortunes. What a gathering together of wars and agonies in small compass."

It is quite a different close from what we would expect in a modern novel. In spite of the occasional coarseness, more the product of the age in which our author lived, than any individual love for impurity, the atmosphere that gathers about these dramas, is essentially bracing in its influence. Shakspeare omits nothing, on the bright side or the dark side of life, that has relation to our moral nature. No other genius has ever so entered into the souls of the guilty, and shown us the desperation and the darkness that dwells in them; so shown us the spirit of the wicked, that "is like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt;" so shown us the "dull misery of exhausted vice, still and dreary in its ruin," and conscious of existence only in remorse, shame or anguish.

The drama to which our attention has been turned is a most impressive exhibition of the truth: "Seek not to avenge yourselves. Vengeance is mine. I will repay, saith the Lord of Hosts." Throughout this play, if it shows us the bitterness of revenge, it points us also to

*Act 1. Scene 1.

those after-fires of remorse, which are kindled, as fierce and as hot as the burnings of torment. Its jealousy is as cruel as the grave, its envy as corroding as a canker, its outbursts of anger as desolating as the fires of the volcano, and that fever which preys upon the heart of ambition, whether in a Caesar or a Macbeth, withering as a Simoon to all peace. We rejoice then in the growing and expanding influence of this, one of our great English classics. We rejoice that all around the globe, where our simple tongue is spoken, in America, in Britain and Europe, among the millions who are to fill Australia, and over every habitable spot that gleams in the Pacific, among the almost unnumbered multitudes of India, where "British authority, British profit, and British ambition will give a predominance to our language," will this author, fresh, strong, rich and pure in his dialect, be recognized as our Representative. And we may venture the prediction, based on the remarkable revival of the study of the old English authors, so long as Falstaff can make men laugh, or Lear with his venerable hairs make them weep—as long as the innocence and beauty of Miranda can charm, or the murderous guilt of Lady Macbeth appall us, will our author be recognized as a power in the hearts of men.

ARTICLE VII.

KANZEL-GEMEINSCHAFT, OR EXCHANGE OF PULPITS.

By Rev. A. J. Weddell, A. M., Norristown, Pa.

"*We hold, that the purity of the pulpit should be guarded with the most conscientious care, and that no man should be admitted to our pulpits, whether of the Lutheran name, or any other, of whom there is just reason to doubt, whether he will preach the pure truth of God's word, as taught in the Confessions of our Church.*"—*General Council*, 1868.

Every age has its living issues. These issues are not always new; but they appear in new relations, and in new combinations. Such is the question de-

signated by the English phrase, Exchange of Pulpits, and by the German word, *Kanzel-Gemeinschaft.* This, although discussed in other Churches, and in other places, is a novelty in the Lutheran Church, on this side of the Atlantic. It is of European extraction, and originated in the fierce religious antagonisms, engendered by the union of Church and State. An enforced liberality, on the one hand, led to rigid exclusiveness on the other. Lutherans, smarting under the lash of persecution, occasioned by the compulsory union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, regarded that connection as the prime source of all the evils, under which they were suffering; and under the influence of a re-actionary movement, entered their protest against the hated union, by determining to exclude the Reformed, as such, both from their Pulpit and Communion Table. In the course of time, many who had participated in the unionistic conflict in Europe, immigrated to America, and brought with them the views and feelings, developed in the fierce contests through which they had passed. Here, finding no civil law interfering with ecclesiastical discipline, they commenced the organization of congregations and synods, upon the rigid principles which they had adopted. Their motto was: "No *Kanzel-Gemeinschaft,*"—"*No Communion with sectarians.*"

As these principles and practices existed almost solely among ministers and congregations purely German, they attracted but little attention, outside of the sphere in which they were operating. But, in the formation of the General Council, which was intended to be a union of Lutheran Synods upon a strict Lutheran basis, such principles and practices could not be ignored; and *Kanzel-Gemeinschaft*, or Exchange of Pulpits with ministers of other denominations, became one of the questions involved in the proposed union. This question, although now more immediately connected with the General Council, and certain Western Synods, is a thing of general interest for the whole Lutheran Church. It cannot be put to rest by denunciation, indifference, or a sneer. It involves a principle, fundamental in the relations of the different portions of Christendom to each other, and must be fairly met, upon the grounds of truth, with sound Christian logic, and settled by fair and honest argument.

In entering upon the discussion of this subject, it will be proper, first, to set forth clearly, and definitely, the pre-

cise issue under consideration. This is not fully expressed in the language, in which the question is generally stated. The proposition is unlimited in the extent of its application, and may include all denominations and sects in Christendom. Both parties, however, agree in excluding entirely from Lutheran pulpits, all so-called Christian ministers, who deny any of the great fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith, contained in the Catholic Symbols of the Church. The question must, therefore, be *limited* to those usually styled orthodox, and, for brevity's sake, we will use the generic term, *Reformed*, as designating all such non-Lutheran organizations or churches.

But, the relation contemplated in the question, is also not clearly expressed in the terms which are employed. *Kanzel-Gemeinschaft*, the original German word used, implies a *pulpit-partnership*, a *collegiate* pastorate of Lutheran and Reformed pastors. This is not claimed, and, therefore, must be excluded from the question. Such a joint occupation of pulpits has no advocates, as far as we know, in the Lutheran Church in America. The English statement of the question, is scarcely more satisfactory than the German. We will, therefore, in a series of propositions, both negative and positive, endeavor to present the real issue, and discuss it from a true, scriptural and Lutheran stand-point.

1. *May a Lutheran Congregation have a Reformed Pastor?* On this, there is no difference of opinion. All parties agree in the negative. Whether such a relation might be allowable in some abnormal condition of the Church, as when a congregation, under extraordinary circumstances, is cut off from the means of grace, is certainly not contemplated in the question.

2. *Shall a Reformed Minister be permitted to preach the anti-Lutheran distinctive peculiarities of his faith in a Lutheran pulpit?* On this point there is an agreement among all those, who themselves receive and teach the doctrines of the word of God, as set forth in our Confessions. We all answer, *No!* The pastor and vestry of every Lutheran congregation, are solemnly pledged to preserve the doctrinal purity of its pulpit, and are responsible for the doctrines taught in it. To allow any one to preach doctrines condemned in our Confessions, and believed by themselves to be contrary to the word of God, would be a violation of their sacred obligation. Such a policy would

exhibit an indifference to divine truth, or be a manifestation of a wavering and undecided faith.

3. *May a Lutheran Pastor and congregation exclude all non-Lutheran Ministers from their pulpit?* Here again we agree. The right undoubtedly exists. It is a question purely within the domain of congregational polity, which each congregation, with its pastor, has a right to decide for itself. Those, who conscientiously allow Reformed ministers to officiate occasionally in their pulpits, accord to other pastors and congregations the right to *exclude* them.

4. *Ought* ALL *Reformed Ministers to be allowed to preach in our pulpits?* All answer, *No!* An indiscriminate interchange of pulpits, has no advocates among us. The admission of Reformed ministers into our pulpits is not claimed as a general *rule*, but simply as *allowable exceptions*, to be controlled by time, place and circumstances, according to the conscientious judgment of the parties concerned. So far the advocates and opponents of *Kanzel-Gemeinschaft*, or Exchange of Pulpits, agree. We now come to the point of divergence.

5. *Is it lawful for a Lutheran Pastor and congregation, to invite a Reformed Minister, known to hold the Reformed faith, to preach, in their pulpit, those doctrines and views of Christian ethics, in which he and his particular Confession agree with the Confessions of the Lutheran Church?*

This is the entire question now at issue among us, fully and clearly stated. The answer to it must be categorical,—*Yea*, or *Nay*. There can be no evasion. We affirm. Others deny.

That a Reformed minister, when invited, can occupy, occasionally, a Lutheran pulpit, preaching only what accords with Lutheran doctrine and practice, cannot be denied. The points of agreement between the Confessions of the leading orthodox Churches, and our own Confessions, are many; in some cases, the points of difference are very few. On the great doctrines of the Catholic creeds, Christian life and morals, there is almost entire harmony. Hence the Reformed minister, on very many subjects within the ordinary range of preaching, can fully and freely express his honest convictions of truth, which will be in accordance with the faith of the Lutheran Church, as well as with that of his own. The commendation often bestowed by strict Lutherans, upon the writings of Reformed theologians, is proof conclusive of this fact.

The propriety and rectitude of abstaining from controverted topics, on such occasions, where their introduction would result in evil, and not good, must be admitted by every one, not afflicted with the *rabie theologorum.* In it, in ordinary cases, there is no compromise of principles, and no violation of an enlightened conscience. Hence, there are no *moral grounds*, which would prevent a Reformed minister, from avoiding controverted questions in a Lutheran pulpit, or a Lutheran minister, doing the same thing in a Reformed pulpit.

But the unlawfulness of the practice contemplated in the question of exchange of pulpits, may be argued from four positions. These we will examine in order.

1. It is unlawful to invite Reformed ministers to preach an occasional sermon in a Lutheran pulpit, because they are *not Christian ministers of Christian churches.* This is the only argument in the case really worth anything. If valid, it would be decisive. But we are not aware, that it is claimed, to any extent, by the opponents of pulpit exchanges. It is, however, the fundamental principle involved in the whole issue. But aside from this particular instance, the Christian character of the Reformed churches, and the validity of their ministry are admitted by us, in theory and practice. In evidence of this fact, we adduce, the testimony of current Lutheran literature, historical, theological, and periodical.

To claim, either directly or indirectly, that the Lutheran Church, in its organic form, is the *only*, and the *entire* Christian Church in the world, is as absurd, as the arrogant assumptions of the English episcopacy. Such a theory must regard the greater portion of the Christian world as Churchless, and without a Christian ministry, and must pronounce the love, faith, piety, and holy lives, of the millions outside of the Lutheran Church, as delusions of Satan; or it must admit, that there is, at least, as much Christianity outside of the church as in it. We hold, that the Lutheran Church is the one historic, Holy, Christian Church, but, by *no means all of it.* We hold equally, that, not in outward organic connection with us, there are other portions of the Christian Church, with true Christians, and a valid Christian ministry, and only defective so far, as they do not, in all points, come up, to what we believe to be the full and clear teachings of the word of God.

2. It is considered unlawful to admit a minister of the Reformed churches, into a Lutheran pulpit, because the act, *per se*, implies an *approval* of *his errors*, or, at least, *indifference* toward them. This argument has some plausibility; but a slight examination will expose its weakness.

An invitation extended to a Reformed minister to preach, in a Lutheran pulpit, doctrines and ethics which accord with the Confessions of our Church, is an acknowledgment of his office as a Christian minister, and an endorsement of the doctrines which he is supposed to preach; but, it cannot be construed into an approval of other doctrines which he may be known to hold. Now, as this acknowledgment of the Reformed ministry, already exists, and as we necessarily approve of their doctrines *as far* as they accord with our own faith, it follows, that neither the acknowledgment of office, nor the approval of certain doctrines, is created by the invitation, and therefore, neither the one, nor the other can be pleaded in bar against it.

That nothing more is implied in the contemplated invitation, than this acknowledgment of ministerial office, and the approval of certain doctrines, is evident from the facts in the case. (*a*) The doctrinal position of the Lutheran pastor, and his congregation has been definitely, and publicly set forth, in their reception of the Confessions of our Church, and therefore, the reception of a Reformed minister, understood to preach at that time nothing contrary to those Confessions, cannot possibly imply, an approval of any errors that he may hold. (*b*) The invitation to occupy a Lutheran pulpit, is always given with the implied condition that nothing is to be preached contrary to our Confessions of faith, and is understood by all parties to have been so accepted. (*c*) The public mind does not impute to a Lutheran pastor, or congregation, extending such invitation, either an approval of non-Lutheran doctrines or indifference towards them. (*d*) If an invitation to occupy a pulpit, implies an approval of *all* the doctrines, known to be held by the person invited, it also implies an *approval* of his entire *life*, *sins*, *weakness and all*.

From these facts and considerations it must appear evident, that this second position is untenable, and the argu-

ment derived from it, inapplicable to the question at issue.

3. To invite a Reformed minister to preach in a Lutheran pulpit, is contrary to the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, and is, therefore, unlawful. An appeal to the Confessions is legitimate, but the arguments, derived from that source, to prove a point made a test of Lutheran fellowship, in order to be valid, must be *clear* and *decided.* No mere influences can be accepted. If there is a law, we must have the very words of it. But, we have searched in vain in the Symbols for such a prohibitory law, and we have found none, because there really is none. The whole argument used in the case is purely inferential and indecisive. When our Confessions were framed, Protestantism had not fully developed itself, and our modern conception of distinct organic denominations was unknown. The Christian Church was contemplated, as made up of all nominal Christian congregations, more or less pure in doctrine and practice, and hence, there is an absence of anything applying directly to the grand organic divisions of the Church, as they now exist. We will, however, examine the leading passages in our Confessions, which may be considered as bearing upon the subject.

The Augsburg Confession, on ecclesiastial orders, says, in Art. XIV. "Concerning ecclesiastical orders (Church government) they teach, that no man should publicly in the church, teach or administer the sacraments, except he be rightly called." In the application of this article, in its orignal sense and intent, the only question that can be raised is: Are the persons under consideration "rightly called;" that is: Are they regularly ordained Christian ministers? If the validity of the ordination of Reformed ministers is admitted, as it is, then, the conditions of this article are met, and it cannot be used as an argument against their occasional admission into a Lutheran pulpit.

The condemnatory clauses of our Confessions are considered by some as implying the prohibitory principles which are claimed. The Augsburg Confession condemns gross heretics, but simply declares its disapproval of those who teach certain doctrines contrary to its statements: in other cases it is merely said, "the opposite doctrine is rejected." The signers of the Formula of Concord, in the Preface, evidently give the sense and intent of these con-

demnatory clauses, when they say: "It never was our design or resolution, to condemn those men who fall into error through an innocent simplicity of mind, and yet are no blasphemers against the truth of divine doctrine, much less to condemn all Churches, that are even under the Roman power * *; but it was rather our design and intention, publicly to reprehend and condemn all fanatical opinions and the obstinate teachers of them, and those blasphemers too, who, we believe, ought by no means to be endured in our dominions, our churches, or our schools." This, it is true, is not confessional, but it is of historical value in determining the sense of our Confessions. It mentions two classes of men. The second class is composed of "blasphemers," and obstinate teachers of fanatical opinions," who, it is said, "ought not to be endured in our churches and schools." The logical conclusion must be, therefore, that the first class mentioned are *not* to be entirely *excluded*, as they are not even condemned. Now it is exactly this class of men, that we claim the privilege of inviting occasionally into our pulpits. They are men, who have inherited their faith; who honestly and sincerely believe, that it is in accordance with the word of God, but who entertain a profound respect for the faith of the Lutheran Church, even where they conscientiously differ from it. For others we claim no such privileges.

The argument, derived from the Formula of Concord as explained by its signers, or framers, is therefore, not *against* the admission of pious and godly ministers of other Churches into Lutheran pulpits, but in *favor* of it. This settles the question, as far as our Confessions are concerned.

4. The fourth argument against "Exchange of Pulpits" with Reformed ministers of approved general Christian orthodoxy, is derived from the word of God. For the sake of brevity, we will confine ourselves to the examination of a few of the passages usually relied on, as they contain the sum and substance of all others claimed; and the answer to them, will be applicable to all. The strongest scriptural declarations bearing upon the subject of ministerial intercourse are found in 1 Tim. 6 : 3—5. The Apostle says: "If any man teach otherwise and consent, not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about

questions, and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: *from such withdraw thyself.*" The same characters are, no doubt, described in the fourth chapter of the same epistle, as; "departing from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their consciences seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, &c."

John in his 2nd epistle writes to the "elect lady," as follows: "Many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. This is a deceiver and an anti-Christ. * * Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not *this doctrine*, receive him not into your house; neither bid him God speed, for he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds." Every reader of Church history knows the characters, so fully described by both Apostles, against whom the warnings were directed. They were, according to the accounts here given of them, *heretics* and *impostors* of the *grossest kind*, and not regular and godly pastors of Christian congregations. They were regarded by the Apostles, not only, as not *Christian ministers*, but as *not Christian at all.* They were immoral in their lives, and taught the most unchristian doctrines, leading to the grossest immoralities. They are characterized, as "deceivers," antichrist," and "without God." Such men are found in our own day, and, by general consent, are excluded from all Lutheran pulpits, and Christian recognition.

But, to apply the Apostlic descriptions and warnings, founded upon them, to the regular and pious ministry of the Reformed Churches, would be sufficient ground for an action of slander in a court of Justice. Every community would cry out in virtuous indignation against such a defamation of character. But, if Reformed ministers do not answer to the characters of the men, described by the Apostles, from whom we are to withdraw ourselves, and whom we are not to receive into our house or bid, "God speed," then, the injunctions of the Apostles do not apply to them, can have nothing to do with the the question at issue, and must be entirely thrown out of the argument in the case.

We have now given a brief but, as we think, honest survey of the most important grounds, occupied by those who assume that it is unlawful to invite ministers of the Reformed Churches, under certain circumstances and limitations, to preach in Lutheran pulpits. Much more might be written, and other phases of the controversy examined, but as we have shown that the leading arguments used, are untenable, or not applicable to the case, we think our position is clearly established.

The *propriety* of inviting ministers of other denominations into our pulpits, can only be decided by the circumstances, surrounding each pastor and congregation. Perhaps, in some cases, among our German brethren, who are the leading advocates of the non-intercourse theory, it may be the best. They are separated, by language, from the leading Protestant denominations of our land, and beset on every side by those who are ready to break into their folds. We are perfectly willing that they should do their own work, in their own manner; but we protest against having their proper, local practice made a law for the whole Church, and a test of Lutheran fellowship. It is a stumbling block in the way of those who are looking for the old land-marks, and searching for the old faith. In its advocates, however conscientious they may be, it is not regarded, by the community, as an evidence of superior piety, learning, or devotion to the word of God, but rather as a remnant of that intolerant and despotic spirit that, in past ages, exiled or burned men for opinion's sake, and endeavored to bind the minds and govern the conscience, by the decrees of ecclesiastical, and civil power. Rigid denominational exclusiveness is intended as testimony for truth and righteousness; but, as it is a characteristic of the most fanatical sects, and the grossest heretics among us, it has lost all moral influence for good, and become, simply, an offence against the law of Christian brotherhood and charity. With firm adherence to God's holy word, may we always be endowed with charity towards our Christian brethren, until the differences that now separate us, shall vanish, and we shall realize, in a visible unity, the Saviour's promise of "One fold, and one Shepherd!"

ARTICLE VIII.

LIFE AND TIMES OF AMBROSE.

There is no part of the history of the ancient Church, which does not possess interest and value to the Christian. Its study, the character of its early representatives, their faults as well as their virtues, is of the highest importance. If History, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus has said, is Philosophy teaching by examples, or as Cicero tells us, the School of Life*, what more profitable exercise than to contemplate the life and labors, the sufferings and triumphs of those, whose influence on the Church and the Times in which they lived, has been generally acknowledged. And among the men, whose power was felt, no one has stronger claims upon our attention than Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan, whether we consider him in his private or official character, as the earnest, energetic, practical man, the eloquent preacher, the daring prelate, the vindicator of human rights, or the recognized champion of the Church. Distinguished for his commanding talents and great abilities, his dignity, zeal and intrepidity, the fearless determination with which he discharged the duties of his office, his implacable hatred and suppression of Paganism, his stern hostility to the Arian heresy and every departure from the established faith, his uncompromising condemnation of vice, cruelty and injustice, although practiced by an emperor, and his rare executive power, his character has always awakened a deep interest and warm admiration, even in those who do not endorse all his views and practices, or fully sympathize with every measure of his administration. The story of his wonderful life, so entirely devoted to the service of the Church and the great interests of humanity, and of the age which he illustrated, regarded by many as the most splendid in the history of the ancient Church, is gathered from well-authenticated sour-

*Cicero also says: "*Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum.*"

ces, in the hope that the facts presented, may be of some interest to the general reader.

Ambrose, the noblest and the most prominent of the Latin fathers, was born in the year 340, about thirty years before the death of Athanasius, and seven years preceding the birth of Chrysostom.* His native place was Treviri (Treves). His father descended from a noble Roman family, was a distinguished military officer, holding the position of governor in Gaul, at the time one of the three grand divisions of the Western Empire. A swarm of bees, it is said, clustered around the mouth of the son, while yet an infant, asleep in the cradle, doing him no injury, which the parent interpreted as a favorable omen, indicative of future greatness and a high destiny. On the death of his father, with his mother he removed to Rome, where he was carefully instructed in a liberal education, under the direction of Probus and Symmachus, and very rapidly acquired distinction as a rhetorician. For a season he engaged in the practice of law, and his success in the profession, in connection with family influence, procured from the emperor Valentinian, his appointment, in 369, as consular governor of Northern Italy, which, at the time, included the imperial residence of Milan. On his departure from Rome to assume the duties of the office, Probus, who was a Christian, is said to have uttered to the young civilian this remarkable counsel, subsequently construed into a prediction: "Go and rule the province, not as a judge, but as a bishop!" He, at once, removed to Milan, the capital of the Occidental Empire, and speedily acquired the esteem and love of the people. Soon after his arrival at Milan, Auxentius, the leader of the Arian party in the West, who occupied the Episcopal chair, died, and there was a division in the Church, in reference to the succession. When the election was announced, and the people had convened to make choice of a bishop, the contest, in consequence of the Arian controversy, had assumed so violent a form and so formidable an aspect, that Ambrose, with the view of preventing a riot, considered it expedient to interpose the civil authority. That he might subdue angry feeling and assuage the violence of the contending parties, he repaired to the church and earnestly entreated the people to conduct the election with Christian proprie-

*Authorities differ as to the precise date of Chrysostom's birth.

ty and order. In the midst of his speech, the voice of a child was suddenly and distinctly heard, saying: "Let Ambrose be Bishop!" and before the governor had concluded his address, pronounced with so much wisdom and in so Christian a spirit, the cry was immediately adopted and welcomed by both parties, the Arian and the Athanasian, as a direction from heaven; the whole assembly, without consultation or intrigue, demanded his appointment to the vacant office, and, with united voice, and unbounded confidence, saluted him with the episcopal title. Ambrose was, however, at this time, only a catechumen in the Church, and was, therefore, not even baptized. With no ecclesiastical aspirations, regarding himself as totally unworthy of so high and important a position, and frightened at the very thought of assuming its responsible duties, he tried, by every means in his power, to decline the uncoveted dignity, to escape the importunate call of the Church. But unavailing was his remonstrance, useless his resistance, vain his flight; the will of the people, endorsed by the imperial approval, must be obeyed; it could neither be resisted nor evaded. Although he had so emphatically said, *Nolo episcopari*, he was finally compelled to yield to the public wishes, so decidedly and unequivocally expressed, and was immediately baptized. On the eighth day succeeding, in the year 374, at the age of 34, he was consecrated bishop. Ambrose, the popular governor, the wealthy patrician, so unexpectedly to himself, possessed the episcopal power of Milan. The selection gave general satisfaction. The learned and pious Basil the Great, of Cæsarea, rejoiced that God had chosen to so responsible a position, an individual in whose opinion, birth, wealth, all human acquisitions, were of little value, compared with the worth of the soul and the glory of God.

Ambrose, from this period, engages with apostolic zeal in the duties of his office. With great skill he adapts himself to the new position, and devotes himself entirely to the work. The Church is made subordinate to all other interests. He adopts, in a mild form, the ascetic spirit of the age, and spends much of his time in prayer, meditation and the examination of the Scriptures. By close application and incessant study, he is prepared to preach every Lord's Day, and frequently during the week. He disposes of his large estates, renounces his patrimony, and gives

his property to the poor. He is always accessible to the people, for whose temporal and spiritual welfare he labors with great fidelity. He uses his authority only to advance their happiness. From the very commencement of his episcopal office, he assiduously and vigorously opposed the Arians, and greatly contributed to the success of the Nicene faith and orthodox principles in the West. When the Episcopal See of Sirmium was vacant, he repaired to the city, in order to prevent the election of an Arian, and to secure the appointment of a bishop, sound in the faith. In 382, he presided over a Synod which deposed from office the bishops Palladius and Secundianus, tried and convicted of Arianism. He soon acquired great influence in the community, and, in progress of time, with the Court. By his mildness, gentleness and Christian faithfulness, he gained the confidence and regard, the love and reverence of all ranks and classes. In his difficulties with the imperial power, his character never suffered, his integrity remained unimpaired; his sincerity was never doubted. But let us follow him in his conflicts with the civil authorities, in the contest of the ecclesiastical with the imperial power.

Gratian, always a favorite with orthodox ecclesiastics, was in authority, when Ambrose, whom he loved and revered as a father, entered upon his episcopal duties, and disposed to sustain him in his measures to suppress religious error. With him he encountered no difficulty. But on his tragical death, in 383, the administration of the government, during the minority of her son Valentinian II., devolved on the empress Justina, a woman of rare beauty and great spirit, but infected with the prevailing heresy, a patroness of Arianism, and anxious to infuse into the susceptible mind of her son the same doctrinal views; with her he experienced a series of trials. The Court claimed, in the public exercise of religion, equal rights with the orthodox party and demanded the use of one of the churches in Milan for the Arian worshipers. But Ambrose peremptorily refused the imperial demand, and distinctly insisted upon the independence of the Church. His answer was courteous, but uncompromising. He fearlessly avowed his principles, asserted that the emperor was *in*, but not *over*, the Church, and that he could exercise no right over the Church property; that the palaces of the earth might belong to Cæsar, but the churches were the houses of God; that what was consecrated to

Him could not be alienated even by the bishop; and that he would rather die as a martyr to the truth than yield to the imperious proposal. The military, commissioned by the empress to take possession of the church and transfer it to the Arians, failed in their object. They found the building preoccupied by a congregation engaged, in devotional exercises, in prayer and the singing of psalms. Justina, disappointed and vexed at her failure, determined to resent the refusal, and avenge the insnlt. Ambrose is summoned to appear before the Court. As a faithful subject, undaunted, he obeys the royal mandate, accompanied without his permission, or consent, by a vast multitude of the people, who with impetuous zeal and daring ardor, pressed against the gates of the imperial residence. The empress, alarmed and trembling for her own safety and that of her son, instead of pronouncing upon the bishop, as anticipated, sentence of exile, humbly begs him to use his influence and authority for the protection of the young emperor and the tranquillity of the capital. The people were in full and cordial sympathy with the bishop, and the designs of the Court were signally frustrated. But the vindictive Justina could not brook defeat. The triumph of Ambrose could not be forgiven. Cherishing the wound in her relentless breast, she renews the struggle. An edict of toleration, the free exercise of religious opinion, is promulgated in all the provinces, subject to the Court of Milan. Any infringement of the imperial act was to be severely punished. The movements of the bishop are now carefully watched. A plausible pretext is soon found, and sentence of banishment is passed against him, requiring his speedy departure from the city to such place as he might select. He, however, boldly refuses compliance with the order, and his course is nobly sustained by the people who continued steadfast in their attachment to him. They guarded his person, and fortified the entrance to the church and the episcopal residence. The soldiers, unwilling to attack what seemed an impregnable position, yielded all opposition and abandoned the contest. The ecclesiastical, again, triumphs over the imperial power.

In the discharge of his duties Ambrose knew no fear. He never thought of personal danger. He never swerved from his conscientious convictions; threats could never intimidate, nor divert him from his honest purpose. When Maximus, the tyrant, sought connection with the

Church, he rejected the application, till he had passed through a due course of penitence, and made some atonement for the murder of the emperor Gratian. By his authority and eloquence the projects of the ambitious usurper were arrested, and the peace of Italy preserved.* With the same promptness and rigidity he rebukes the young Valentinian II., when he manifested a disposition to grant the petition of the Pagans in Rome, and allow them to restore their heathen altars, and sternly threatened him, if he persisted, with exclusion from the Church. "The Church," he adds, wishes no gifts from hands like thine, which have contributed to the adornment of heathen temples. Man cannot serve two masters."†

The influence, which he exerted, in the suppression and complete overthrow, of Paganism, was most remarkable. When the Roman governor, Aurelius Symmachus, urged the emperor to tolerate, in his dominions, heathen worship, and the shrines of the Pagan deities, Ambrose, with forcible and persuasive argument, opposed the application; Theodosius at once denies the request, and also, with severe punishment, prohibits the use of sacrifices and the examination of the entrails; the general practice of immolation, which essentially constituted the religion of the heathen, he declares criminal as well as infamous. "It is our will and pleasure," says the imperial edict, "that none of our subjects, whether magistrates, or private citizens, however exalted, or however humble may be their rank and condition, shall presume in any city or in any place, to worship an inanimate idol by the sacrifice of a guiltless victim." Under the same sacred influences the emperor, during his abode at Rome, even called upon the Roman Senate to declare itself in favor of the Christian religion.‡

But the most wonderful illustration in his history of ecclesiastical influence, was his contest, in 390, with Theodosius, a man of generous impulses, but of a quick and passionate temper, whom he excommunicated from the Church for the cruel massacre at Thessalonica, occasioned by a riot, when seven thousand individuals, the innocent with the guilty, indiscriminately perished. Filled with

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*Epistola XXII. †Epistola XVII. c. 13, 14.

‡Gieseler's Church History, Vol. I. 285.

horror and anguish, the bishop would not allow him to partake of the holy communion, till he showed sincere and deep sorrow, and submitted to a public humiliation. "How wilt thou," he reproachfully inquired as he indignantly repulsed him in the vestibule of the Church and forbade him to proceed farther, "lift up in prayer the hands, still dripping with the innocent blood of the murdered? How wilt thou tread the hallowed floor, and with such hands receive the holy body of the Lord? Get thee away, and dare not to heap crime upon crime!" When the emperor, in reply, humbly referred to David's offering, the rigid bishop answered: "Well, if thou hast imitated David in sin, imitate him, also, in his repentance!"* The emperor, who had been religiously educated, felt the force of the remonstrance. He earnestly deplored his conduct and meekly submitted to the discipline of the unarmed bishop; in the church of Milan, stripped of the insignia of royalty and, with tears of penitence, publicly confessing his sin.† But he was not restored to the privileges of the Church, till eight months afterward, when he promised in future, that capital sentence should never be executed until an interval of thirty days after the signing of the death warrant, that he might have time to repent of his decision, and, if necessary, to revise the sentence and exercise mercy.‡ Theodosius then received absolution, and was allowed to enter the Church. Prostrate on the ground, weeping, smiting his forehead and tearing his hair, he exclaimed: "My soul cleaveth unto the dust. Quicken thou me, O Lord, according to thy word." At the celebration of the Eucharist he rose, and as he was accustomed to do in Constantinople, stood within the chancel. But as soon as Ambrose observed this, he sent a deacon to tell him not to intrude into the holy place, adding: "The purple may make emperors, but it cannot make priests." The em-

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* *Qui sequutus es errantem, sequere corrigentem. Paulinus, Ambrosii Vita c.* 24.

†Ambrose himself describes this incident, in his funeral oration on Theodosius: *Stravit omne, quo utebatur, insigne regium, deflevit in ecclesia publice peccatum suum; gemitu et lachrymis oravit veniam. Quod privati erubescunt, non erubuit imperator, publice agere pœnitentiam; neque ullus postea dies fuit, quo non illum doleret errorem. De Obitu Theod. c.* 34. *Tom. II. p.* 1207.

‡Theodoreti Hist. L. V. c. 18.

peror acknowledged that he had ignorantly transgressed, and immediately retired, giving thanks for the admonition. "I know not," says Theodoret, "which to admire more, the courage of the one, or the submission of the other." The triumph of Ambrose was complete. "Posterity," observes Gibbon, "has applauded the virtuous firmness of the archbishop, and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws and ministers of an invisible judge." "Ambrose certainly vindicated, though not without admixture of hierarchical loftiness," says Dr. Schaff,* "the dignity and rights of the Church against the State, and the claims of Christian temperance and mercy against gross military power." And another† adds: "Thus did the Church prove, in a time of unlimited arbitrary power, the refuge of popular freedom, and saints assume the part of tribunes of the people." From this period the most amicable relations existed between the bishop and the emperor. Their intercourse was never clouded by a moment's alienation. Nothing ever occurred to impair mutual confidence. Theodosius is represented to have said publicly, in reference to Ambrose: "That he was the first man who had told him the truth, and that he was the only man whom he knew worthy to be bishop." On the occasion of his obsequies, the bishop delivered a discourse, in which, among other things, he said that the emperor, on his dying bed, was more anxious for the Church than for himself, and, in his address to the soldiers, added: "The faith of Theodosius was your victory; let your truth and faith be the strength of his sons. Where unbelief is, there is blindness, but where fidelity is, there is the host of angels."

His imperial friend, whose funeral oration he had pronounced, he survived only two years. During his final illness, all Milan was in deep sorrow; his death they felt would be the greatest calamity. When he lay on his dying bed, Stilicho, impressed with the value of his services, to Italy and to all Christendom, urged the prominent citizens of the city to implore the earnest and effective prayers of the bishop himself for his restoration to health. "I

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*Church History, Vol. II. Sec. 68.

†Hase's Church History, Sec. 117.

have so lived among you," replied Ambrose, "that I cannot be ashamed to live longer, yet I am not afraid to die, for we have a good Master." He passed away peacefully and happily, closing his life in the attitude and act of prayer, April 4th 397, at the early age of fifty-seven, amid the regrets and lamentations of all, Christians, Jews and Pagans.

Augustine speaks of the bishop of Milan as the "famous preacher and most pious prelate, known to the whole world, as among the best of men," and Tillemont commends him for his "ability, wisdom and intrepidity." He was in the West what Chrysostom was in the East. These great men, although in some respects so different, yet, in others, their character and life were very similar. They resembled each other in their noble extraction, ample fortune and liberal education. Both possessed an unsullied reputation, united with indomitable energy and untiring perseverance. Both were distinguished for their eloquence; both, in their views, were tinged with the growing superstition of the times, especially in reference to celibacy, the holiness of a single life, and miraculous influences. Both of them rendered important services to the State, and, at the same time, fearlessly maintained the rights and the independence of the Church, laboring with enthusiastic devotion in the work, to which they had consecrated their energies, willing to surrender life itself rather than the principles they professed.

From the narrative, briefly presented, we readily conclude that Ambrose was a man of many virtues, public and private. He had his faults, but they were the faults of the age in which he lived; many of them in other times less affected with superstition and error, he would have escaped. He was distinguished for his integrity, his manly independence, unbending firmness and dauntless courage. Neither the fear of man, nor dangers, the most appalling, could intimidate him—*justum et tenacem propositi*—or shake his firm resolve and steady purpose. His convictions of duty nothing could weaken, or destroy. This was strikingly illustrated, as we have seen, in his inflexible determination to resist what he considered the encroachments of the imperial power on the rights of the Church, in his heroic refusal to concede to the Arians the use of an edifice for heretical worship, although demanded by a cruel empress; and was still more signally displayed

in his prompt discipline of the great but despotic Theodosius. He was also remarkable for his humility and fervor, his affability and gentleness, his generosity and noble beneficence. He labored,

"Profuse of toil, and prodigal of health,"

to alleviate human wretchedness, to mitigate the horrors of war, and diminish the evils of slavery. The ornaments of the churches, even the consecrated vessels, were freely* disposed of by him for the redemption of captives, sold in the public market. "The Church," he says, "possesses gold, not to treasure up, but to distribute for the welfare and happiness of man. It is not merely the lives of men and the honor of women, which are imperiled, but the faith of their children."† He was the kind friend of the poor, the faithful protector of the suffering and the fearless vindicator of the oppressed, unwearied in his efforts to do good, and uncompromising in his opposition to Paganism and Arianism. He was eminent, *facile princeps*, in administrative ability. In his youth he became thoroughly acquainted with the business of the State, and was thus fitted for executive duty in the Church. His episcopal office he filled with great zeal and discretion; it was generally conceded, with the highest dignity and skill. His labors were immense, his duties manifold, yet they were all faithfully and successfully performed.

This distinguished prelate rendered great service to the Church of his day in the improvement of its poetry and music.‡ He introduced into the exercises of the sanctuary the responsive, or choral singing of psalms and hyms, in which there are frequent references to the Trinity, a constant recognition of the Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son, a doctrine denied by the Arians, and for which he so earnestly contended. He was regarded as the Father of Hymnology in the Western Church, and the *Ambrosianus Ritus* has taken its name from him, either because he is the author of the Ritual, or introduced into it important changes.§ The effect of the service in the

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*Kurtz's Church History, Vol. I. § 47.

†*De Officiis Ministrorum, c.* 28. *Epistola in Symmachum, II.*

‡ Paulinus, Vita Amb. c. 13.

§ By some the Ritual, in its orignal form, has been ascribed to Barnabas. Additions were subsequently made by Simplicius.

large cathedral of Milan, is described by those who heard it in the strongest, most enthusiastic language, as greatly superior for "melody, modulation, aptness and simplicity," to any thing previously known. "The voices," says Augustine, "sank into my ears, and the truths distilled into my heart, whence the affection of my devotions overflowed; tears ran down, and I rejoiced in them," At the same time he expresses the apprehension, "that the sweetness of the music might captivate the senses, and weaken the influence of the truth on the mind."

In the renowned bishop of Milan the ecclesiastical power assumed a character, hitherto unclaimed. With him the superiority of the spiritual, over the temporal, authority, the subordination of the throne to the altar, was a fundamental maxim of Christianity. He thought that every measure of the civil government should be closely identified with the interests of religion and the glory of God.* He was the first who fearlessly claimed for the Church those exalted and extraordinary pretensions, which are so important in a hierarchy and so essential to the very existence of the Romish system, and yet so oppressive to the conscience of the individual and destructive of Christian liberty. To the immense influence, which he wielded, the development of the papal power may be traced, and papal imperiousness ascribed. His administration forms, in many points, a transition period in the history of the Church. It served to prepare the way for Hildebrand's subsequent aggressions, and furnished the bishop of Rome, seven hundred years later, with a pretext for placing his foot on the neck of princes and for bringing the world in subjection to the power of the crosier.

He was the warm admirer and zealous promoter, in accordance with the prevalent ascetic tendencies, of the monastic system.† He established a monastery in Milan, one of the earliest in Italy,‡ and his sister Marcellina was one of the first, among Roman women, to devote herself to a life of celibacy. The monastic life in the Latin Church assumed, however, a milder form than in the Eastern. There was the usual austerity connected with the system,

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*Gibbon's Roman Empire, Vol. II. p. 174.

†Gieseler's Church History, Vol. I. § 96.

‡ Augustini Confess. L. VIII. c. 6.

yet none of its inactive and contemplative reclusiveness, and less of the extravagances of asceticism.

He cordially believed and earnestly adopted the doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity. In the fourth century this dogma was already an article of faith. Ambrose maintained that the name *perpetua virgo* was to be received, not merely in a moral, but in a physical* sense, and that the Saviour was miraculously conceived and supernaturally produced *clauso utero*, applying typically to Mary the passage (in Ezek. 44 : 2): "The gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut."†

He also favored the worship of saints. He was one of the earliest and most decided advocates of the practice. "Let Peter," he says, "who effectively wept for himself, weep also for us, and turn upon us the friendly look of Christ."‡ Again he remarks: "The angels, who have been appointed as a guard for us, must be invoked; the martyrs, whose certain intercession we seem to claim, by the pledge of their bodies, must be invoked. * * For they are martyrs of God, our high-priests, spectators of our life and our acts."§ He also countenanced and encouraged the worship of relics, which became, in the course of time, so important an element of the Catholic religion. "Let others," he says, "heap up silver and gold; we gather the nails wherewith the martyrs were pierced, and their victorious blood, and the wood of their cross." In a letter to his sister,‖ he speaks of the discovery of the bones of the

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**Epistola ad Siricium*, 42.

†*Quæ est hæc porta, nisi Maria? Ideo clausa quia virgo. Porta igitur Maria, per quam Christus intravit in hunc mundum, Opera de inst. Virg. Tom. II. c.* 8.

‡*Fleat pro nobis Petrus, qui pro se bene flevit, et in nos pia Christi ora convertat. Hexæm. cap.* 25.

§*Obsecrandi sunt Angeli pro nobis, qui nobis ad præsidium dati sunt; Martyres obsecrandi, quorum videmur nobis quoddam, corporis pignore, patrocinium vindicare. Isti enim sunt Dei martyres, nostri præsules, speculatores vitæ, actuumque nostrorum. De Viduis, c.* 9, §55.

‖Epist. Sorori suæ XXII.

brothers Gervasius and Protasius, buried upwards of three hundred years, victims of the bloody persecutions under the emperors Nero, or Domitian, which exercised healing power, and, as they were borne, in solemn procession, on the way, restored the vision of a blind man. In one of his homilies he vindicates the miracle, in opposition to the doubts of the Arians, and refers to it as an acknowledged and undisputed fact. "The age of miracles," he says, "returned. Pieces of linen, and portions of dress were cast upon the holy relics, and were invested with the power of healing from the tomb itself."* He was deeply imbued with the superstitious spirit of his times. Popular belief also ascribed to him miraculous influences and supernatural power, in proof of which Paulinus furnishes his own experience together with additional evidence from others. And, whilst Ambrose did not exactly encourage this religious credulity, he did not entirely discountenance the claim. How often do we find in history a repetition of the fact, that where great and unlimited power has been committed to the ministry, the idea of supernatural influences is unscrupulously asserted, and the power often openly claimed.

Ambrose, even in a good cause, in his desire to promote soundness of faith, sometimes exhibited an intolerance, not the mild influences of religion, toward those who differed from him in opinion. The precepts and maxims inculcated and enforced by him, were also used by the imperial power in justification of the persecution, of which they were often guilty towards heretics, Jews and Pagans.† This was forcibly exemplified in the intolerant spirit of the laws enacted by Theodosius and executed with the

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*"When they were discovered and dug up, and with due honor conveyed to the *Ambrosiana Basilica*, not only they who were vexed with unclean spirits were cured, but a certain man, who had for many years been blind, a citizen well known to the city, asking and hearing the reason of the people's confused joy, sprang forth, desiring his guide to lead him thither. Led thither, he begged to be allowed to touch with his handkerchief the bier of Thy saints, whose death is precious in Thy sight. Which when he had done, and put to his eyes, they were forthwith opened."—*Confessions of Augustine, L. IX. c.* 7.

†Epistola XXIV.

unanimous applause of the Christian world.* The people who regarded their bishop with so much reverence and enthusiastic devotion, were easily persuaded that "the bare toleration of heresy was persecution of the true faith."†

As a theologian and an author, Ambrose does not hold so high a rank as some others; he is not so able as Jerome, his cotemporary, or Augustine, his pupil. Perhaps, the opinions expressed among critics with regard to his merits as a writer, are more conflicting than in reference to any of the other fathers in the ancient Church. Jerome speaks of his exegetical productions in the most disparaging terms, comparing his Commentary on Luke to the croaking of a raven, which makes sport of the colors of all other birds, and is itself all over dark—*totus ipse tenebrosus*. Gibbon pronounces his compositions destitute of genius and taste. Augustine, the accomplished scholar, on the other hand, speaks of him, as a writer with the most enthusiastic admiration. Schaff, a man of great erudition, says: "That in the writings of Ambrose, old Roman vigor, dignity and sententiousness, are united with a deep and ardent practical Christianity."

The productions of Ambrose are numerous and varied. They consist of homilies, orations and letters, also of exegetical, doctrinal and miscellaneous contributions. His exegetical writings are of less value, because he introduces into his interpretations so much allegory and mystic subtlety, so many "fantastic analogies" and "latent significations." Sixty-three sermons have been ascribed to him,‡ a Commentary on the Gospel of Luke, an Exposition of Twenty-one Psalms, Homilies on the History of Creation (*Hexæmeron*). Among his doctrinal writings, his discussions on Faith, the Holy Ghost, and the Sacraments, have been most commended. Of his ethical productions, his work on Duties (*Libri Tres de Officiis Ministrorum*) is the most important. It resembles Cicero's treatise on Duties (*De Officiis*) which he evidently desired to imitate, reproduced in a Christian spirit, and furnishing clergymen ethical rules for their guidance.§ He also wrote several

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*Milman Hist of Christianity, Vol. III. p. 166.

†Lea's Studies in Church History, p. 272.

‡*Patrologiæ Cursus Completus.* Vol. VII. p. 603.

§"The ideas of the pastoral office," says Dr. Milner, "were in Am-

works on the ascetic life, which exerted a wide influence in the interests of celibacy and monastic piety. Ninety of his letters have also been preserved, some of which are of great historical value. He also wrote a number of hymns, some of the noblest of the Latin Church,* full of faith, simplicity and unction.† Eighty-two have been ascribed to him, but, by some authorities, only ten, or twelve, are considered genuine, the rest being imitations by anonymous writers. He is generally regarded as the author of the *Te Deum Laudamus*, although many assign its composition to a later period in the Church. His hymns are generally in iambic verse, and in the Latin tongue, which was then the spoken language of the country.

The last edition of Ambrose's works is the Benedictine, published in Paris, in 1686–90, in two folio volumes, under the title: *Opera ad manuscriptos codices Vaticanos, Gallicanos, Belgicos, etc. Necnon ad editiones veteres emendata studio monachorum ordinis Benedicti.* Appended to the volumes are his Memoirs, written at the request of Augustine, by Paulinus, a deacon in the Church at Milan, and the secretary of the bishop, together with the biographical sketches of Ambrose, by Tillemont, Hermant and others.

The Life of this distinguished Bishop, in the early history of the Church, is rich in instruction. It is highly suggestive. From its study many useful lessons may be learned. In good men, whose piety cannot be questioned, there are often serious imperfections and errors. Even with an ardent zeal for pure doctrine, there may be asso-

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brose exceedingly serious, meek, lowly and devotional. Have we not, too generally, great occasion to be humbled, on comparing ourselves with this holy servant of God?"—*Church History, Vol. I. p.* 353.

*Archbishop Trench thinks, that he sees in these hymns, "a rock-like firmness, the old Roman stoicism transmuted into that nobler Christian courage, which encountered and, at length, overcame, the world."

†His *Veni, Redemptor Gentium*, written by him during the year of his death, has been much admired. It has been freely rendered into German by Luther and others. It has, also, been repeatedly reproduced in English. Rev. Dr. Palmer's translation is, perhaps, the finest, found in Dr. Schaff's "Christ in Song."

ciated great human infirmities. A man may earnestly contend for the faith, and yet be sadly wanting in some of the cardinal virtues of Christian character. We have no right to assume that God's servants are so infallible as never to make mistakes. They may be narrow and impracticable in their views, intolerant and bitter in spirit, deficient in humility, meekness and love. They may be proscriptive and exacting as to the "mint and anise and cummin," whilst "they have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith." Scarred and seamed as we all are by sin, it is only at the cross we fully realize how imperfect we are, and how in Christ alone there is perfection and safety.

The progress of error is gradual. The love of power, selfishness and ambition, an overbearing and arrogant spirit, may slowly and imperceptibly invade the sacred enclosures of the Church, long before the fatal tendency is seen, or the danger felt. If the Church, during its past history, had always confined itself to its legitimate and appropriate work of simply preaching the gospel, if it had been less eager to grasp and exercise power, vastly different to-day would be the condition of the world.

No human being, however excellent his character, or prominent his position, is necessarily a sure, unerring guide in matters pertaining to faith and practice. The teachings of the Fathers and the writings of the Reformers, however valuable their instruction and inspiring their influence, are not absolute authority. They are merely human productions. Scripture alone is given by inspiration. Whilst the Church may gather wisdom even from her ignorance, strength from her failures and victory from her defeats, God's inspired word is our only safe directory, and the spotless example of the Son of God, our only infallible guide.

And we learn, notwithstanding the imperfections and aberrations of men, human combinations, evil purposes and dark designs, the rubbish, in successive ages, heaped upon the Church, it is safe. "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper." The powers of darkness, the opposition of men, the enemies of the Church, the direst foe of God and man, will all prove unavailing. "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The battle may be long and fearful, but, in every contest, the Church will triumph. From every assault it will rise, not only with

unimpaired energies, but with renewed strength and increased responsibilities. Changes may come, dynasties rise and fall, revolution succeed revolution, but the Church will survive. Truth will everywhere overthrow error and virtue supplant vice. There is a kingdom on earth, which is to outlive all kingdoms. The power that guards it, is to lead it on to final and complete success. "God is our refuge and strength. Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed. God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved." Let the Church rejoice. Let the whole earth vibrate with the Jubilee of heaven: "Alleluia; for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!"

ARTICLE IX.

THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST.

By H. L. Baugher, D. D., Late President of Pennsylvania College.*

At the close of the eventful and melancholy drama of the Saviour's life, these words—"My kingdom is not of this world"—were uttered. He was standing as a criminal before the Roman Governor. His own people had condemned him, and now with unabated malice they seek his condemnation and death from the power which alone could decree the penalty of death. Charged with the crime of being a king, and the king of the Jews, as if in solemn mockery, his reply is "*My kingdom is not of this world:* if my kingdom were of this

*This was the last Discourse written by President Baugher, and was, of course, not designed for publication. It was never delivered. Before it was the author's turn again to preach, he had gone from the toils of earth to the rewards of Heaven. The Discourse is now given to the readers of the *Review*, many of whom, for years, listened with interest and profit to the Doctor's earnest and pungent appeals from the Pulpit of the College Church, with the sincere hope that it may accomplish the object for which it was prepared, and the author being dead, may yet speak for the Master. The Discourse is from the words: "Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world." John 18 : 36. Editor.

world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews, but now is my kingdom not from hence." Our theme then is THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST: which we propose to discuss, 1. As to *its Nature.* 2. Its *Progress* 3. Its *Consummation.*

I. *Its Nature.* At once the Saviour declares that it is not of this world. The world had no part in him. On the contrary his kingdom is taken out of the world and his people are separated from it, that they may be a peculiar people, zealous of good works. What fellowship has light with darkness, Christ with Belial or the people of God with the people of the world? No antagonism can be stronger or more persistent and continued than that which subsists between Christ and the world. It is unlike all worldly kingdoms in its *spirit.* "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight," is the language of the Saviour. The servants of other kingdoms, fight for their kings and rulers with carnal weapons, to defend themselves, and to destroy others. My servants do not thus fight, for my kingdom is not from hence. The servants of Christ do, indeed, contend, but not with flesh and blood, nor by means of sword and spear, but with principalities and powers, with spiritual wickedness in high places, with their own depraved natures, with every secret impulse to evil within the soul and the temptations which the world from without addresses to the soul. Its spirit is not warlike but peaceful, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and of good fruits. Its victories over its enemies are achieved not by hatred and ill-will but by benevolence and kindness, oftentimes by suffering innocently for the truth, or by suffering on behalf of others; for in this way Christ achieved his great victories over his great enemy, by dying on the cross. It is not like the kingdoms of this world in its *form.* The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. There is no parade of military or civic pomp; no long and stately processions; no courtly robes or emblazoned heralding; no firing of cannon or flash of arms, or flaring sashes and batons of authority. There is no visible King or Emperor or President, no form of monarchy or aristocracy or democracy. It manifests itself under every form of government, is suited to all people, all governments, all conditions, all colors and all climates. Nevertheless it comes with mighty and resistless power. The

strong and the learned, the brave, mighty conquerors and celebrated warriors, the philosopher, the poet, the scholar, all yield to its power. It subdues the inner man, taking captive the understanding and the affections and the will, and the outer man with all his powers and possessions follows in the train of the conqueror. In vain then do men teach that Christ will establish a kingdom on the earth, visible in form, and in this respect like the kingdoms of this world. Form in its present state does not belong to the nature of Christ's kingdom, nor would it contribute to its progress and development, nor have we any warrant in the word of God, by implication or specific declaration, to believe it. Yet more inconsistent with the history of this kingdom, in the past and its progress until this day, is the assumption that Christ will appear in person, having his palace and capitol city, and reign on the earth, and, like the kingdoms of this world, subdue his enemies under him. It is not like the kingdoms of this world in its *aim or object.* The world and the kingdoms and nations which compose it, are *selfish.* The great aim and object is some personal or national advantage over others. Some territory, some occupation, some source of wealth and power which I want, and which you must not have. History, from its earliest records until now, teaches only one or two great truths concerning the kindoms of this world: They sought to exalt themselves by the ruin of their neighbors; the path of the conqueror was covered over with destruction and misery; before him was peace, prosperity, and plenty, behind him, death, ruin, want and woe; before him was as the garden of Eden, behind him the desert whitened with dead men's bones, and blackened with the remains of burned cities and villages. The earth under the rule of the kingdoms of this world is but one extended Aceldama. To accomplish all this ruin in the outer man, there must be the development of the ruin of the inner man. The depravity of man's nature exhibited every form of vice and crime, falsehood, perjury, fraud, cruelty, licentiousness, ambition, pride, alienation from God, blasphemy, idolatry, anger, wrath, malice, &c. After the age of physical force had partially passed away, with the increase of intelligence, and, in the lull of the battle-storm, diplomacy was employed, the aim of the representatives of the respective kingdoms was by bribery,

falsehood, perjury and fraud to obtain the advantage over the others, so that whilst the earth is one vast battle-field fought over and over again by the successive kingdoms of this world by brute force, the history of the pacific intercourse of the same kingdoms is a record of deception and bribery and falsehood in all its forms. Genius, and learning, and the sanctity of the priesthood, with which only holy thoughts should be associated, were only the instruments, by which the ends of justice and truth might be most successfully defeated. Now the kingdom of Christ aims at the removal and complete destruction of all these things. It aims to banish from the earth all ungodliness and unrighteousness and just in the degree in which it prevails and takes possession of the hearts of men, in that degree will wickedness in all its forms disappear from the earth. It is animated by the spirit of pure love, or disinterested benevolence, even as was its divine Founder and King when he came to save a ruined world by the sacrifice of himself. Thus reads the record: "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." If we ask for a definite expression of the ends aimed at by this kingdom, I reply, the glory of God and the salvation of man. All its plans and purposes, all its active agencies, whether intellectual or physical, have this in view, and all its results, however the means in the view of short sighted man are aimless and inadequate, terminate inevitably in these.

If we were to characterize this kingdom briefly, we would say 1. That it is *Righteous*, seeking not only to do right, but to lead others to do right, making known the righteousness of God in Christ Jesus, that the erring and lost might find a righteousness not of their own, by which they can come with acceptance before God. It makes God known as he was not known before, not merely in the displays of his power and wisdom and goodness, but in human nature in his Son Jesus Christ, the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person. It restores the forgotten knowledge of God, and reveals him in a new and most endearing aspect, as condescending to our infirmity and laying down his life for us. Moreover it discloses the rule of right, by which men must be guided, in their intercourse with each other, and in their duties to God. 2. It is *Good*. It aims only at good and not at

evil, and, knowing what is best for its subjects, it secures for them the highest good. It suffers persecution but never persecutes. Its subjects are exposed to harm and danger, to the loss of property and life; it never inflicts these upon others, whilst it makes the evils which are inflicted upon its subjects to eventuate in their ultimate good. 3. It is *Truthful.* Its promises and threatenings will all be fulfilled, for he who has made them has all power given to him in heaven and on earth and bears the name of *faithful and true.*

II. We come to consider the progress, or development of this kingdom. 1. *It is slow.* All the great movements of God are slow. His *creation*, as the facts in Geology disclose it, is wondrous slow. We cannot tell the ages which are written on the various strata of rocks and the countless generations of animals which lived and perished on it, in order to make it a habitation suitable for the dwelling place of man. The plan of *Redemption* was slow in its development to man. At first, faint streaks of light in the darkness, giving proof of the coming light, and these centuries before the dawn of the day which ushered into our world the Sun of Righteousness. As the mercy of God was slow in bringing the light to a ruined world, so the *Justice* of God is slow and waiting long on the wicked to turn and live. It is reasonable to suppose that the same deliberation will be employed in the continued progress and consummation of it.

2. It is *persistent.* It takes no step backward and withdraws not the word spoken. It is not yea and nay, but yea and Amen. The forces of nature move forward slowly and resistlessly to the end. Why should they not? What is to hinder or divert? Are they not founded on the purposes of God which never change. So is his moral government, like the natural, fixed and unchangeable, and based upon the perfections of his character, which are pledged for its consummation. *Great principles* never move backwards. The world has not lost one of the great truths made known by Revelation, or developed in the collision of mind or the providence of God. The great principle of civil and religious liberty, struggling as it has been for many centuries into definite existence, could never be lost. Spain, France and Austria made the effort at the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives, and unheard of cruelties, and they could not exterminate

it, either from the swamps of Holland, or the mountains of Savoy. Though the men died under inquisitorial torture, the principle lived and no power of man, or of Demon is able to destroy it. The great facts of the Christian system, are imperishable. The plan of Redemption cannot die. The foundation of the kingdom of Christ, Justice, Goodness, Truth, can never be destroyed. These principles may be overridden, for a season, by powerful and unscrupulous men; or the sword and the rack, and the stake and the inquisition, in the hands of an ignorant and superstitious monarch, may crush them to earth for a season, as in Spain, and in the Netherlands, but they will rise again and vindicate their rights before the nations of the earth. As illustrating the slow and persistent movement of this kingdom, we must consider the instrumentality which is employed. As I have already intimated, not armies and fleets, not war and destruction, not falsehood and fraud, but *simple truth* is the power used. Man is made acquainted with himself and with his God. He is brought face to face with the law of God, which is exceeding broad, with that word which, accompanied by the spirit, is living, powerful, sharper than a two-edged sword, and pierces to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. The process is to convince of sin, its power, pollution and fearful consequences, and thus prepare the way for the offers of mercy through the blood of Christ. Thus slowly and surely, without pomp or display, in the inner strife of the man, the understanding is convinced, and the affections are secured on the side of truth, and then the whole man, body and soul, with all his influence of knowledge and talent and wealth, enrolls himself a follower of the King of kings. From the one individual the power of the truth passes over to another, each conquest making a soldier of the kingdom, until the mass is subdued. Thus the power passes from one kingdom and nation to another, until the waves of knowledge have rolled over our ruined world. The agencies are as various and multiform as are the resources of the Great King. It was said that this kingdom relied not upon wars or physical force, but upon the truth. At the same time, it controls the wars of nations, and the prided arrogance of princes and men in power for the development of its own mighty power for good. The wars of the Jews and their seventy years of captivity destroyed their

idolatrous propensity and revealed to their captors the true God. The conquests of Cyrus and Alexander the Great, and the establishment of the Roman empire on their ruins, prepared the way for the closing of the temple of Janus and the universal peace which ushered in the advent of the Prince of Peace. The world stood still in silent awe and expectation when he took upon him our nature, who was to rule the nations with a rod of iron and subdue all his enemies unto himself. Thus was the mighty Roman Empire broken to pieces and ground to powder, that it might be made tributary to the development of this new and everlasting Kingdom. Thus will all modern kingdoms and nations be overthrown which stand in the way of the triumphs of him who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Moreover this kingdom operates and make progress through the agency of the press, of schools, of the pulpit, of laws, of conversation and the contact of man with man. Included in these are discoveries in science and art, geography, geology, astronomy, statistics, travels, manners, customs, antiquities; all is made tributary to the development of this great kingdom which is, and is to be, the glory of earth. As an illustration of the kind of agency last mentioned, the discovery of the art of printing and the power of steam, has opened the world and brought the distant parts together as they never were before. With the diffusion of Christian knowledge by the establishment of Christian schools and the formation of a Christian literature, the forms of government and the laws of Pagan and Mohammedan countries will be changed, and those belonging to Christian nations will be improved. Already have the pioneers of this kingdom penetrated into their outposts and given to them a written language, Christian schools, literature. Already the light of the Sun of Righteousness is gilding the tops of the mountians in Asia and Africa and the distant Islands of the sea, and its life-giving light is penetrating the jungle, and deep valleys of sin which are full of the habitations of cruelty. Soon, in the mind of God, will the cheering words be heard: "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ."

III. Under the influence of powers, known and unknown, and under the direction of infinite wisdom, this kingdom is moving forward towards its grand consummation. The forces which produce the terrible earthquake,

which engulf cities and mountains, and rend asunder the solid earth and shake it to its foundations, are forming and concentrating, and are unperceived, until the terrible catastrophe is produced; so the energies of this kingdom are developing, unperceived by the world, and then, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, the Son of Man will come. The Saviour himself informs us that the world will go forward in its ordinary routine of business and pleasure, unconscious of any change, unsuspicious of any evil. In the meanwhile righteousness and goodness and truth, the gospel of God's grace, will so prevail and predominate in all lands, as to give them the mastery. The work begun eighteen hundred years ago, will spread itself like the light and the heat, until the earth will be filled with the knowledge of God. "Then will come the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power. For he must reign, until he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." The last act in this eventful drama, is the Judgment, when the final separation will be made between the righteous and the wicked, and each one will receive according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or bad. Then the work of Christ will have been accomplished. He that is holy, will be holy still, and he that is filthy, will be filthy still. There will then be no need of mediation, of a preached gospel, of the means of grace. The work, for which the Son of God came from heaven to earth, is completed. All who believed in the Son of God are saved, all who remained in unbelief are damned. Having finished the work which God gave him to do, the Son now is subject to the Father, that God may be all and in all. Glorious consummation! wonderful display of the character of God! How wonderful are his works and his ways past finding out! "For of him and through him and to him, are all things, to whom be glory forever and ever."

1. When we reflect upon the nature and blessedness of this kingdom, the reflection arises in the mind spontaneously, how desirable the establishment of its overriding influence over every earthly kingdom! We see its power and its blessedness, wherever Christ is known as the Saviour of sinners. Its power is the power of righteousness, goodness and truth. It is seen in the benevolence which

pervades the Christian Church, in the integrity and uprightness of Christian men, in public and private charities, in laws founded on justice and mercy. It is found in the ministry, and their efforts to make known among all men the knowledge of the way of salvation through Christ. It is found in Christian Schools and Colleges. Sometimes you will find it almost unmixed with evil, in a household where the love of Jesus reigns supreme, and the one great thought and governing purpose is, to glorify his name and to become like him; where all other affections and desires are subordinated to this one, and the highest welfare of each is subordinated to that of the whole, and where self is lost in the desire and the effort to benefit all. This is heaven on earth, the beginning of that state in which there shall be no sin, but where peace and joy in the Holy Ghost shall reign forever.

2. In view of the blessedness of this kingdom, it is our duty to advance its interests by all the means in our power. This we will do, first by becoming members of it, by giving our hearts, our obedience, to its Great King, and becoming his followers. In no way can we more successfully honor Christ than by confessing him before men. In no way do we dishonor him more, than by denying him before men. This we do when we live in sin, resist the truth and Spirit, and, in general, make manifest that we are unwilling to believe in him, or to serve him. Secondly, we advance the interests of this kingdom, when we bring others, the enemies of Christ, into it, when we multiply and send out copies of the sacred Scriptures, a sacred literature, a holy ministry, when we establish Schools and Colleges under Christian influences; when, in a word, we make known to the ends of the earth, the salvation of our God.

Now we ought to do this for Christ's sake, who has loved us and given himself for us. We ought to do it for our own sakes, because in no other way can we be saved. There is no salvation out of Christ; no salvation out of this kingdom. He who does not humble himself before this King of kings and accept his proffered mercy, will perish. There is no name under heaven by which we must be saved, but the name of Christ. We ought to do it for the sake of our friends and relatives, that they may be influenced by us to come to Jesus. We ought to do it for the sake of a ruined world, that men everywhere may

be delivered from the depravity and cruelty of heathenism, from the power of sin and Satan, and be made free and happy in Christ. Motives such as these should continually animate us.

ARTICLE X.

MARTIN STEPHAN AND THE STEPHANITES.* TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF JOHN B. KUMMER, D. D., PASTOR OF THE BOHEMIAN CONGREGATION IN DRESDEN.†

The name of Stephan is connected with too important and far-reaching a movement in the Church history of our time, not to deserve a place here. The obscurity which surrounds many events of his life until this day, the mysterious character of the man, and the fact that the sources of his history were rarely influenced by partisan feelings, made it a very desirable privilege for the author of this article, that he was permitted to consult the official docu-

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* *Vide* Herzog's Encycl. Vol. XV. 41–61.

†The object of the reproduction of this article in English, at this time, is, to give the readers of this *Review* the benefit of the clear and important light which it throws upon the mostly unknown origin, early history, and real attitude and animus of a class of co-religionists among us, much praised by some, and much censured by others. We refer to those who are best known by the name of Missouri Lutherans—a body which has now become large and influential in some sections of the country, particularly among the German population. Some of their most distinguished leaders are named in the article, which fully, impartially and authentically explains under what circumstances and to what intent they came among us. The history, we are sure, is a very different one from what is generally supposed, and it gives the true and natural key to the right understanding of some of the more marked and extraordinary characteristics of a body, with which the Lutheran Church, in general, has, and will have, more or less to do. It is but just, therefore, that it should be known whence they sprang, how they came hither, and what the nature is of that root, from which they have grown and derived their life.

ments of ecclesiastical and secular authorities, even of the courts, as also many oral communications from his own Bohemian and Stephan's so-called congregation, and, finally, notices and criticisms of impartial, competent men and women.

MARTIN STEPHAN was born at Strausberg, Moravia, August 13, 1777. His poor, but pious parents, were originally Roman Catholics. The father, a weaver, became a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in consequence of diligent reading in the Bible, while the mother, with the children, remained Catholic, threatened as she was by her priest, "that the devil incarnate would take her, if she would touch the Bible or any Lutheran book." Afterwards, however, as this dreaded event did not come to pass, she also joined the Lutheran Church. Whether Martin and one of his sisters, at the same time, or only later, inclined to the evangelical faith, I have not ascertained. His father destined him for his own trade, but, with his pietistic tendency, he took particular care of his Christian education, so that Martin, already in early youth, became pretty familiar with the Bible; his mother especially accustomed him, from tender childhood, to prayer and implanted the seeds of godliness in his heart. She, whom he always mentioned with filial piety, taught him the following morning and evening prayer: "I thank thee, God Father, that thou hast created me; I thank thee, God Son, that thou hast redeemed me; I thank thee, God Holy Ghost, that thou hast sanctified me." But as both his parents died already at an early period, he spent his childhood and youth in sorrow and want, and under the Austrian "edict of toleration," (*Toleranz edict*). His education was, under these circumstances, a very limited one. In his twenty-first year he came, as a journeyman-weaver, to Breslau, after having been subjected at home to the persecution of the Catholics; he afterwards spoke of this time as follows: "When I was compelled to flee from home with my sister, we heard already the iron chains clanking behind us." In Breslau he immediately joined the Pietists ("*Erweckten*") and attended their devotional meetings, indulging in polemics already at that time with an inflexible mind and an imperious character. With the ardent desire of the newly, awakened to preach the salvation also to others, and supported by Christian philanthropists, he entered, in the year 1802, the Elizabeth Gymnasium at Breslau, where

Rutor, the father of the well-known Prof. *Scheibel*, aided him likewise with his advice and efficient help. He was already then very familiar with the German Bible, since he had improved even the nights for reading the Scriptures as well as other religious books. At the age of twenty-five years, a member of the fourth form ("Quarta") he naturally had to encounter a great deal of ridicule on the part of his younger school-fellows, which to be sure was partly repressed by his extraordinary strength and size (he measured six feet three inches), but which, nevertheless, contributed towards, more and more, confirming him in his natural bitterness, asperity and imperiousness, as also in his strong self-reliance. In spite of his strong will, he was unable to retrieve what he had neglected, and more on account of his age than of his maturity (*propter staturam plus quam propter studii industriam*), he gradually advanced to the first form ("*Prima*"), where the office of "economist" (amanuensis of the Rector) gave him a sort of legal authority over his fellow-students, which he not unfrequently, with arbitrary tyranny, extended beyond its proper bounds. At that time he is said to have procured for himself an old gown, and to have preached in a loud voice for hours in his cell. After having learned only the most necessary Latin, and much less Greek, he entered, in 1804, the University of Halle, still aided by support which he received from Breslau, and, after an interruption, from 1806—1809, the University of Leipsic where he attended some philosophical and theological lectures, without making great progress in the learned studies, which he rejected as "carnal sciences." In everything that did not date from *antiquity*, he discovered infidelity or heterodoxy. Here, too, his principal studies were devoted to the ascetics, especially from the period of *Spener* and *Francke*. His dogmatic theology he owed, next to the symbolical writings, to Freylinghausen's fundamental theology ("*Grundlegungs Theologie*"), his knowledge of homiletics to Scriver's "Seelenschatz" (Treasury of the soul). Of ecclesiastical history he had a thorough, though one-sided, knowledge, which he also knew how skilfully to apply to instruction or conversation. With such a limited study and knowledge, he became, to be sure, so much the more master of what he acquired. The deficient extent of his knowledge was made good by its in-

tensity, to which a good memory and a great amount of serious experience was added. Thus his sermons and conversations were never tedious. Stephan had hardly finished his studies, he received—although not venturing to submit to the examination "pro candidature," with regard to his knowledge of the Moravian and Bohemian language—a call as pastor to Haber, in Bohemia, and after one year spent in this "school of abstinence," another call as pastor of the Bohemian congregation of exiles ("*Exulanten gemeinde*") and German preacher at St. John's church in Dresden (1810), mainly through the vigorous intercession of the court-chaplain, Dr. Doering, since he then was considered a Moravian ("*Herrnhuter*"). His entrance-sermon, on Rom. 1 : 16 *sq.*: "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ," &c., he delivered on Palm Sunday. The examination had to be carried on, for the most part, in German, by Drs. Reinhard and Tittmann, and they paid especial regard to his "Christian disposition and practical talents." He had declined a call to Rochsburg as court-chaplain. In Dresden his sermons, in which the strict Lutheran-biblical spirit prevailed, met immediately with great approval on the part of the small number of susceptible persons, and, before long, a large audience gathered around him at the *German* service, while the *Bohemian* congregation, at that time, numbered hardly more than three hundred members. Besides he continued, in the manner of Spener, the devotional exercises, "which had been kept up for nearly half a century, by all (?) his predecessors, especially by Pastor M. Petermann." It seems that these were, at first, mainly frequented by the Moravians. Every fortnight Pastor Stephan instituted on Sunday evening, after singing and prayer, a "recapitulation of the sermon" (*Bediyterichderholung*); on the alternate Sundays he had a sermon read; Mondays and Fridays, from 8—10 P. M. there were devotional exercises; on the first Monday of every month there was "conversation" (*sprechstunde*) for men, to which, however, also boys were admitted; every third Monday "general conversation," for both men and women; on the intermediate Mondays there was reading of sermons, selected by Stephan, *e. g.*, Arndt's sermons on the Catechism, sometimes also of missionary reports. Stephan himself was generally not present on these occasions. To keep up order, he appointed superintendents. During the "conversations" which, however, were instituted only at a later

time (about 1830?), to gratify the wants of the many in search of advice and instruction, every member was entitled to anonymously write down questions regarding matters of faith and conscience, as also domestic affairs, and deposit them into a box, or to orally propound them; and the pastor afterwards answered these questions, generally with great precaution, pastoral wisdom and rare knowledge of human nature. On Friday evenings there was a *Bible-lesson* for both sexes, when the Bible was read, chapter by chapter, together with the Tubingen Summaries; these, too, were seldom attended by Stephan himself. When, during these devotional exercises, any prayers were said, they had always to be *read* by the laymen, as he did not allow any free, extemporaneous prayers on these occasions.

We had to give these details regarding these "*Erbauungsstunden*" (hours of devotion), because first, they, which were generally called "conventicles," and as such suspicious and suspected, soon prejudiced both the educated and uneducated against Stephan, while they likewise formed the means, by which his disciples more and more firmly and personally were attached to him.

But what secured to Stephan, in so short a time, such a number of followers, "aside of his vigorous, tall, though somewhat clumsy form, he possessed *nothing* that could have attracted the world—neither declamatory nor gesticulatory excellence, nor fiery or fluent eloquence, nor a pure pronunciation, nor any (artistic) skill in the arrangement of his sermons, nor any rhetorical aid whatever. With a Bohemian accent, a hollow, monotonous voice, and defective German, this man ventured to preach the "divine folly of the gospel" to one of the most highly cultivated cities of Germany." (von Polenz.) And yet the two-edged sword of the Spirit, managed by an apparently unskilled hand, entered with an almost irresistible power deep into the hearts of all his hearers, so that they either suffered their wounds to be bound up by him with the consolation of divine mercy, or, at least, for the most part, took home a sting of conscience.

To explain this we must look at the ecclesiastical situation of that time. In Dresden, as in Saxony generally, there was, to be sure, still an echo of the Wittenberg orthodoxy to be found, and therefore, externally, a more strict adherence to the Church-doctrine, than anywhere

else. We may recall here the names of such men as Reinhard and Tittmann, Rosenmüller in Leipsic, Schroeckh in Wittenberg, and others. Still, in general, the living breath of the Lord was missing, and rationalism ("*aufklärung*") was here also in fullest bloom. The preachers were, for the most part, only pulpit orators, and followed the great Reinhard more in logical form than in spirit. The simple, uncolored preaching of conversion by repentance and faith was rare.

If we now, in connection with these things, remember the powerful, exciting events of that time, the roar of cannon in and around Dresden; then the success of the Bohemian "preacher of repentance" (*Busspredigerr*) will be more easily understood. Yet the powerful impression produced by his sermons, caused him soon to appear to many as a "dangerous man." For among the awakened ones, the inner fermentation manifested itself in different ways, sometimes in still seriousnes and strict resignation of the world, sometimes in apparent melancholy, sometimes in a loud mania for converting others, sometimes even in a sort of insanity. Stephan's activity in Dresden, by his sermons and his zeal in "*cura animarum specialis and specialissima*," was at that time, until about 1825, undeniably *blessed* by the Lord in many respects! Also his dogmatical, imperious character did, at that time, not show itself so much, as afterwards, although in his small Bohemian congregation it became manifest from the beginning. In his personal intercourse he was extremely amiable, attractive and interesting, nay overpowering and winning the hearts "with magic force;" there was hardly a trace perceptible of any zealotical disposition; his nightly walks in the woods, of which he had always been very fond, and in which he generally indulged in company with a friend only, or with his Bohemian chorister, were still of an entirely harmless character.

The sensation produced by the fidelity of the strictly Lutheran preacher to his faith, and by the extraordinary success of his activity, increases the number of the curious, and gradually changed into hatred and contumely among the masses. Since gradually a German "congregation" had been formed in St. John's church, which gathered more and more closely around Stephan, and toward which he soon felt a greater attachment than towards his Bohemian congregations, so that in consequence

he neglected the latter more and more; since the Bohemian pastor contrary to his vocation and without any authority whatever administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to his (German) followers, and besides usurped other "*actus ministriales*" in this his so-called "congregation," the clergy of the church of the cross ("*Kreuz-Kirche*," the principal church of the old city Dresden) submitted to the church-superintendents on the 13th, of March 1820 a well supported complaint against him. But in spite of the admonition which he received from his superior, and in spite of his promises, everything remained as before, and his encroachments even increased.—But now soon the the first public attack appeared on the part of an anonymous writer in the "correspondent from and for Germany" of the 25th of August 1821, in which Stephan was called a "misguided mind, lying preacher and fanatic, with a misleading doctrine, apt to undermine the state, who endeavored to found a sect; while his congregation was called a miserable band of weak-minded, short-sighted and crazed fanatics. These criminations of a "malignant slanderer" Stephan refuted by a "correction" in the "national Gazette of the Germans" No 47 (Nov. 21. 1821,) in which he said among other things: "I am neither a founder nor a leader of sects; I hate all sectarianism and fanaticism. I am an Evangelical Lutheran preacher; —my religion is neither *above* nor *below* the Bible, but written *in* the Bible and leads to Christ;—the recapitulations of my sermons I hold in my parsonage *with the doors open;*—in my congregation neither insanity nor murder has taken place, &c."

Since busy rumor now involved him more and more, by circulating scandalous reports and denouncing him with the police, he found himself compelled to submit to his superiors an "explicit well-founded declaration," which seems to have given complete satisfaction, (L. Fischer, page 19.) But to the inhabitants of Dredsen he addressed in the month December 1823, a preface to two of his sermons "*Herzlicher Zuruf an alle evangelischen Christen*" published by C. Chr. Dürr, Dresden and Leipsic) in which he defend himself especially against the accusation of fanaticism and sectarianism, regarding which he expresses himself very plainly and correctly, bears witness to his adherence to the holy Scriptures and the symbols, and gives an explanation regarding his perfectly *public* "*hours of devotion.*"

Still more important was in the year 1825, the publication of one year's sermons. Already the title of this work; "*The Christian faith*, in one year's sermons" &c., shows, that he intended to give here something complete, the Christian faith such as he was teaching it, his open confession. As he says there "he wished to preach the *pure apostolic evangelical doctrine*, such as is contained in the Old and New Testament, and thereby lead his hearers to a true belief in Jesus Christ, to an upright Christian life, to consolation in suffering and a happy death, without concerning himself in any way about some old or new human words, except when it was necessary to caution his hearers against errors." "With all diligence he had avoided all *pompous*, learned-sounding words. He had spoken more of *faith* than of *morals*, because the former is the source of all true sanctity, of all good works and all true comfort." "These sermons are not to be judged according to the now prevailing rationalism" &c., (compare the Preface.) They are indeed entirely biblical and worthy to be recommended to souls, desiring their salvation. The official opinion of the "Ephorus" Dr. *Heymann* (1838) says regarding them: Stephan's assurance "that he himself believes what he preaches" is not to be doubted; he preaches in strict accordance with the symbolical doctrine, in as simple words as possible; there are indeed truly edifying passages and instructive sermons to be found in the book. The popularity of the author however consist more in the use of common, but often not well comprehended words and phrases, than in a plain, well arranged and sufficiently precise expression of strictly logical propositions. The reader meets often (?) with false or only partially true assertions, incorrect explanations of biblical passages, and misses a more profound entering into the individual life of the hearers, to which the divine word might be specially applied. As regards the subject-matter, the doctrine of man's natural corruption and of the atonement by Christ are principally dwelt upon, in a manner which, with the exception of a few exaggerations caused by lack of precisision, does not essentially differ from the Church-doctrine. Pernicious, however, and not to be justified in this way, are the assertions of miracles which even now are taking place and to be expected (Part II. Page 331,) as also the assertions,

that those teachers of the Church who have denied "the existence and name" of the devil, and contended against his work only under the name of the evil spirit of the age and of vice, are "servants of the devil" (I p. 329), and that God in years of famine deprived the bread of its nourishing virtue (I. p. 322). Connected with such expressions is a very awkward quareling with those of different opinions [of this Stephan was especially fond in his hours of devotion, according to the testimony of all witnesses] and particularly very harsh criticisms of those teachers, whom Pastor Stephan considered as infidels. With such defects these sermons might easily foster fanatical belief in miracles [as it *actually was* to be found here and there among the Stephanites], superstitious ideas of God's judgments and intolerant tendencies. Adversaries among his hearers, though bearing witness to the purity of the Lutheran doctrine he preached, assured that *he accused as heretics all who were not his followers*, and invited them in the main to believe blindly. His own followers are all more or less distinguished by *a stubborn adherence to the letter of the Bible and of the symbols, which they are far from correctly understanding*, and by great zeal for the doctrine preached by Stephan, &c.

Thus reads in the main the corresponding passage in the report of the commissaries who since November 1839 had been charged with the examination of the complaints against Stephan. The publication of these sermons, we are told by one well informed ("The emigrants and the Lutheran church,") proved to be "a very decisive turning-point for Stephan." That time was "the period of his bloom, for he then enjoyed the undivided respect and love of more than one thousand persons among whom there were many families of rank; within the sphere of his activity there reigned an active Christian life; his position with regard to the outside world could hardly be called a hostile one; in spite of many calumnies and his preceding unpleasant experiences, the number of his friends had increased; in his heart there dwelt an apparent serenity on account of the many mercies which God had granted him in his calling" &c. But for the mass of his hearers his stock of sermons became now "as it were, a symbolical book." "Many who had listened for years to his lengthy sermons, which were rarely logically arranged, without being plainly conscious of his doc-

trine, became so by means of this book; those more accustomed to reading received in it a standard, by which to decide all dubious cases and religious disputes, so that Stephan now also not only on Sundays, but every day and at any time, became their spiritual adviser, teacher, and comforter. This book gave likewise a special impulse and aid to his later adherents, to secure authority to Stephan's name *in the province.* In general the absolute devotion of the "*Stephanites*" to Stephan's doctrine and person grew more and more; "it turned more and more into *a carnal attachment to, and dependence from, the creature, without Stephan's trying to prevent it,* as it would have been the duty of a minister and experienced Christian, and thus detracted from the Lord's glory" (Pastor Blucher.) It did good to his heart which was naturally inclined to pride, nay he fostered it at least indirectly, by often emphasizing the dignity of the ministry in a manner touching the priesthood of the Old Testament, as also by assuming the authority of God's interpreter, when asked for his advice in domestic affairs, *and almost claiming infallibility.*

Thus he became for his followers more and more an indispensable spiritual adviser who enslaved their consciences and *influenced the manner of thinking and acting of his parishioners as any Catholic confessor.*" His declaration ended all hesitation, all disputes. *He gave divine oracles from the tripod, by identifying his word with the word of God.* This has been admitted by ministers of the strictest Lutheran faith, who in former times were well disposed towards him. And indeed he pronounced everything with such a wisdom and knowledge of human nature, and with *such an assurance,* that simple minds especially necessarily considered his sayings and his advice as equivalent to God's word. No doubt he has in this manner given good advice to many and prevented them from many follies; yet on the whole he very much hindered the souls in their Christian course by so doing, nay even often frustrated in them the beginning work of grace; for many thought it now sufficient for being good Christians, to strictly follow Pastor Stephan's advice and prescription, or even only to be in outward alliance with him and as it were to touch the hem of his garment. The former produced a *legal* (or judicial) manner of acting, the latter an external, secular (worldly) one, which now principally

led to the frequently mentioned and ill-reported *nightly* promenades and meetings, in and outside of the city.

Before discussing these more at length, we must, indeed, in justice to truth, call attention to the fact that there were very different degrees of Stephanites. Some only attended his sermons, perhaps, even the confessional, but kept aloof from the "hours" (of devotion) and from intercourse with him. The middle class attended the sermons *and* the "hours," honored in Stephan more the teacher than the minister proper, and thought to be permitted to listen also to other faithful preachers. "The Stephanites" proper, at last, not only *exclusively* attended Stephan's church and devotional exercises only, but owned him as their minister and spiritual father; many, in later years, as *him on whom alone the salvation of their little band and of the Lutheran Church depended.* These formed a circle close around the master; they principally attended the "conversational hours" (*Sprechstunden*), went everywhere in quest of him, accompanied him on extensive, mostly nocturnal, walks, and short excursions on foot, and celebrated the day as a holiday, when Stephan made them happy by a personal visit. Among these were also the most decided Christians, and men of the best civil respectability, yet also people of very unclean minds, uncharitableness and dubious reputation.

In order to meet the social wants of Christians of the lower classes (especially of artisans, for whom there were not then, as now, all kinds of "associations"), Stephan *caused the formation of clubs* (*"geschlossene Gesellschaften"*), which originally served in an entirely lawful manner only the purpose of recreation, not of edification, and were moving within the bounds of order and of decency. This club was invited by the pastor once a month, on some Sunday evening. On a joyful feast-day it was permitted to bring the wives and daughters. In consequence of his unfortunate habit of lucubrating, however, Stephan never made his appearance before ten P. M., "which therefore turned the perfectly innocent evening gathering into a lucubration, which was generally protracted until after one A. M., and gave so much the greater offence to the world, as Stephan's return home led him through one of the most suspicious streets of the city, and as several of his followers with their wives used to accompany him.

With these evening-parties, soon also summer-parties were connected, which, likewise, ended only late at night, often even on the next morning. Stephan was *completely deaf* to all friendly representations regarding the indecorum of these nightly meetings and regarding the offensive accusation which they made in the world, justifying himself on the ground of *his* dietetic welfare, and could not even then be dissuaded from them, when they involved him and his family in actual vexations, besides producing the saddest consequences in other families (disturbance of domestice peace, suits for divorce, &c.)

Thus far *von Polenz*, who is certainly acknowledged as competent, mild and just. How then judged those outside, the vulgar and exasperated adversaries?

In truth, *Stephan has, by acting thus, given great offence*, even if it were true, what Rev. Fischer, the author of the book, "the false martyrdom," &c., was told in the most solemn manner by some of his faithful followers, "that, according to their knowledge, not the least suspicious and indecent things had occurred at first." (page 49.) If any of his followers expressed their disapprobation, they made themselves liable to be excommunicated. The more considerate withdrew from all *personal* intercourse, but still continued to attend his sermons, according to Matt. 23 : 2 *sq.* : "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works, for they say and do not." The excitement in the city against Stephan and the Stephanites continually increased; boundless opprobrium and bitter scorn were lavished upon them, the most romantic tales were circulated and found credence. But they became, more and more, insensible to the hatred of the world; they bore "the cross for Christ's sake," "the disgrace of Christ!" at last, the authorities were compelled to interfere, when, in 1835, the news of the Koenigsburg hypocrisy ("*muckerei*") and alleged (scandalous) "developments" (*Enthuellungen*) were circulated and produced the profoundest moral indignation. The police succeeded in ascertaining one of the secret meeting-places and surprised the pastor in the midst of his flock, yet the suspicion of "Muckerei" found no sufficient support. But to obviate any further offence, Pastor Stephan was, in the same year, (1835) prohibited by the authorities from holding any nocturnal meetings *i. e.*, such as were protracted until ten P.

M. Stephan promised to abide by this decision, and actually conducted himself for a while more cautiously; yet soon he resumed his nocturnal doings more boldly and in a worse manner still. No doubt he had already then plans of emigration in his mind, or rather had revived them and cherished them more decisively than before. Other events also contributed to this.

The year 1830, with its political movements, had deprived the Bohemian pastor of the direct protection of his powerful patron, the privy-minister Count Einsiedel (1861); also other influential men of high rank, who were well disposed toward him (Minister von Geobig, President of the Consistory, von Forber and others) had died or resigned: "It certainly was a *more powerful* arm which then still protected Stephan, in order by another and deeper fall, to lead him to the knowledge of himself." (von Polenz).

To the most exasperated attacks, the most violent invectives and abuses, which filled the public prints now to excess, and often in the most unworthy manner, Stephan opposed complete silence in public. To again answer them, "the dear minister considered as beneath the dignity of his holy office." (Confession, page 6). But one of his most faithful disciples, candidate Poeschel, a perfectly pure and pious, humble soul, but entirely taken with Stephan's imposing mind (he died as pastor in Hoffnungsthal, near Odessa), who afterwards, in reward for his confident, unlimited devotion to pastor Stephan, was excommunicated by the latter, *on account of an alleged difference of doctrine*, published, in 1833, a *Confession* (*Glaubens Bekenntreiss*) of the St. John's congregation in Dresden (which, according to the ecclesiastical law, had no existence by the side of the Bohemian one,), at the same time, as a refutation of the criminations made by some public prints against it and its pastor," in which book we read, among other things (page 118 *sq.*): "We bear witness, with firmness and decision, before God and all the world, that we have (since 25 years) heard no other doctrine from him than that which is in conformity with the whole word of God, of the Old and New Testament. He preaches to us with clear and plain words, the whole plan of God for our salvation, the law and gospel, &c.; as a conscientious preacher, he adheres to his religious oath (upon the Symbolic Books); *Pastor Stephan is a conscientious, honest man,*

he is what he pretends to be, an old-Lutheran preacher." The inuendo against most of the preachers of city and country, is not to be mistaken, and it is to be regretted that Stephan and the Stephanites emphasized only too much and too one-sidedly the *old*-Lutheran, while entirely disregarding the Holy Spirit which always *continues to work*, and despising the whole work of the modern Church, which they, day after day, condemned as heretic *neology*.

With the Prussian Old-Lutherans Stephan stood always, until after 1830, in intimate communion; and some of their exiles, Dr. Scheibel, Wehrhan, Krause, Wermelskirch, found, in 1832, an asylum in Saxony; with the fanatic dissidents in Wurtemberg and Baden he remained closely connected, until the time of his emigration. But in Saxony, the number of his followers had (especially since 1827) greatly increased, particularly in the valley of the Mulde to the district of Altenburg, also in Leipsic and other places. Many of the "Lutheran" ministers who formerly were on friendly terms with him, he now denied, and defied calumnies and condemnations. He, no less than his people, assiduously speaks of heretics, blasphemers, despisers of the Bible, &c. *The young ministers, who were devoted to him with blind confidence, and who formerly, as candidates, had been under his spiritual care, worked entirely in his severe, and with his zealotic, hierarchical, manner, especially pastor Keil, in Wiederfrahne and the brothers Walther* (both the pastor and substitute); *only they lacked his prudence.* Stephan visited them every year and preached to an immense concourse of people in their churches. He had, as it were, his "stations" throughout the land, which were waiting for his wink.

Discord, severe differences, the most bitter enmities, broke out, in numerous congregations, among the parishoners, between the pastor and his flock, as also with the neighbors, in consequence of the *usurping, zealotic and condemnatory conduct of the only orthodox "ecclesiola."* At the same time the Stephanites and their head, nevertheless, *complained of persecutions and oppressions, saying that God's word was bound, and the Lutheran Church in danger.* (For a time, since 1832, the introduction of a "union," as in Prussia, had been dreaded.) And yet both secular and ecclesiastical authorities practiced the greatest possible and wise clemency and forbearance; whilst *they were bent upon martyrdom!*

The doings of the Bohemian pastor, on the one hand, which became more and more bold and provoking, and, on the other hand, the power of excited public opinion, which became still more excited by the zealotic conduct of Baron Uckermaner, a Stephanite, with his fulminating invectives against all neologists, heretics, infidels, demagogues, servile persons, &c., in his *Epistles to Prof. Krug*, (Sondershausen, 1837) *compelled* the authorities to interfere. Even the Diet ("*Landtay*") of 1837 took the affairs of the Stephanites into consideration, treated them very thoroughly, and the sharpest speeches were heard regarding them; yet they also found warm champions. The minister of religious matters ("*cultus minister*") von Carlonitz, made the following declaration in the Chamber: "This subject, of which I had heard already several years ago, was too important as not to impose it as a matter of conscience upon me in my present position, to investigate it as accurately as possible. To this end I have perused all the documents in possession of the ministry relating to it. From these I have learned that such a suspicion has already, for a number of years, been the object of public attention, and of police investigations, and that a great number of specified cases, by inquiries made elsewhere, and by hearing many persons, has been thoroughly discussed; but I have not discovered one case, by which that reproach (of an injurious influence, leading even to the insanity of some individuals; perhaps also the reproach regarding the secret, scandalous proceedings) could have been in the least sustained." (Compare communications regarding the proceedings of the second constitutional Diet of Saxony, No. 298, also No. 204, Second Chamber; No. 272 First Chamber.)

On the 8th of November, 1837, the police, charged with the strictest vigilance in their investigation, succeeded, at last, to discover a number of Stephan's friends in the vineyard-house at Hoflösswitz, which had often been frequented by them, in the dead of night, and, early on the morning following, the pastor, who had followed them with his usual suspicious female companion, and concealed himself in the vineyard, and to arrest them. The question, whether religious *conventicles* were being held here, was most decidedly answered in the negative by both Stephan and his friends. The pastor was summoned to make his appearance in Dresden early on the next day (November

9th), against which he protested most solemnly. Immediately afterwards he was *suspended*, and so remained until the time of his departure. On the next Sunday (the 25th after Trinity-Sunday), one of his candidates preached on Matt. 24 ; 15 *sq.*, "of the abomination of desolation," and gave vent to the bitterest complaints regarding the persecutions of the just. Now the preacher at the orphan-house (afterwards superintendent) Steineck was appointed vicar with the Bohemian congregation, and *judicial proceedings* against Stephan instituted at the Royal Court of Justice, during which he did not recede from his *obstinate and stubborn* manner, and, which is much to be regretted, *took recourse even to falsehood and denial of facts ;* for the cunning man knew how to extricate himself from every crimination, however well-founded, whether it referred to his suspicious conduct, or to his neglect of official duties, or to the peculation of charity-money, &c., with the Bohemian congregation.

The forementioned *Bohemian congregation*, it may be known, had already, at an early period, neglected pastor Stephan, and the more his German followers increased in numbers, did so more and more, and in the most unjustifiable manner, although he was really only their own rightfully chosen minister (*parochus rite vocatus*). Still consisting of about forty or fifty families of exiles, they were, at the time when Stephan took charge of the ministry, according to his own official statement, in a well-regulated, peaceful condition. During the proceedings instituted against him, he stated, that the discussion between him and his Bohemian congregation, had, in the first place, been brought about by the teachers of the congregation and their rationalistic tendencies. Especially the worthy chorister, Janeck, had been stigmatized by Stephan as a "heretic," which induced his son, already in 1814, to complain to the supreme consistorial court (high-consistory). About the same time, sixteen members of the Bohemian congregation had submitted to the Ephorus a written complaint, on account of neglect of the Bohemian service, of the sick and poor, and on account of many arbitrary acts on the part of the pastor, nay even applied for his deposition, on account of previous illicit intercourse with his Bohemian maid-servant. But another part of the congregation had handed in a written defence of Stephan, who had defended himself before Superintendent Dr. Tittmann,

and called the last-mentioned charge "a tissue of falsehood and malice," and thus the matter ended. Henceforth the Bohemian congregation had patiently acquiesced, and, after several complaints, without any result, finally remained silent. As to the officers of the congregation, Stephan knew how to *intimidate them by his imperious manner and "by violent measures."* As the first officer and treasurer of the congregation, he appointed a man who neither knew how to write nor to read. But, as by the offence which Stephan had given the Bohemian congregation likewise, without any fault of their own, appeared in a suspicious light before the public, they now handed in (April 17th 1838) a written complaint against their pastor, which they still further sustained, by an addition, under date of July 5th, of the same year. In the former, Stephan is charged with the following facts: 1. Carnal and unchaste conduct (an accusation founded upon statements which most grievously shock every better sentiment); 2. The dishonest management of the pecuniary interests of the congregation, and 3. Manifold neglect of his official duties, especially with regard to church, school, the sick and dying. (Among other things, they complained of his lying in bed until towards noon, in consequence of his lewdness, of his commencing the Bohemian service, out of laziness, one or two hours after the appropriate time, &c.) In conclusion they apply for his final suspension from office and the appointment of another pastor. In the second complaint the second point is more accurately specified, the irregularities, charged to him, are proved with regard to three funds (the poor-fund, the children's charity-fund, and the burial-fund) and, by means of ecclesiastical evidence, pastor Stephan is *convicted of having embezzled at least one hundred and thirty-four thalers*, which he appropriated in the name of recipients of alms which were already dead. They pray, first, for the institution of proceedings against pastors, on account of unfaithful administration of funds, peculation and fraud; second, they protest against granting him a pass for emigrating to America, as long as he shall not have settled his accounts, delivered the correct balances of the funds and inventory, and refunded the embezzled and peculated amounts of money, as also the amount of one hundred thalers, borrowed from the property of the congregation against his note of hand, but *for which he had, during a period of twenty-eight years, not*

paid any interest, including interest and cost; finally, they ask for the confiscation of valuable vessels, documents and other parts of the inventory, still withheld by him.

These complaints rendered the course of the proceedings against him more serious and dubious, after the latter had seemed already to take a more favorable turn. In the meantime since Stephan's suspension, the question of emigration had been seriously discussed by the Stephanites. He himself asserted, that he entertained this idea already since 1811. But now he pretended for a long time to be irresolute, in order to appear entirely resigned to God's will; only in the spring of 1838 he definitely *declared it to be his will that they shouldstart:* and then a deliberation committee was appointed, and installments were paid in to the "credit-fund."

In the summer of 1838 Stephan had again taken up his residence in the bath of Radeberg; the nightly scenes in wood and meadow were repeated, and consequently also the measures of the police to suppress them, and since his secret escape, even without a pass, was feared, a judicial expedition was sent after him: but early in the morning only two girls, asleep, were found in his residence, while he himself had departed during the night to Dresden with two other girls (according to documentary evidence). Here now he was kept a prisoner in his own house from Oct. 15—24; yet he knew cunningly how to evade the practical efforts of this measure.

Every one awaited the issue with the greatest suspense; the Stephanites, who, ready for emigration, had partly started already, the remainder waited anxiously for their leader and shepherd, in compliance with a most humble direct supplication of Stephan to his majesty the King, (dated Oct. 20) the two pending judicial procedings against him were *quashed* under date of Oct. 23, 1839—provided that Stephan would give bail to the amount of five hundred thalers for the security of the Bohemian congregation. His private imprisonment was immediately relaxed. In the hour of midnight between Oct. 27 and 28, Stephan clandestinely, and without taking leave of his family, left the city with post-horses, in order to join the emigrants in Bremen. There the "ecclesia pressa" ("six clergymen with about seven hundred souls, among whom there were ten candidates and four teachers")

had gathered; there (five) *songs of the exiles* ("*exulantenlieder*") were published: "*to* such an extent as here the disgraceful worship of men's persons had never yet been carried, and the actual *idolatry* of Stephan was rapidly developed upon the sea, toward its worst disgraceful completion in St. Louis." (Dr. Vehse.)

Stephan followed the ships which had preceded him (there were five in all, of which the "Amalia" was lost) with his "*staff*," on the 18 of Nov., continued his lewd debauchery after having passed through sea-sickness, showing himself cowardly and timid during the dangers of a storm, preached very seldom during the voyage which lasted sixty-four days "partly from laziness, partly to make himself rare," but becoming strikingly more and more dry and weak, caused in lieu his vicar to preach a series of sermons, (in which he told them, that they did not deserve "such a faithful servant of God.") Knowing how to silence his legal counsel and fearing a separation of the secular and spiritual power, he caused the *office of a bishop* to be offered to himself five days before their arrival in New Orleans. Shortly before their arrival in St. Louis, Stephan had the ill-reputed *declaration of submission* (*Unterwerfungserklaerung*") drawn up upon the steamer "Selma," and had it signed, *by way of an oath, by all the men and women of the company.* In St. Louis itself where Stephan to the great injury of the emigrants permitted more than two months to pass unimproved, the bishop had his own way without any interference whatever; the vestments of the bishop, consisting of an extremely heavy golden chain, crook and mitre, are made; a real "rioting" is carried on in the "house" of the bishop, into which, to the general scandal, more and more young women are introduced.

At last, 1839 April 26, the bishop departs with a part of his company to the colony "Wittenberg" Perry county on the Mississippi, which in the meantime has been purchased; there, on rogation-day (May 5) several girls made the first disclosures, in the first place to Pastor Löber, of indecent intimations which "the grey-haired sensualist with a wicked abuse of God's holy name and word had made to them already during the sea-voyage," and afterwards confirmed them by oath.

On May 30, the *deposition* and excommunication was

pronounced upon one who had deceived at first himself and then, for so long and disgracefully, hundreds of our co-religionists. This was done on account of his sins against the Church, seventh commandment, extravagant embezzlement of the property of others, and false doctrine (Dr. Vehse Page 166) Stephan, at first insolent, then to be sure very much humbled, was, on the next day with a compensation of one hundred piasters and the necessary equipment, exported to the opposite state of Illinois, whither afterwards his concubine Gertrude, who remained faithful to him unto death, followed him. There he died according to the official certificate "on the last day, or during the last days, of February 1846 in Randolph county," nearly seventy-two years old. The rumors of his return to Europe are without foundation. Another rumor says that he has again returned to the bosom of the Catholic church. [Kurtz, in his Church History so affirms.]

Now the emigrants had for some time to pass through hard struggles of physical want and inner dissensions. The clergymen would not very soon divest themselves of the hierarchical principles which Stephan had imparted to them. At last, 1840 Nov. 22, the congregation at St. Louis held an extraordinary fast-day, when their richly endowed Pastor O. Herm. Walther made a sincere, profound confession of repentance. Gradually also the external condition of the newly founded, now well regulated, congregations is said to be much improved.

Martin Stephan was an extraordinary man, an instrument of God, possessed of great gifts which he has used to bless, and abused to give offence, an irresistibly imposing form, a hero of one-sided intellectual culture, and rare, unbending power of will, who possessed the *knowledge* of (the old-Lutheran, especially the justifying) faith in an uncommon measure, but who (by his carnal lusts, *his unevangelical judicial character, and his unbounded vanity and tyranny*) did not experience the full life and *vigor* of faith in growing *santification*, and consequently also manifested the power of merciful *love* in an entirely one-sided manner, until at last, lost in mean selfishness, he seemed to have entirely lost it.

In order correctly and justly to judge this man, it is necessary above all to recall *his time* and the condition of the *church* at that time. Stephan too was a child of his

time. His and his followers' decided Lutheranism, formed a natural, for the history of salvation, *necessary* contrast to the infidelity and indifferentism of very many of his contemporaries. His transgressions, founded already in his powerful nature and the one-sided education of his youth, are to a great extent also to be charged to the *rationalistic* and hollow Christianity of weak *faith* at the time of his appearance in public, while his later excesses (and no doubt also his moral fall) are owing to *the enthusiastic, excessive, gradually quite blinding adherence and man-worship of his absolutely devoted followers* of both sexes, and to the not less blind, often unjust, enmities of his adversaries, both of which gradually were intensified to fanatical rage and asperity. Christ was revealed in these days as the rock of salvation, and as the stumbling block set as an occasion to fall for many in Israel, in order that the thoughts of wrong hearts might become manifest. The wonderful ways of God in his profound mercy, his fierce anger, and his chastising justice, became plainly manifest, for the awakening and judgment of his people.

"Stephan is a highly important manifestation, but at the same time one which cannot be judged from the standpoint of German science. If the present generation calls him unqualifiedly a *hypocrite*, there is no doubt some ground for this in his after-life; nevertheless this way of disposing of him is a very cheap, shallow and insignificant one. By judging him thus, the present generation is guilty of misjudging the man in the earlier period of his life, and shows that *they do not have any idea* of what it meant in those times, to preach the "foolishness" of the gospel (1. Cor. 1 : 23) in *such a manner as he* did it. The recollection of the poor, deeply fallen man will be dear to me and to many of my race." Thus *von Polenz*, who knew him *very intimately*, writes to me *now*, more than twenty years after his death. And with these words I should like to close, if my purpose did not require a critique as impartial as possible; hence a few more of the most remarkable criticisms upon him are here yet to be submitted.

Dr. C. E. Vehse who, as is well known, was on most intimate terms with Stephan for a long time down to his fall, says among other things: "Stephan is a psychological enigma: as clever a man as he was wicked." "I must say even now (after having been so fearfully undeceived,)

that in my whole life I have never heard anything more magnificent than his addresses in the devotional exercises of Sunday afternoons." Very striking, says he, is the opinion of a friend, who says: "On the one hand this enlightenment, this correct appreciation of the time in which we live, this high wisdom, this magnificence of God's word and holy name in his sermons, this power to awaken, to comfort, to invite faith—and on the other hand I could not find God's image in himself." "Yes indeed" (adds Dr. Vehse,) "on the other hand, *after all nothing but a clerical impostor.* One cannot wonder enough at the cunning and astuteness, as well as at the marvelous good fortune, with which this man, for so long a series of years, was able to deceive the most intense attention of his friends and enemies, and to escape the most vigilant investigations of the authorities. The power of the Most High suddenly broke down the gray-haired sinner, just when he seemed to have reached the goal of his sinister desires. The net of seduction which he had cast over his congregation, was so fine and strong, and the helpmates of his rule so closely enticed and attached to him by *the hierarchical plans* he had laid open before them, that only the strong hand from above could break the *magic charm* in which all were held."

Pastor L. Fischer, in Leipsic, whose dogmatic standpoint made him a close and decided ally of Stephan, but who nevertheless does not spare him any more, and especially accuses him of "*flight from the cross*" (*Kreuzesflucht,*) expresses the following appreciative opinion (in "*the False Martyrdom*" P. 54): "In Martin Stephan there lived a noble and powerful will, to further evangelical Christianity in every manner, but also *a presevering reluctance to come to an understanding and suitable agreement with science and the tendency of the times.* In free and bold speech he rose against the rolling current of infidelity and superstition (heresy,) and repelled it with vigor into its proper bounds; *he did so in the rigid and inexorable forms of past centuries, and was of opinion, that the old, true evangelical life and substance could be saved in a new form for a new time. He has revealed a powerful strength amid lukewarm and weak surroundings, and has helped many an undecided and lost mind to a correct understanding of itself, and to a vivid, vigorous recognition of salvation.* But with all his energy in thought and life he possessed *too*

little resignation, moderation and foresight. He has borne for *long* time much rash blame, a great deal of unjust opprobrium, much undeserved scorn, and even with Christian forbearance; but the self-reliance and the assurance with which he opposed all attacks, the sharp and cutting criticism regarding the much divided aspirations of the present generation, the *arbitrary steps*, at last, in which he continually indulged for his own person, *without caring for the offence he gave to the weak and unbelieving*, all this could very easily be interpreted as *clerical pride*, as a *bold undertaking and defiant arrogance* so that he also has been called *a priestly, unbending, Bœotian nature.* Regarding his doctrine, as no deviation from the Church-Creed has been proved against him. It may be, that he used occasionally his clerical authority for the purpose of undertaking arbitrary things, *bordering on tyranny* (nothing more): firmness of conviction, strength of character, an unbroken courage, an indestructible zeal, unconquerable perseverance, connected with energetic straight-forwardness and Lutheran sturdiness, cannot be denied to him. Although transient *fits of fanaticism and dangerous errors* may have occurred, his own mind is firm, quiet and clear, his judgment ever remained decided and free from inner contradictions, but not so his *conduct.* He with his people have proved a *salt* in our father-land." And, remarkably enough, in proof of Stephan's "charming" power of mind, even as late as 1838, here in Saxony a man such as the learned, pious *Franz Delitzsch* writes the following panegyric (in "science, art, Judaism" p. 2, after having in 1836 dedicated his first work: "Contributions to the history of Jewish poetry" &c, to Pastor Stephan as to his revered teacher and parental friend out of grateful love): "Martin Stephan is a man defamed and reviled by all the infidel and heterodox parties of our time, whose name is cursed only by the enemies, and blessed only by the friends of the Church—Martin Stephan is a beautiful, significant name; the spirit of Martin Luther, the first martyr's joyfulness of belief adorns him who bears it. Not a *new* doctrine is preached by Martin Stephan, my dear, much beloved teacher, as little as by Paul in Athens, or by Martin Luther, who decidedly repels the reproach of the newness of his doctrine,—nor an *antiquated* doctrine, as the men of progress and enlightenment say, who would like so much to destroy positive Christianity. It is the

ancient and still ever new prophetic word, powerful to destroy before God. * * This ever firm word of the living God, not the fashion-like changing philosophy or poetry of a misled reason or an unsettled heart, not a rationalistically developed or unevangelically indifferent Christianity, is preached by Martin Stephan. This word alone he preaches, pure, unadulterated and unvarnished, with arguments of the Spirit and with power, and this very word gives to the name of this man of God that profound significance, that sweet sound, whose echo will still resound in the future history of the Church. I joyfully seized at this man, not, as some may think, as at the shibboleth of a party, but as at a symbol of the old Lutheran Confession; I imprint his name upon my book as a golden frontis-piece, thus plainly symbolizing, in the very beginning, its tendency; it is to be written in accordance with God's word, in honor of the Church." With reference to this the forementioned L. Fischer now, however, rejoices (p. 14, "The False Martyrdom"): "*Stephan's spirit is, and remains, a sectarian and partisan spirit*, who, during the latter part of his career among us *had no longer any idea of* (the martyr) *Stephan's wisdom and joyfulness of faith, nor of Luther's simplicity, but who only in self-assumed clerical dignity went around to capture and enslave innocent souls;* and, although branded by public opinion and diverted by the members of his own household, yet did not cease, in his unchristian heedlessness, to scorn Christian freedom and give room to the scoffer." (p. 52): "Not so much the *doctrine*, as the *conduct*, of Pastor Stephan, was it, that brought about his fall in Saxony." (p. 29): Stephan's last departure from his family (*in which he was a real tyrant*) is crushing, pitiless, accomplished with cold, rigid eyes, and a bold insolent face."

We conclude with the opinion of von Polenz ("Public Opinion," p. 17 *sq.*): "Stephan's faith, firm as a rock, in the Lord and his mercy, *was more objective, than a subjective, transforming one;* in his constant external struggles, he lost, more and more, that inwardness ("*Innerlichkeit*"), so necessary for the Christian, and became accustomed to the torch of the gospel more outwardly, than inwardly; he gradually lost all that he always, perhaps even shortly before his fall, had, in so rich a measure, given to others; and, in fine, he was more a *servant*, than a *child*, of God." (p. 77): "He presents, as it were, the type of *proud soli-*

tariness, of one-sided, rude separation; and accessible as he was only to his own people, who almost worshiped him as an idol, he would have had to be an angel, if *the idea of his own infallibility had not taken root in him.* THIS IDEA THEN NECESSARILY PASSED OVER INTO THE MINDS OF HIS FOLLOWERS TO SUCH AN EXTENT, THAT THEY BELIEVED, THEY EXCLUSIVELY REPRESENTED IN THEMSELVES, NOT ONLY THE LUTHERAN, BUT ALSO THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, and ADMITTED OF NO SALVATION OUTSIDE OF THEIR CIRCLE." (p. 23): "In regard to ecclesiastical history, the reproach of a "*donatistic stamp*," which, among others, is raised in the "declarations of some evangelical Lutheran clergymen," &c., is the one which has the most foundation.

ARTICLE XI.

THE MEEKNESS OF MOSES.

By Rev. JACOB FRY, A. M., Reading, Pa.

"Who was the meekest Man?" "Moses."

This question, with its answer, has been familiar to many of our readers since they were Sunday School children. We propose in this paper to look at the title, or attribute, thus ascribed to Israel's great law-giver and leader, and see whether it is proper and warranted by the Scriptures, to apply this disposition, in so sweeping a manner, to him.

The only passage in which this "meekness" is affirmed of Moses, is Numb. 12 : 3 : "*Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth.*" Frequent reference is made to his fidelity, courage, labors, wisdom, sufferings, etc., but this is the only passage, on which is based the expression that he was the meekest of the Old Testament saints. This one verse would be sufficient to establish his claim to this great virtue, if the translation was strictly correct, and justified by the context and the circumstances of the case. But all these are against it, as we purpose showing, and this fact leads us to inquire whether some other truth may not be

intended to be taught in this verse, which our translation has not apprehended

Our first objection is based on the translation. The word in the original, which is here rendered "meek," is עני which signifies, *oppressed, afflicted, tormented, etc.*, and is generally applied to those who suffer wrong, rather than do wrong, and sometimes, in the plural form, is used as a substantive to denote and describe this class of people. The case before us is the only one, where, in its normal adjective form, it is translated *meek*; on all other occasions it is rendered *afflicted, oppressed, etc.* There seems good reason for suspecting our translators consulted largely the Septuagint version in their work, and we are inclined to believe the Septuagint word πραυς suggested the English word *meek* to them. It is not the only instance in which the force and meaning of the original has been lost, and the sense of passages perverted by our translators following too closely the LXX.

Neither do we find the circumstances of the case, or the context of the passage justifying the idea of meekness in the instance before us. Not that we affirm an absence of meekness or humility in the character of Moses. His patience, under provocation, was very great. But we believe something else was intended to be taught, concerning him, in the expression before us. The passage occurs in the history of the desert wandering, on the occasion of the conspiracy, started by Miriam and supported by Aaron, against the exclusive authority of their brother Moses, in matters pertaining to the leadership and government of Israel. His marriage with Zipporah, who had rejoined him at Sinai, and was now traveling with the Hebrews to the promised land, was the ostensible pretext of this conspiracy or opposition. They wished to make it appear that the leadership of Israel belonged alike to each member of the family of Amram, and not to the youngest only. Then comes the assertion that Moses was very meek, above all men on the face of the earth. We confess to a dulness of comprehension why this declaration of his meekness should be made by Moses in this connection. The ordinary explanation that Moses' allusion to it here, was to show that he did nothing to resent the charge or to justify the authority he had assumed, is, at least, farfetched. In after years, when a larger and more formidable conspiracy was started against him by Korah and his company, he certainly took immediate steps to assert and prove

his authority, although apparently aware of the fact that it would result in the awful overthrow which befell the conspirators. A score of passages occur in his life, where an assertion of his meekness would be far more in place and to the point, than here.

Furthermore, there are passages in Moses' life, which reveal a nature quick and impulsive, which cannot easily be reconciled with the statement that he was very meek, above all men on the face of the earth. We refer, for example, to his killing the Egyptian whom he spied, smiting a fellow-Hebrew, which occurred in the days of his ripe manhood, and to his hasty flight to the land of Midian, in consequence of it. Stephen says he was at this time "full forty years old." It can, therefore, hardly be attributed to youthful rashness, but it reveals the strong, earnest and daring spirit, which (rather than mere meekness) fitted him to be the heroic deliverer and courageous leader of his enslaved people.

In his descent from Sinai, when his eyes rested on the molten calf, and the idolatrous worship Israel was paying it, he certainly manifested a spirit of holy indignation, rather than of holy meekness. His record is: "Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hand, and brake them beneath the Mount." It may be that he brake these tables simply as a sign or testimony against the children of Israel, because they had broken the covenant in their idolatry; but we are inclined to the opinion that he brake them because his "anger waxed hot." In this conviction we are sustained by the fact that when the covenant was renewed, God commanded him to "hew two tables of stone like unto the first which thou breakest." In the first instance, God had furnished the two tables of stone as well as the commandments written upon them; now he commands Moses to furnish them, evidently by way of restitution for those which in anger he had demolished. His course, in this matter, and the way in which Jehovah refers to it, convinces us that, on this occasion, Moses was not the meekest man on the face of the earth.

Scarcely had Israel left Sinai, before the murmurings were heard again in the camp, (Num. xi.) and Moses, in a spirit rather of petulance than of meekness, finds fault

with God for the burden put upon him, and, not very meekly adds: "If thou deal thus with me, kill me I pray thee, out of thine hand."

At Meribah, Moses' meekness is no more apparent than at Sinai. Israel was murmuring with thirst, and God had commanded Moses to speak to the rock, and they would find relief. In place of obeying this simple direction, he turns to the congregation and says: "Hear now, ye rebels; must we fetch you water out of this rock?" In place of speaking to it, as commanded, he (evidently in ill-temper,) smites the rock twice with his rod. This occurred many years after the record had been made that he "was very meek." And it was because he thus failed to sanctify God in the eyes of Israel; because "he spake unadvisedly with his lips," or, in other words, because he manifested not, at least on this occasion, the proper spirit of meekness, he was forbidden to lead Israel into the promised land, or to tread his foot upon its sacred soil.

But the strongest objection we have to this rendering of the passage above quoted, is, that it occurs in one of Moses' own books It exposes him to the charge of egotism, that *he*, with his own hand, in this account of his life, makes the declaration that he "was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth." Had Joshua, or Samuel, or any other prophet or scribe made the record, the difficulty would be obviated; but for Moses to say this of himself is so much out of place, and so contrary to the noble qualities which so eminently characterize the man, that we cannot believe this to be his meaning. The common explanation, that he was moved by inspiration to record this of himself, will scarcely stand, as the same inspiring Spirit moved Solomon to write: "Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth." Moses never sings his own glory. He gives us a faithful record of his life, in which we can easily learn the greatness and goodness of the man, but he never says that he was either great or good. Therefore we do not believe he meant to say what our English Bible makes him say of himself in this passage, that he was meek above all men upon the face of the earth. If he was not the meekest man, the passage could not mean to say he was; and if he was the meekest man, *he* would not say so,—his very meekness would forbid it.

But what does the passage mean? We do not believe it to be an interpolation by a later hand; it is a part of Moses' own record. What, therefore, does he mean to say here of himself?

We have already alluded to the force and ordinary meaning of עָנָה, *afflicted, tormented, grieved*, and this primary meaning we believe Moses intended in this passage: "Now the man Moses was *greatly tormented*, above all men which were upon the face of the earth." In this interpretation we are sustained by the force and meaning of the original Hebrew term, by the subject-matter and context of the passage, and by the whole history of the man who records it of himself, and likewise find the passage thereby relieved of all the objections enumerated in the former part of this paper.

Let us look at the narrative again, in Num. 12, in which this record is made. In the family of Moses, two women were dwelling, to each of whom he was closely attached. One was his sister Miriam, who had watched over him on the banks of the Nile; the other was his wife, Zipporah, the Cushite woman, the daughter of the priest of Midian. These two women, each dear to Moses, do not seem to have been so dear to each other. Both occupied high positions, one as the sister, the other as the wife of the leader of Israel, and they soon became jealous of each other's influence. Miriam especially suspects Moses to be too much under the control of his wife, and her high-toned Hebrew spirit cannot endure the thought that a woman who was not an Hebrew but a Cushite, should have any say in matters pertaining to Israel. She soon wins over her brother Aaron, whose conduct at Sinai showed him to be a weak man, and together they plan a revolt against the authority of Moses. It was a family quarrel, rather than a general conspiracy against him. The bulk of the congregation of Israel may have known nothing of it, until Miriam, with her leprosy, was shut out of the camp. It was the open break of a quarrel, in the tent of Moses, between these two women of his household, which may have been brewing for some time. Moses' position, under these circumstances, was exceedingly trying. Not only was it very unpleasant to decide between a wife and a sister, but it was to be tormented by their ceaseless bickerings at just that place and time, where he wanted quietness and peace. In the chap-

ter preceding this, we have his complaint to God about his excessive and trying labors, as the leader of all that congregation of Israel, and says: "I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me." The constant and unceasing labors, growing out of his position as their leader, provider, lawgiver and judge in all their strifes, must have been fearful. Wearied and jaded at the close of each day, he retraces his steps homeward, to seek in the precincts and shadow of his own tent that peace and quiet, which his worn body and mind demand. But alas! for Moses. No sooner is his return announced than Miriam meets him with insinuations against Zipporah, and, perhaps, when she is gone, Zipporah has her tale against Miriam, until his spirit no longer can bear his infirmities, and, rushing from their presence, he puts upon record: "Now the man Moses was the MOST-TORMENTED man upon the face of the earth." This renders the passage perfectly plain, and (it must be admitted,) exceedingly natural.

In affirming this to be the meaning of Moses, we are sustained by high authority, no less than that of Luther himself, who renders the passage, in his German version, in precisely the same way. "*Aber Mose war ein sehr* GEPLAGTER *Mensch ueber alle Menschen auf Erden.*" *Geplagter, i. e., plagued, harassed, pestered,* &c., is very expressive of Moses' meaning, and is exactly adapted to express that state of mind which would be produced by the condition of affairs so strongly hinted at in the first and second verses of this chapter. This is only one out of many instances, which show the fidelity of Luther's version to the original Scriptures. While our English translators have been content to find *meek* in the Septuagint πραυς, or probably in the Vulgate *mitissimus*, Luther has gone directly to Moses' own Hebrew, and finds in it his expressive *geplagter*, which presents an entirely different idea, and the one which is doubtless correct.

Viewed in this light, the passage is relieved of the difficulties which otherwise surround it. It accords entirely with the original, it follows most naturally the state of affairs described in the preceding verses of the chapter, it relieves Moses of any charge of egotistical boasting, and coincides entirely with the history of his whole life. There may have been other men on the face of the earth more "meek" than Moses, but were there any who were more

tried and "tormented?" From the day his mother launched him on the waters of the Nile, yea from the day he drew his first breath and she "hid him three months," until God "buried him in that valley in the land of Moab where no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day," his life was a series of constant conflicts, perplexities and cares. In the land of Egypt, in the land of Midian, and in that desert pathway to Canaan, in every change in his wonderful career, he found but little of rest and peace. Well may he say, in the Psalm generally attributed to him: "All our days are passed away in thy wrath; we spend our years as a tale that is told." In his early years he was tormented by the sword that hung over him by Pharaoh's edict, and the suffering condition of his people; in the land of Midian, by banishment and separation from his brethren whom he dare not rejoin without peril to his life; and when sent back by the word of the Almighty, it is to withstand Pharaoh and his princes, and wring from them an unwilling permission to lead the Hebrews out of their captivity. Yet only then did his perplexed and trying condition really begin. The taunts and threatenings of the Egyptians his spirit might bear, but how, when murmurings and seditions, by the very people whom he had delivered and befriended, began to rise against him! Now for want of water, then for want of flesh, then because of the roughness and length of the way, until every conceivable difficulty was made the pretext of new complaints against him. Surely he was tried and harassed beyond measure, until human nature could endure in silence no more.

Yet it was not the oppression of Pharaoh, nor the banishment and solitude of Midian, nor the murmurings and rebellion of his people that wrung from Moses the declaration before us. It may provoke a smile, but it is nevertheless a suggestive fact that it was the perpetual jealousy, disagreement and bickering between two women in his tent, which furnished the occasion for Moses to declare he was "greatly tormented, above all men which were upon the face of the earth." It suggests that a man's greatest trials may be domestic, and his worst foes they which are of his own household. In the world we must have tribulation. Every true man expects it, and prepares for it. But every man wants his fire-side, or the

door of his tent, to be the place where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. And that which tries his conrage and spirit most, is the discovery that peace is not there. This is what crushed Moses, and extorted this statement from his pen. If it be thought too small a matter for him thus to notice, we need but remind the reader that not only Moses, but God took notice of it. When Miriam's fault-finding with Zipporah had no effect on Moses, she turned on Moses himself, and "spake against Moses because of the Ethiopian (*Marg.* Cushite,) woman whom he had married." She first tattled to Moses and then tattled against him; and this tattling "God heard." Summoned before the tabernacle, she was reproved by Him out of the cloudy pillar, and when that pillar arose, she stood "leprous, as white as snow." He who avenged His servant in the chastisements of Israel for their murmurings and rebellions against him in the camp, avenged him also, in the fearful leprosy of Miriam, for being tormented in the repose of his tent. They who disturb the peace of a family may be as guilty and criminal in His sight, as they who divide nations and communities into factions and cliques. Indeed, could we understand the secret and hidden springs, whence started the great schisms and strifes of mankind, we might find them in just some such scene as this, where two women, (or persons of either sex,) moved by envy, begin to speak against each other. And if we could ask the mighty ones of earth, who have endured its conflicts and shaped its destinies, on what field they found their greatest trials and heaviest burdens, many would stand beside Moses and point to the doors of their tents as the scenes, where they were "tormented above all men who were upon the face of the earth."

ARTICLE XII.

THE NEW-LANDERS AND GERMAN REDEMPTIONERS.

By Rev. R. Weiser, Mahanoy, Pa.

Our German Forefathers experienced many trials and hardships when they first came to this Western World.

The ancient Romans loved to read the account of their ancestors' first coming to the shores of Lavinia, driven by the fury of the fates and the ire of the gods, and their poets embellished their works with the difficulties and conflicts, through which they passed. The descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers in this country also love to dwell upon the toils and obstacles, which their noble sires encountered. So also the Israelites, after they had gone through the wilderness, when they had passed over the Jordan, and were quietly located amid the vine-clad hills of Palestine, often doubtless thought and spoke of the hardships of their fathers in the wilderness. Joshua, Samuel and David often reminded the Israelites of the severe trials of their Fathers, and how God conducted them through the Red Sea and through the wilderness, and brought them to a land of plenty, a land flowing with milk and honey. The Jews were reminded of these things, in order to awaken their gratitude and piety. So we, the descendants of Germans, may also call to remembrance the trials, the poverty and the hardships of our Forefathers. The Germans commenced their immigrations to this country in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. They at first came in small parties; towards the middle of the eighteenth century, there were large numbers in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. "A few Germans came to this country" says Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg, "in the latter part of the seventeenth century. But they did not come in any very great numbers, until 1709–20. During this period large immigrations took place from Hesse-Darmstadt, Wittenberg, the Palatinate and other parts of Germany."* Dr. Muhlenberg had a member in his church in Philadelphia, who came to America in 1680. We have no means of reaching even the proximate number of Germans who were here before the end of the seventeenth century, but there must have been very many, as we know there was a German and Dutch Lutheran church, erected in New York in 1671. When Dr. Muhlenberg arrived in 1742, they were already numerous. About 1720, immigration was great. They were mostly the poorer classes, and having experienced difficulties at home and receiving letters from their friends who had already

*Hallische Nachrichten, vol. 1, page 665.

reached this country, thousands were anxious to join them. But they had not the means. Ship-owners in London and Hamburg, in Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Bremen knowing, how desirous the poor Germans were to come to America—and aware too that labor was in great demand in the New World, hit upon a plan, by which the Germans could be brought to this country without pecuniary resources, and yet they, the ship-owners and sea-captains, could make money. The plan was this; the ship would go to a German port, Hamburg, or Bremen, and send agents into the crowded districts of Germany, and they, by word of mouth, placards, or pamphlets, would give a glowing description of the New World, and hold out the strongest inducements to the Germans to emigrate. When the poor Germans would tell them, that they had not the means to pay their passage across the ocean, they would reply: "You can soon earn enough in America." They, of course, did not tell them anything of the *white slavery*, into which they would be sold. These wicked and unprincipled men were then called "*New-Landers*;" they are now called "*Runners.*" Dr. Muhlenberg saw through their villainies, and gives an excellent description of them in the *Halle Annals.* He says:* "I cannot omit here to make some remarks concerning a class of men called *New-Landers*, and to warn my German countrymen against them. I do not now speak of those Germans who visit Germany on their own legitimate business, or that of others. But I speak of those who make it a business to go to Germany on pretence of collecting legacies for themselves or others, but in reality to induce, by fraud and deception, the poor Germans to leave their country and come to this new world. These men go to the rich merchants in the Netherlands, and make contracts with them for so much a family or if single persons, so much a head, for all they can bring to the port. These men, in order to induce as many as possible to accompany them, resort to all kinds of deception and fraud. They dress in the grandest manner, carry fine gold watches and chains, and often draw out their handsome gold watches, in order to impress the poor ignorant people with the wealth of the New World, and to increase their desire to settle in so rich a country. They give such representations of America, that one is almost ready to believe

*Vol. II. p. 997.

that the whole land consists of Elysian fields, that sow themselves without toil or labor; that the mountains are full of gold and silver, and that the springs all flow with milk and honey. These men tell them, that he who goes to the New World, as a man-servant will become a gentleman, the farmer will become a nobleman, the mechanic, a Baron; that in America the government is made by the people, and if the government does not suit them they can abolish it. The family is broken up, the little household furniture is turned into money, the debts are paid, and if there is any money left, it is given into the hands of the *New-Lander* for safe keeping. The journey is commenced down the Rhine, and with this journey the expenses of the emigrant already begin. When they reach Holland, as they cannot always immediately leave, the merchants advance them money freely. Then come the head tax, and the fare to America. Before they leave Holland, they are compelled to sign a deed, or indenture, and as this instrument of writing is in English, the poor immigrant does not know what it is, but the *New-Lander* tells him to sign it, that he will see justice done to his countrymen. The more passengers the better, the more money is made, provided the passengers do not die on the way. Therefore the ships are kept clean and pure, and all proper means are used to keep the goods in a marketable condition. Some times, in former years, they were not so careful, and many died during the passage. When the parents die, the captain and *New-Lander* constitute themselves the guardians, break open the chests, take possession of the property, and, when they reach America, sell the children to pay the passage of their dead parents. And all that was left by the parents is claimed by these wicked men as a compensation for their guardianship. These heaven-crying enormities stirred up the better sort of Germans in Pennsylvania, and especially in Philadelphia, to organize a society, whose object was, to see that justice was done these unfortunate German immigrants As soon as the ships are loaded with their human freight in Holland, the hard and dangerous voyage begins. The sweet hope of soon reaching the New World, and enjoying the earthly paradise there to be found, bears up the

*Baron Steuben was a member of this Society.

poor deluded immigrant, amid the inconveniences and hardships of the voyage.

After a long and tedious voyage, (sometimes three and even four months) the ship arrives at the Port of Philadelphia, when perhaps rough winter is at the door. As soon as the ship arrives, the ship merchant receives a list of the immigrants with the indebtedness of each for the passage across the ocean, and the journey down the Rhine, and the amount that had been advanced by the *New Lander* together with the bill for provisions during the voyage. The fare of a single passenger formerly was from forty to fifty dollars, but now it is from sixty to seventy-five. Before the ship is permitted to cast her anchor, she must be visited by the Port Physician, to see whether she is free from infectious diseases. Next the immigrants are all marched to the Court-house, where they are required to swear allegiance to the king of Great Britian; they are then marched back to the ship. It is next announced in the public papers, that there are so many German immigrants to be sold, to pay their passage across the sea. Those who have the means to pay their own fare can do so. Those who have friends in this country, able and willing to advance the funds needed, can also pay their fare. The ship is the market house. Those who wish to purchase servants go among the immigrants and select such as they want; they then agree as to the time they are to serve, and the price of their labor. They afterward take them to the merchants, pay the amount demanded, appear before a Justice of the Peace, and an instrument of writing is drawn up and signed, in which the immigrant becomes, for the time, the property of the purchaser specified in the deed. The young unmarried men and women are generally the first that are selected. It has often been observed that those young people who were disobedient to their parents, or who had left home contrary to the wishes of their friends, often fall into the hands of those who pay them for their wickedness. The old and feeble no one wants; there are already too many of that class in this country. But if those who are sickly and feeble have healthy children, the amount of their fare is added to that of their children, and the children are then to serve so much longer. These children are separated from their parents and from each other, and scattered all over the land, among all nationalities, so that

they never see their parents any more, and often forget their native language. The poor old people whom no one will buy, are sent on shore to shift for themselves. They look like ghosts who have risen from the grave, and having no resources, and not being able to work, they go through the city among the Germans and beg. It is enough to make one's heart bleed to see and hear these poor creatures, deplore and lament their hard lot. In the bitterness and anguish of their souls, they call down the vengeance of heaven upon the heads of the *New-Landers*, and the ship merchants for having allured them from their homes, and thus cruelly deceived them. But the *New-Landers*, like the ancient Pharisees, only laugh at them and say: 'What is that to us, See thou to it.' The children too, when they see that they are to serve so much longer on account of their parents, are filled with hatred towards the *New-Landers*."

This graphic account may serve to give us some idea of the hardships, through which many of our German forefathers had to pass, on their first arrival in this new country. This nefarious system of fraud and deception continued for nearly one hundred years, from 1720 to 1819. Thousands and tens of thousands were annually sold into slavery. These unfortunate Redemptioners were as completely in the power of their masters, as the negro-slaves in the South. When they fell into the hands of brutal masters, they were treated with great inhumanity and cruelty. If anything were wanting to show to the world the elasticity, and indomitable energy of the Teutonic race, this system of tyranny and wrong would be sufficient. What has not this race wrought in one hundred and fifty years in America? This is the same race of hardy Germans who under their brave leader Ariovistus gave Julius Cæsar more trouble than all other nations. The origin of their name is this. They called themselve. Wer man, *i. e.* Warmen. In Latin there is no *w*, the Romans substitute the soft *g*—for the *w*, and that gives us Germans—Warmens. They were the ancient Cimbri, of whom Tacitus says; "They were defeated, but never conquered." The Saxones were a tribe of Germans, perhaps the most Northern, having had their location in the Chersonesus Cimbrica, corresponding with Denmark. The Angli resided just south of the Saxons, in the modern Holstein-Schleswick; sometimes they were called Sabalin-

gii. The Saxons first invaded England, afterwards the Angli, and these two hardy German races amalgamated with the ancient Atrebates, Regni, Iceni, Cornavii, Catieuchlani, and other tribes of Britains' and thus formed the greatest nation the world had ever seen. There was another tribe of Saxony, anciently called the Gambrivii, or Saxones Longobardi, but it was the Cimbrian Saxons who overran England. The Alemani literally, the *All-men*, is a term, which the Germans assumed after the defeat they encountered at the hands of Marius, they then formed an alliance consisting of many tribes and went by the name Alemani or "*All men.*" The French still persist in calling all Germans, *Alemani.*

In the days of Julius Cæsar these Germans were rude untutored Pagans, but they had muscle, nerve and brain. Our forefathers are the descendants of these stalwart Germans. They came to this country under the most untoward circumstances. Ground down in Europe under the iron heel of a cruel despotism, many of them were carried out of their native land by deception, defrauded of all they had, sold into bondage, and trodden under foot. They came into a strange land, and among a people of a strange tongue; scattered abroad over some six or seven States, they were everywhere regarded by the inhabitants of the country as an inferior race, as awkward, rude and uncivilized. But these Redemptioners were true to their obligations, although these obligations had been fraudulently imposed upon them. They served out their time with fidelity. No people in the world are more strict in observing an oath than the Germans; none more true to their engagements. How unfavorable the prospect, that a race of men, thus introduced into a new country, with everything adverse to them, groaning under a weight of prejudice, would ever be able to rise! And yet these Germans did rise; they surmounted all obstacles, and overcame all prejudices. Their industry, frugality and indomitable perseverance, triumphed over all things. They rose slowly, but surely. They went into the wilderness, and the axe swung by their brawny arms prostrated the mighty forests, and turned the haunts of wild beasts into smiling fields. There are now five millions of the descendants of the Germans in the United States, and although many of them have deteriorated, yet much of the spirit of the old Teutons still remains.

By this time their blood has freely intermingled with that of other nations. If the Germans have not actually founded a new empire, they have assisted in building up one, and they have contributed the broad chest, the strong arm, and a good part of the brains. A physiologist has recently said, that unless Scotland is saved by the admixture of Teutonic blood, consumption will put the whole nation under the ground in less than two centuries. We know, that it arrested England on its way to ruin. It is true the Germans that came to this country, even at an early day, were not all Redemptioners. We had a Baron Steuben, a De Kalb, a Muhlenberg, a Kunze, a Schmidt, a Helmuth, and many other honorable names, but in this free land, all states and conditions are on a level; the descendants of the nobleman and of the German Redemptioner stand on the same footing. The Germans have been a blessing to all lands, where they have settled. The great majority of them have been agriculturists, and whithersoever they have gone, the productiveness of the earth has been increased. The State of Pennsylvania has been brought into its high condition of cultivation by the Germans. We have often thought of the appropriateness of a Prayer, found in the old German Lutheran Liturgy of 1786, drawn up by Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg himself, after having been a resident of this country for nearly half a century, and having visited every settlement in the State, and seen the effects of German thrift and toil. He introduces this clause in a general prayer, to be used by the congregation: "And as it has pleased Thee, Oh compassionate Father! mainly through the Germans, to convert this wilderness into a delightful field, and to change this State into a flourishing garden, so do thou help us, that we do not deny our nation (*unsere nation nicht verbrennen*), but rather that we may labor in such a manner, that our dear children may be so trained, that German churches and schools may not only be preserved among us, but that they may, from time to time, become more and more prosperous." This prayer shows us how much stress the patriarch Muhlenberg laid upon the energy and industry of the Germans. Even during the Revolution, General Washington said: "We must look to the Germans of Pennsylvania for our bread." It is well known that New York and New England could not raise bread enough for

their inhabitants. Thomas Jefferson placed the highest value on the industry and perseverance of the Germans.

In 1780, the Lutheran Church was the largest in Philadelphia, and in Pennsylvania. In the rural districts she has maintained her position very well, and is, perhaps, in point of numbers and wealth, second to no other Church. But in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, she has been less successful. Nearly all the different denominations in these cities are far in advance of the Lutheran. The Lutheran Church was founded in New York city as early as 1670, just two hundred years ago, and now we have only two English Lutheran churches in that immense city. The German churches in New York, are more numerous, and are increasing. In Philadelphia the Church list stands very nearly as follows, viz.: The Presbyterian Church, including the Reformed Presbyterian, eighty-four; the Episcopal Methodist, seventy-two; the Episcopalian, seventy; the Baptist forty-two; the Roman Catholic, thirty-eight; the Lutheran, twenty. This is a sad record for our Church, the first founded in Philadelphia. The Swedish Lutherans erected their first house of worship in Philadelphia in 1646, two hundred and twenty-four years ago. Even the Quakers did not build their first meeting house until half a century afterward. The first Presbyterian church was built in 1704, and the first Episcopal church, in 1710. St. Michael's German Lutheran church was erected in 1743. There must have been something wrong in the polity of the Lutheran Church. There is certainly nothing wrong in her doctrines; her Confession is all right. What then has retarded her progress, whilst other Churches have far outnumbered her even on her own territory. Take the Methodist Church, which started in England among the poorer classes, and in this country commenced its glorious career in a sail-loft in New York, in 1766; the poor were its first converts, and yet that Church is far in advance of us. Now, it cannot be owing to the fact, that many of our forefathers were poor Redemptioners, that our progress has been so slow, because that evil (if it is one,) has long since been repaired by the thrift and perseverance of the Germans. For though our forefathers were, generally, poor in the beginning, their successors have become rich. There is an old German proverb: "No matter where the German goes, God will bless and prosper him." The soul of the pious

German Redemptioner was as dear to God, even in his bondage, as the soul of the most highly favored among the children of men. It is wonderful to think of the leadings of God's Providence. Many of these poor Redemptioners, who had to serve for four, five and seven years, and, after they had performed the service, commenced life without any capital, by their industry and frugality, became rich, and some of their descendants are now among the wealthiest farmers in Pennsylvania. Many of these German Redemptioners rose to distinction. Some of their descendants are among the most prominent and wealthy citizens of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

Does not the history of the Germans, in this country, confirm the declaration of Samuel? "The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich, he bringeth low, and lifteth up. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill." (1 Sam. 2 : 7—8.)

ARTICLE XIII.

SCHMID'S DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.* TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN AND LATIN.

By Charles A. Hay, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

Chapter II.† *Of the Sacred Scriptures.*

In treating of the Sacred Scriptures as the recorded revelation of God, we speak (1) of what is understood by the Sacred Scriptures and Inspiration; (2) of the Attributes of the Sacred Scriptures; (3) of the Canon.

§6. *Of the terms Sacred Scriptures and Inspiration.*

God determined that his revelation should be committed

*Die Dogmatik der Evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, dargestellt und aus der Quellen belegt von Heinrich Schmid, Dr. und Professor der Theologie in Erlangen. Dritte Auflage, 1853.

†For the translation of the first three chapters of the Prologomena see Evangelical Quarterly Review, vol. XIX., p. 259 *sq.*

to writing, so that it might be preserved pure and uncorrupted throughout all future time:[1] therefore he has deposited it in the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.[2] These are, therefore, defined to be the written Word of God.[3] GERHARD: "The Sacred Scriptures are the Word of God recorded in the sacred writings." Between these and the Word of God there is, then, no real distinction, inasmuch as they contain nothing more than this very Word of God, which was also orally proclaimed;[4] and they contain it entire and complete, so that aside from them, no Word of God is anywhere to be found.[5] By the fact that the Sacred Scriptures are the Word of God, they distinguish themselves from all other books, for, in consequence of this, they are, in respect of all their contents, entirely divine; and this by virtue of the fact that they were communicated by inspiration from God, to the prophets and apostles.[6] God is therefore their author, (*causa principalis*) and the prophets and apostles only the instruments (*causa instrumentalis*) which God employed in their production.[7] We are, therefore, to ascribe the origin of the Sacred Scriptures to a peculiar agency of God, by means of which he urged the prophets and apostles to the production of the Sacred Scriptures,[8] and communicated to them both the matter and the form of that which was to be written.[9] This agency of God, by means of which the Sacred Scriptures were produced, we call *Inspiration.*[10] BAIER: "Divine inspiration was that agency by which God supernaturally communicated to the intellect of those who wrote not only the correct conception of all that was to be written, but also the conception of the words themselves and of everything by which they were to be expressed, and by which he also instigated their will to the act of writing." Hence it follows, that everything that is contained in the Sacred Scriptures, is altogether, and in every particular, true and free from all error."

[1] CHEMNITZ (Exam. Conc. Trid.) "We show * * why and wherefore the Sacred Scriptures were written; because, viz., by tradition purity of doctrine was not preserved; but, under shelter of that term many strange and false things were mingled up with the true."

GERHARD. "'Why did God desire his word, at first orally promulgated, to be committed to writing?' The principal causes appear to have been the following: 1. The shortness of human life. 2. The

great number of men. 3. The unfaithfulness to be expected from the guardianship of tradition. 4. The weakness of the human memory. 5. The permanence of heavenly truth. 6. The wickedness of man. 7. (In the New Testament) The perverseness of heretics, which was to be held in check."

[2]GERHARD. "The Scriptures have their designation from the formal, external act, viz., that of writing, by which the Word of God, at first orally promulgated, was, by the command of God, recorded. God himself made the grand and majestic beginning of this work when he inscribed his law on Mt. Sinai, upon tables of stone, which, on this account, are called 'the writing of God,' Ex. 32 : 16. To distinguish them from all other writings, they are called *the Sacred Scriptures*, an appellation derived from Rom. 1 : 2, and 2 Tim. 3 : 15. The reasons of this designation are drawn 1. From their original efficient cause, their great author, who is God most holy, yea holiness itself, Is. 6 : 3; Dan. 9 : 24; 2. From their instrumental cause, viz., holy men, 2 Pet. 1 : 21; 3. From their matter, for they contain holy and divine mysteries, holy precepts, Ps. 105 : 42; 4. From their design and effects, for the Holy Spirit sanctifies men through the reading and study of the Scriptures, Jno. 17 : 17. 5. From the additional circumstance that they are widely different from all other writings, both ecclesiastical and profane, inasmuch as they are clothed with the sublime attribute of canonical authority, to which every believing and pious mind pays due deference."

Terms synonymous with Sacred Scripture, are γραφή or γραφαι, Jno. 7 : 38 and 42; Acts 8 : 12; Rom. 4 : 3. γραφὰι ἁγίαι, Rom. 1 : 2. ἱερὰ γράμματα, 2 Tim. 3 : 15; γραφη θεοπνευστος, v. 16. Titles of honor which are attributed to the Word of God in Scripture, are the following: דְּבַר־יְהוָה λογία τοῦ Θεοῦ, Rom. 3 : 2; ζῶν ο λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, Heb. 4 : 12; ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ἀιωνίου, Jno. 6 : 68. The whole collection is termed סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה Josh. 1 : 8; סֵפֶר יְהוָה Is. 34 : 16; מִקְרָא Neh. 8 : 8."—GERHARD.

[3]GERHARD. "The Holy Scriptures are the Word of God reduced to writing, according to his will, by the prophets, evangelists and apostles, perfectly and perspicuously setting forth the doctrine of the nature and will of God, that men may thereby be brought unto eternal life."

HOLLAZIUS. "In the definition of the Holy Scriptures, the Word of God signifies formally the purpose of God, or the conception of the divine mind, revealed for the salvation of men immediately to the prophets and apostles, and mediately, through their ministrations, to the whole race of man."

For the sake of the greatest possible accuracy, the following distinctions are made; GERHARD: "By the term Scripture, we are not to understand so much *the external form*, or sign, *i. e.*, the particular letters employed, the art of writing and the expressions by which the divine revelation is described, as *the matter itself or the thing signified*, just that which is marked and represented by the writing, viz., the Word of God itself, which instructs us concerning the nature and will of God. For, as in all writing, performed by an intelligent agent, so also in these prophetic and apostolic writings, two things are to be considered, viz., in the first place, the letters, syllables and sentences which are written, and which are external symbols signifying and expressing conceptions of the mind; and, secondly, those conceptions themselves, which are the thing signified, expressed by these external symbols of letters, syllables and sentences; wherefore in the term Scriptures *we embrace both of these*, and the latter especially." According as the term is taken in one or the other of these significations, the relation of the Church to the Scriptures is differently expressed." GERHARD: "Whence we add, by way of corollary, that certain things are predicated of Scripture, *with reference to its matter*, as that it is more ancient than the Church, that it is the very Word of God itself, formerly preached orally by the apostles and prophets; and others *in reference to its form*, as that it is, in point of time, later than the Church, that at the last day it will perish, whilst, on the other hand, as to its matter, it can never be destroyed or perish, Jno. 10 : 35."

[4]GERAHRD. "That there is no real difference between the Word of God and the Sacred Scriptures, viewed in reference to the matter contained in them, is proved, 1. By the subject matter of Scripture. The prophets and apostles wrote that, and nothing else, which, taught by divine inspiration, they had before preached orally, 1 Cor. 15 : 1; 2 Cor. 1 : 13; Phil. 3 : 1; 2 Thess. 2 : 15; 1 Jno. 1 : 3. 2. By the identity of the spoken and written word. Because the recorded predictions of the Old Testament are frequently quoted in the New with these words: 'That it might be fulfilled which was *spoken* by the prophets,' Matt. 1 : 22, 2 : 15, 4 : 14, &c. Therefore, what the prophets said or predicted, is the same as that which they wrote. 3. By the rule of logic: 'The accident does not alter the essence.' It is a mere circumstance in regard to the Word of God, whether it be proclaimed orally or committed to writing. It is one and the same Word of God, whether it be presented to us in the form of spoken or written language; since neither the original efficient cause, nor the matter, nor the internal power, nor the object, is thereby changed, but only the mode of presentation by the use of different organs. 4. By the demonstrative particle employed by the apostles.

Paul speaks thus distinctively of the Mosaic writings and the other like books of the Old and New Testament: "τοῦτ' ἐστι το ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως, "this is the word of faith," Rom. 10 : 8; Peter, in 1 Pet. 1 : 25.

Calovius. The fanatical sects, especially, deny that the Scriptures are, strictly speaking, the Word of God, maintaining that the internal Word of God alone can properly be called the Word of God. (Schwenckfeld, Rathmann, Weigel.)

[5]Gerhard. "1. This distinction (viz., that of the Papists between the written and unwritten Word) may, in a certain sense, be admitted, viz., if by the term 'unwritten Word' is understood the divine revelation proclaimed orally by the patriarchs before the Mosaic books were written, but *after the publication of the Scripture canon there can be no unwritten Word of God, as distinct from Scripture.*

2. We must distinguish between the leading truths of divine revelation which are necessary, essential, &c., and their more full explanation. The prophets and apostles committed to writing the principal doctrines of revelation, which are necessary to be known by all, and which we do not deny that they explained orally at greater length."

[6]Quenstedt. "The internal form, or that which gives existence to the Scriptures, so that they are indeed the Word of God, that, namely, which constitutes them and distinguishes them from all other writings, is the inspired (θεοπνευστός) sense of Scripture, which, in general, is the conception of the Divine Intellect concerning divine mysteries and our salvation, formed from eternity, and revealed in time and communicated in writing to us; or, it is divine inspiration itself (θεοπνευστια) 2 Tim. 3 : 16, by which, namely, the divine Word is imparted and is distinguished from that which is human."

[7]Quenstedt. "The *efficient* or principal *cause* of Scripture, is the triune God, 2 Tim. 3 : 16 (the Father, Heb. 1 : 1; the Son, Jno. 1 : 18, and the Holy Spirit, 2 Sam. 23 : 2; 1 Pet. 1 : 11; 2 Pet. 1 : 21); 1. By an original decree. 2. By subsequent inspiration, or by ordering that holy men of God should write, and by inspiring what was to be written."

Gerhardt. "The *instrumental causes* of Sacred Scripture were holy men of God, 2 Pet. 1 : 21, *i. e.*, men peculiarly and immediately elected and called by God for the purpose of committing to writing the divine révelations; such were the prophets of the Old Testament and the evangelists and apostles of the New Testament; whom, therefore, we properly call *the amanuenses of God, the hand of Christ and the scribes or notaries of the Holy Spirit*, since they neither spoke nor wrote by their own human will, but, borne along by the Holy Spirit (φερόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου) were acted upon,

led, driven, inspired and governed by the Holy Spirit. They wrote not as men, but as men of God, *i. e.*, as servants of God and peculiar organs of the Holy Spirit. When, therefore, a canonical book is called a book of Moses, the psalms of David, an epistle of Paul, &c., this is merely a reference to the agent, not to the principal cause.

Quenstedt. "God therefore, alone, if we wish to speak accurately, is to be called the author of the Sacred Scriptures; the prophets and apostles cannot be called the authors, except by a kind of catachresis." To the remark that prophets and apostles may be called the amanuenses of God, Quenstedt adds: "And not as though these divine amanuenses wrote ignorantly and unwillingly, beyond the reach of and contrary to their own will; for they wrote cheerfully, willingly and intelligently. They are said to be φερομένοι, driven, moved, urged on by the Holy Spirit, not as though they were in a state of unconsciousness, as the Enthusiasts pretended to be, and as the heathen feigned was the case with their soothsayers (ενθυσιασμοι, in an ecstatic state); nor, further, by any means, as though the prophets themselves did not understand their own prophecies or the things which they wrote, which was formerly * * the error of the Montanists; but, because they wrote nothing of their own accord, but everything at the dictation of the Holy Spirit." Inasmuch as it holds good of all the sacred writers, that they are inspired, those are also accounted such who were not, in the strictest sense, apostles. Hollazius. "By the name apostles, we here designate those holy men of God, who, after the birth of Christ, wrote the Scriptures of the New Testament; *although they did not all belong to the college of the apostles*, chosen by Christ, before his ascension, to teach all nations; but who, after Christ's ascension, were numbered with the apostles; such were Matthias (whose writings, however, we do not possess) and Paul. But also those apostolic men, nearest to the apostles in office and dignity, are called apostles in a wider sense; such are Mark and Luke, the evangelists, cf. Rom. 16 : 7.

sHollazius. "θεοπνευστια (inspiration) denotes as well the antecedent divine instigation or *peculiar impulse of the will to engage in writing* as the immediate illumination by which the mind of the sacred writer is fully enlightened through the supernatnral illumination of divine grace, and *the conceptions of the things to be written are themselves suggested immediately by the Holy Spirit.*" The coöperation which here takes place on the part of God is described by Quenstedt as "*a special and extraordinary concurrence*, peculiar to the sacred writers," and to be carefully distinguished from "*the general and common concurrence of God*, by which God concurs in every action, by whomsoever performed," and the "*special or gracious concurrence of God*, by virtue of which God

is present to all believers sincerely meditating upon, and writing about, sacred things." Hollazius distinguishes between inspiration and the divine supervision. "For the latter merely guards against any thing being written that is not true, becoming, congruous; whereas the former, through the Holy Spirit dictating, suggests the conceptions of the things to be written. The divine supervision would warrant the infallibility of the Sacred Scriptures but not their inspiration." If the impulse to engage in writing is embraced under the term inspiration, then it follows that all the Sacred Scriptures were written by the command of God, because all are inspired. QUENSTEDT. "All the canonical books, both of the Old and New Testaments, were written by God, who peculiarly incited and impelled the sacred writers to engage in the work, and, therefore, the Scriptures of the New Testament were recorded according to the command and will of God by the evangelists and apostles."

The opposite view is that held by the Papists, who foolishly assert that the evangelists and apostles did not write by any divine command, but were incidentally urged by some accidental circumstance originating elsewhere, or by necessity. It is, indeed, granted that we do not possess the proof of an express and outward command of God in the case of each of the sacred writings, but it is at the same time observed that the want of this is not felt where the *impulse* exists. GERHARD. "In the holy men of God, the external command and the internal impulse correspond to each other. For what else is that divine impulse than an internal and secret command of precisely the same authority and weight with one that is external and manifest?" The latter is proved (by Hollazius, but also in the same manner by all the earlier writers) to have existed in the case of all the books of Scripture: "1. By the general command of Christ, Matt. 18 : 19. (Gerhard: Those who were commanded to teach all nations, were also commanded to reduce their teachings to writing; for they could not teach all nations, even of the succeeding age, orally and without writing.) 2. By the impulse of the Holy Spirit, which Peter teaches, 2 Pet. 1 : 21. 3. By the divine inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures, which Paul inculcates, 2 Tim. 3 : 16. 4. By the apostolic office, in which those holy men became the ambassadors of God, 2 Cor. 5 : 20. Ambassadors are restricted by the commands of their sovereign. Peter, as an ambassador of God, did not undertake to preach to the Gentiles without a divine command; therefore still less would he dare to write an epistle unless commanded by God." That, however, the external instigations alluded to in the antithesis of the Papists are not excluded, Gerhard had already stated. "The inducements to engage in writing brought to bear upon the apostles from without, do not annul the internal command, but rather confirm it, *since those circumstances were made to influence the apostles*

by the wonderful arrangement of divine providence, and to them was subsequently added the interior impulse of the Holy Spirit, urged on by which they applied their hand to the work."

[9]Hereby a real and a verbal inspiration are asserted, from which it follows that there is absolutely nothing in the Holy Scriptures that is not inspired. These assertions are contained in the following two sentences (of Hollazius):

"I. The conceptions of all that is contained in the Sacred Scriptures were immediately communicated by the Holy Spirit to the prophets and apostles.

II. All the words, without exception, contained in the sacred manuscript, were dictated by the Holy Spirit to the pen of the prophets and apostles."

These two sentences we illustrate by the following remarks of Quenstedt and Hollazius. In reference to No. I. "In inspiration we recognize "a divine assistance and direction, which includes the inspiration and dictation of the Holy Spirit; but we deny as insufficient such a bare divine assistance and direction, which simply prevents the sacred writers from departing from the truth in speaking and writing. * * The Holy Spirit guides others also in writing, *i. e.*, so that we observe here a difference in this respect, that the Holy Spirit so directed the inspired (θεοπνευστους) men, that he at the same time suggested and communicated all things to them in so far as they are recorded in Scripture."—*Quenstedt.*

2. Inspiration embraces all that is contained in Scripture, and therefore also those things which could have been otherwise known to the apostles and prophets, because in this case it was necessary that these things should be said just at the particular time when the design which God had in view required it. Hollazius: "The things which were known to the sacred writers, may be considered either absolutely and in themselves, or relatively, in reference to the purpose of God to have them written. For, although the sacred amanuenses may have known certain things, which are described by them, before the act of writing, yet it was not, in the nature of the case, known to them, *whether God desired these things to be described, or under what circumstances, in what order and with what words they should be committed to writing.*"

3. In like manner, inspiration embraces things that are not of a spiritual nature. Hollazius: "There are contained in Scripture historical, chronological, genealogical, astrological, natural-historical and political matters, which, although the knowledge of them is not actually necessary to salvation, are nevertheless divinely revealed, because an acquaintance with them assists not a little in the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures and in illustrating the doctrines and

moral precepts. If only the mysteries of the faith, which are contained in the Sacred Scriptures, depend upon divine inspiration, and all the rest, which may be known by the light of nature, depends merely upon the divine direction, then the whole of Scripture is not inspired. But Paul declares that the whole of Scripture is divinely inspired. Therefore not only the mysteries of the faith, but also the remaining truths that may be known by the light of nature, which are contained in Scripture, are divinely suggested and inspired. Therefore, 4. Even apparently unimportant matters are, by all means. to be regarded as also inspired." QUENSTEDT: "A matter may be of small moment, considered in itself and with reference to the estimation in which it is held by men, and yet of great importance if we regard the end and wise design which God has in view with regard to it. Many things in Scripture seem to be of small account (2 Tim. 4 : 13), in regard to which some suppose that our theory of inspiration derogates from the dignity of the Holy Spirit, but they are, nevertheless, of great moment, if we regard the end had in view (Rom. 15 : 4) and the allwise design of God, in accordance with which these things were introduced into the Scriptures." Calixtus (in Quenstedt) is a prominent advocate of the opposite view, viz.: "Neither is it taught in Scripture, that it is necessary to ascribe all the particulars that are contained in it to a peculiar divine revelation, but that the principal topics, those which the Scripture is mainly and peculiarly designed to teach, viz.: those which relate to the redemption and salvation of the human race, are to be ascribed solely to that particular divine revelation; but, that in writing concerning other things, known in some other way, either by experience or the light of nature, the writers were so directed by the divine assistance and by the Holy Spirit, that they wrote nothing but what was suited to the subject in hand, true, becoming and congruous." The proof of plenary inspiration is drawn 1. From 2 Tim. 3 : 16. (QUENSTEDT: "The word πασα may be taken distributively, of the single books or parts of Scripture, or collectively for those parts taken as a whole so that πασα is the same as ὁλη ; in either case our opinion remains true, viz., that all Scripture is inspired.") Whence the following argument: CALOVIUS: "If all Scripture be inspired, (θεοπνευστος,) then there can be nothing in the Holy Scriptures that was not divinely suggested and by inspiration communicated to those who wrote. For if even a single particle of Scripture were derived from human knowledge and memory of revelation, then it could not be asserted that all Scripture is divinely inspired. 2. From 2 Pet. 1 : 21, (although Peter does not allude particularly to writing but speaking * * yet by λαλιαν both speaking and writing are here implied, and both are compre-

hended under this term; cf. Acts 2 : 31; 3 : 24; Rom. 3 : 19; for just as the holy men of God were incited and impelled by the Holy Spirit to speak, so were they also incited and impelled by him to write.) 3. By the promise of Christ, Jno. 14 : 26. 4. From 1 Cor. 2 : 10: We add, from Calovius, the following additional proofs: "From the originating cause of Scripture, if indeed the sacred writers were merely the pen, the hand or the amanuenses of the Holy Spirit; from the nature of the direction of the Holy Spirit, which is usually described as such that the Scriptures were written by his direction, wherefore Gregory the Great declared that the whole of the Sacred Scriptures were nothing more nor less than a letter from God the Creator to man his creature; from the equal authority of all that is contained in Scripture. For not merely those things which directly refer to the subjects of faith and salvation are the Word of God, but every thing that is found in Scripture, Rom. 4 : 12, and, for the same reason that they are called by this name, they well deserve to be regarded as the immediate Word of God."

In relation to No. II. Hollazius: "[The divine inspiration of the words, also, known by common usage] was necessary to the proper expression of the mind of the Holy Spirit. For the prophets and apostles were not at liberty to clothe the divine meaning in those words which they might of their own accord select; but it was their duty to adhere to, and depend upon, the oral dictation of the Holy Spirit, so that they might commit the Sacred Scriptures to writing, in the order and connection so graciously and excellently given, and in which they would appear in perfect accordance with the mind of the Holy Spirit." Quenstedt thus accounts for the variety of style: "There is a great diversity among the sacred writers, in regard to style and mode of speaking, which appears to arise from this fact, that the Holy Spirit accommodated himself to the ordinary mode of speaking, leaving to each one his own manner; yet we do not thereby deny that the Holy Spirit suggested the particular words to these individuals. But all are not satisfied with this opinion * * and some suppose the cause of the diversity of style to be, 'because the Holy Spirit allowed every one to speak as he pleased,' Acts 2 : 4, and that he regarded not so much the character of the authors' style as the nature of the things concerning which he wished them to speak or write. The inspiration of the Hebrew vowel points was included in this theory, cf. Gerhard's argument *ex absurdo:* "It would follow that the single words of Scripture were not communicated by God through the prophets, * * therefore not all Scripture is inspired." From the theory of verbal inspiration there arose also the assertion: "The style of the New Testament is free from every trace of barbarisms and solecisms," (Quenstedt.) The proof of verbal inspiration was

drawn, 1. From 2 Tim. 3 : 16. (All Scripture is wholly inspired, not only its meaning, or the thing signified, but also the words, as signs of things, were divinely inspired. Therefore, &c., &c.) 2. From 1 Cor. 2 : 13; Ex. 34 : 27, 28; Matt. 5 : 18.

1° *Inspiration* is, therefore, a divine agency employed in connection with the recording of the truth, and, in several respects, it differs from *revelation*.

If we consider the latter as embracing the whole compass of Christian faith, it owes its very existence to inspiration; CALOVIUS: "Divine inspiration may be regarded either as the *source and efficient cause* of revelation, which is what God accomplishes through inspiration, or as the *form* which revelation assumes, or the revealed Word." But if revelation be taken in its etymological sense, as the communication of that which was before unknown, then it differs from inspiration in the following respects: 1. The latter may contain also that which was before known, merely specifying the particular time and manner in which it is to be consummated, and, 2. The subject matter of revelation may be communicated to man in various ways, but that of inspiration only by an immediate divine suggestion. QUENSTEDT: "*Revelation*, formally and etymologically viewed, is the manifestation of things unknown and hidden, and can be made in many and various ways, viz., by outward speech, or by dreams and visions. *Inspiration* is that act of the Holy Spirit, by which an actual knowledge of things is supernaturally conveyed to an intelligent creature, or it is an internal suggestion or infusion of conceptions, whether the things conceived were previously known to the writer or not. The former could precede the commitment to writing, the latter was always associated with it and flowed over into the writing itself." Add to this the remarks: "With all this I do not deny that divine inspiration itself may be called revelation, in a certain sense, in so far, namely, as it is a manifestation of certain circumstances, as also of the order and manner in which certain things are to be written. (We must distinguish between divine revelation when by it the subject-matter itself is made known, and when it refers to the peculiar circumstances and time and manner and order, in which the subject-matter is to be reduced to writing.') And *when, also*, revelation concurs and coincides with divine inspiration, when, viz., the divine mysteries are revealed by inspiration and inspired by revelation, in the very act of writing. Thus Calovius very properly remarks: "That all the particulars contained in the Sacred Scriptures are not, indeed, to be regarded as having been received by a peculiar and new revelation, but by the special dictation, inspiration and suggestion of the Holy Spirit.

"Hollazius. "Divine inspiration, by which the subject-matter and the words to be spoken, as well as those to be written, were immediately suggested to the prophets and apostles by the Holy Spirit, preserved them free from all error, as well in the preaching as in the writing of the divine Word."

Calovius. "No error, even in unimportant matters, no defect of memory, not to say untruth, can have any place in all the Sacred Scriptures."

Quenstedt. "We are to distinguish between the conversation of the apostles and their preaching and writing; or between infirmities in conduct and errors in doctrine. In doctrine the apostles never could err, after receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit, * * but in their conduct and outward conversation they were not sinless (ἀναμαρτητοι), but, in consequence of innate original corruption, were still subject to infirmities and failings."

The more accurate development of the doctrine of inspiration begins with Gerhard. Hutter (*Loci Theologici*) still thus briefly expresses himself in regard to it: "Although God did not directly write the Scriptures, but used prophets and apostles as his pen and instrument, yet the Scripture is not, on that account, of any the less authority. For it is God, and indeed God alone, who inspired the prophets and apostles, not only as they spoke, but also as they wrote; and he made use of their lips, their tongues, their hands, their pen. Therefore, or in this respect, the Scriptures also, as they are, were written by God himself. For the prophets and apostles were merely instruments." This contains, however, essentially everything that we have adduced above from the later theologians. It was mainly the controversy with the Roman Catholics that gave occasion to detailed specifications; for these very well knew that they would rob the Protestant Church of all its weapons, without thereby injuring themselves, if they could cast suspicion upon the true inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. And then such discriminations were also called forth in part by the fanatics, who treated the written Word of God with little respect; partly by the Socinians and Arminians, who adhered to a merely partial inspiration of the Scriptures. In opposition to these, it became of great importance to the Lutheran theologians to defend the doctrine, not only of the real, but also of the verbal inspiration in its fullest extent."

ARTICLE XIV.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students. By John Peter Lange, D. D., in connection with a number of eminent European Divines. Translated from the German, and edited, with additions. By Philip Schaff, D. D., assisted by American scholars of various evangelical denominations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. The last volume of this great Bible-work, the ninth in the series so far presented to the American public, contains the book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, by Dr. Otto Zöckler, Professor of Theology at Greifswald, in Pomerania, the author of a number of historical and exegetical works, who, in his introduction, exhausts the whole subject of the meaning, authorship and literature of the Solomonic writings. The Commentary on Proverbs is translated by Dr. Aiken, and, in addition to the translation, contains a large amount of original matter. The Editor of Ecclesiastes is Dr. Lewis, who gives annotations, and dissertations, on leading ideas, with a metrical version and an introduction, but the work of translation was performed by Prof. Wells. The Song of Solomon is edited by Prof. Green, who is not only its translator, but, with good taste and judgment, has made important additions to the work. The volume partakes of the general characteristics, thought, learning and labor, of this remarkable production, and will be found eminently worthy to take a position with the other volumes of the series, so valuable to the scholar.

The Gospel according to Matthew: With Notes intended for Sabbath Schools, Families and Ministers. By N. M. Williams. With Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. This Commentary has been written in the interests of the Baptist denomination, and the results of the latest biblical and critical researches are given. The notes are chiefly explanatory, yet the doctrinal and practical are also introduced. Except where the author's peculiar ecclesiastical system differs from that in which we were educated, we think well of his comments.

The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, translated from the original Hebrew. With a Commentary, Critical, Philological and Exegetical. By E. Henderson, D. D. Andover: W. F. Draper. This Commentary, like that on the Minor Prophets and other books of the Old Testament, by the same author, is very satisfactory. On every page it gives evidence of careful research and critical scholarship. It avoids all fanciful interpretation; its expositions are marked by practical good sense. The work deserves a place in the Library of every biblical student.

Essays on some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion. By Richard Whately, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. Andover: W. F.

Draper. This is a republication of a popular work that has passed through seven London editions, and is the substance of a series of discourses, delivered by the distinguished author before the University of Oxford. The contents embrace the following discussions: (1) Revelation of a Future State; (2) The Declaration of God in his Son; (3) Love to Christ, as a Motive to Obedience; (4) The Practical Character of Revelation; (5) The Example of Children as proposed to Christians; (6) The Omission of a System of Articles of Faith, Liturgies and Ecclesiastical Canons. Appended to the volume is the author's famous essay, designated: Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Buonaparte.

The Life of Joseph Addison Alexander, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. By Henry C. Alexander. In two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. The subject of this *Memoir*, was a most remarkable man. He was regarded as one of the ablest scholars of his day, a prince among preachers, and in the department to which he specially devoted himself, he achieved a high reputation. His wealth of learning he applied to the elucidation of God's Word and the cause of Christian truth. His biography, so full, faithful and appreciative, richly deserves study. It furnishes stimulus for the mind and the heart. It portrays the nobility of a true man, the career of a great Christian scholar, and magnifies the grace of God. To the general reader the work would, perhaps, be more valuable, if the matter were compressed into half the space, and less attention given to minute details, and irrelevant discussion.

Memoir of the Life of the Right Reverend George Burgess, D. D., First Bishop of Maine. Edited by Rev. A. Burgess, D. D. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. This is an interesting Memoir of an eminent divine in the Episcopal Church, a fine scholar, an earnest Christian, evangelical in his views and conservative in practice, resembling, in many respects, the celebrated Dr. Arnold of Rugby. He was useful in his life and honored in his death.

Man in Genesis and Geology: or the Biblical Account of Man's Creation, tested by Scientific Theories of his Origin and Antiquity. By Joseph P. Thompson, D. D., LL. D. New York: S. R. Wells. This able and attractive discussion is embraced in seven Lectures: (1) The Outline of Creation in Genesis; (2) The Creation of Man; (3) The Origin of Man; (4) Man's Dominion over Nature; (5) The Antiquity of Man; (6) The Sabbath made for Man; (7) Woman and the Family. With great skill and candor the learned author grapples with the questions, raised by Science as against Revelation, and with convincing force shows, that the one is never in conflict with the other. *Nunquam aliud Natura, aliud Sapientia dicit.* The volume, we are sure, will aid in the dissemination of sound views of the interpretation of the Bible in its references to the phenomena of Nature.

Ecce Cœlum; or Parish Astronomy. In Six Lectures. By a Connecticut Pastor. Eighth Edition. Boston: Nichols & Noyes. This is one of the most attractive books on the moral uses of Astronomy since the appearance of Dr. Chalmers' Astronomical Discourses. In thought and diction, it is worthy of that eminent preacher. The author writes with a clear and full understanding of the subject, with the rare gift of presenting abstruse truths in popular form, and in an earnest Christian spirit. The discussion establishes. from the discoveries of modern Astronomers, the existence of God, and, indirect-

ly, the truth of the gospel in a masterly argument, as instructive as it is intensely interesting.

Pater Mundi; or Modern Science testifying to the Heavenly Father. Being in substance Lectures delivered to Senior Classes in Amherst College. By E. F. Burr, D. D. In two volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Nichols & Noyes. These Lectures have been endorsed, in the strongest language, by the most eminent critics. They are a seasonable and substantial addition to the literature of the subject, and will be read with the deepest interest by all, who desire to study the relation of science to religion. They are characterized by clearness of thought, vigor of argument, and amplitude of rich and apposite illustration.

God's Thoughts fit Bread for Children. By Horace Bushnell, D. D. Boston: Nichols & Noyes. This Discourse, delivered before the Connecticut Sunday School Teachers' Convention, and published by request of the Convention, is full of fresh and exhaustive instruction and suggestions on the mission and modes of Christian teaching.

Lamps, Pitchers and Trumpets. Lectures on the Vocation of the Preacher. Illustrated by Anecdotes, Biographical, Historical and Elucidatory, of every order of Pulpit Eloquence, from the Great Preachers of all Ages. By Edwin P. Hood. New York: M. W. Dodd. This is the second series of the work, and contains five Lectures on the following subjects: (1) The Pulpit of our Age and Times; (2) On Arrangement of Texts by Divisions; (3) Concerning Written and Extemporary Sermons: (4) On Effective Preaching, and the Foundation of Legitimate Success; (5) On the Mental Tools and Apparatus needful for the Pulpit, with Pulpit Monographs on Robertson, Pusey, Manning, Newman, Spurgeon, Lacordaire and Binney. The author aims to connect instruction with abundant illustration, and we regret that he has so far yielded to the sensational style of the present day, as to adopt a title, which conveys no idea of the character of his admirable Lectures.

Immortality. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1868. By J. J. Stewart Perowne, D. D., Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew in St. David's College, Lampeter, &c. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. These Lectures, by one who has carefully studied the subject, discusses: (1) The Future Life; (2) The Hope of the Gentile; (3) The Hope of the Jew; (4) The Hope of the Christian. Discussions of this kind, always of intrinsic interest, possess a more than ordinary importance at the present time, when materialistic sentiments are so rapidly spreading, and when scepticism assails not only the divine origin of the Scriptures, but the immortality of the soul and the very existence of God. From the careful consideration and earnest investigation of these questions, we cannot escape.

Stepping Heavenward. By E. Prentiss. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Mrs. Prentiss is very successful as a writer for juvenile and other readers. In the present narrative, she shows how full of incidents are the ways of Providence, and, if rightly improved, they ripen the Christian for heaven. The book is natural, free from all cant, stereotype phrases and morbid tendencies. The religion, it advocates, is intelligent and cheerful, full of love and good works, calculated to impress with nobler views of duty and higher aims of life.

The Earlier Years of our Lord's Life on Earth. By William Hanna, D. D., LL. D. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. Dr. Hanna, who is well known as the biographer of Dr. Chalmers, is a fine biblical scholar, and his personal familiarity of the scenes of the gospel narrative, has enabled him to produce a work abounding in vivid and picturesque description of character and place. There is no parade of learning, but it is evident on every page, that the author is thoroughly acquainted with the results of modern criticism and research. The work is written in an evangelical spirit, and is pervaded with a deep sense of the divine in the human.

The Ministry in Galilee. By William Hanna, D. D., LL. D. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is the second volume in the series, and possesses all the interest of the first. The volume is rich in graphic description, in vivid representations of such subjects as the Leper and the Paralytic—the Raising of the Widow's Son and the Ruler's Daughter—the Feeding of the Five Thousand and the Walking upon the Water—the Syro-Phœnician Woman—the Circuit through Decapolis—the Apostolic-Confession at Cæsarea-Philippi, the Transfiguration, and other Scenes connected with the Saviour's ministry in Galilee.

Light and Truth; or Bible Thoughts and Themes. The Acts and the Larger Epistles. By Horatius Bonar, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This volume consists of eighty-three brief, practical expositions of passages in the Acts, Romans and Corinthians, written in an elevated and fervid strain of piety, which has rendered Dr. Bonar so acceptable as a religious writer. The author is a firm believer in the premillennial advent, and yet, except in a few passages, the reader can scarcely discover the fact.

The Spirit of Life: or Scripture Testimony to the Divine Person and Work of the Holy Ghost. By E. Bickersteth. M. A. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This book is an enlargement and revision of one of the chapters of a previous publication, entitled the "Rock of Ages," and consists of nine chapters: (1) The Witness of Scripture; (2) The Distinct Personality of the Holy Spirit; (3) The Eternal Godhead of the Holy Spirit anointing the Son of Man; (5) The Spirit, the Author of Holy Scripture; (6) The Holy Spirit striving with the World; (7) The Holy Scripture quickening the Soul of Life; (8) The Holy Spirit sanctifying the Believer; (9) The Issue of the Holy Spirit's Work, The discussion is clear, candid and scriptural, establishing beyond all doubt, in an elaborate and comprehensive argument, the doctrine of the Divine Person and Work of the Holy Spirit, and fortifying every point with scriptural references and illustrations.

Removing Mountains: Life Lessons from the Gospels. By John S. Hart, LL. D. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. Professor Hart never touches any subject which he does not adorn. His discussions in this volume, fifty-two in number, are fresh, earnest, practical presentations of scriptural truth, with pertinent application to the wants and demands of the present. They are admirably adapted to daily, or Sunday reading.

Words of Comfort for Parents bereaved of Little Children. Edited by William Logan, Glasgow, Scotland. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. The contents of this volume are made up of selections, in prose and poetry, taken from many of the best writers, and de-

signed to soothe and comfort those who have been bereaved of loved ones. They are full of beautiful thought and tender pathos, but it may be questioned whether the influence of such books is always healthful.

Fergus Morton: A Story of the Scottish Boy. By J. R. Macduff, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is a most excellent Sunday School Book, showing the power of the Bible, and forcibly illustrating the truth: "Commit thy ways unto the Lord; trust also in Him, and He shall bring it to pass."

The Gates Ajar. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. Although this book has been, for some time, before the public, it is only recently that we have had an opportunity of reading it, and we have been most agreeably disappointed in its character. It is not so materialistic in its tendency as has been represented. It is true, it differs from many of the popular notions of heaven, entertained often by good people. But our hymns and many of the books abound in similar language. The writer speaks of material enjoyments, in the better life, in the same sense in which the Bible speaks of pearly gates and golden streets, the crown and the harp; the wants of our changed natures will be fully answered and gratified. The book is full of pathos, genius and power. It is a story, designed to establish and enforce an opinion, and told with great dramatic skill. The cant and narrowness of religious orthodoxy, as we sometimes see it, is set forth and illustrated. A critical judgment may detect in the work some defects, but it certainly is not without great merit.

Truth Made Plain: or the Rudiments of the Christian Religion, for the use of Families, Sunday Schools and Bible Classes. Prepared by Joseph a Seiss. D. D. Philadelphia: Book and Tract Society of St. John's Church. This work had its origin in the wants of the Sabbath School of St. John's (Lutheran) Church, Philadelphia, of which the author is the honored pastor, and, although prepared for that object, it may be used with advantage by other churches in the work of instructing the young in the elementary principles of the Christian religion. It is not designed to supersede Luther's Catechism, or "to improve upon its contents, but to digest and explain them."

Bible Gems: or Manual of Scripture Lessons. By R. E. Kremer. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. This book has received the cordial endorsement of the Hon. J. P. Wickersham, the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania, and of prominent teachers and pastors in the State. Although specially designed as a text-book in our public schools, it is equally adapted to the wants of the Sunday School and the household. It contains a large amount of biblical instruction, free from all denominational bias, the result of careful study, prepared with skill by an experienced and practical instructor of the young. The work is altogether worthy of the favor it has received.

Studies in Church History. The Rise of the Temporal power—Benefit of Clergy—Excommunication. By Henry C. Lea. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea. London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston. This volume discusses carefully, with great candor and ability, in a truly historical spirit, several important questions, connected with the history of the Church, in the form of historico-critical essays. The work is marked by the same erudition, clearness of thought and

force of expression that characterize the author's admirable treatise on "*Sacerdotal Celibacy.*" The facts, from which the conclusions are drawn, are derived from a large range of authorities, many of them inaccessible to ordinary students of ecclesiastical history. The reader will find the work highly instructive, a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject.

The Christian Festivals. A Help to the Devout Observance of the Sacred Seasons of the Church. By A. Shiras, D. D. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. This volume, by a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church, consists chiefly of sacred poems, adapted to the principal festivals in the ecclesiastical year, commemorative of the great facts in redemption, to special ordinances and the minor festivals. The selections, generally, are of a high character, and will be found useful in the cultivation of a devotional spirit.

Hints to Young Men on the True Relation of the Sexes. By John Ware, M. D. Boston: A Williams & Co. This little work was written by Dr. Ware, at the request of prominent Christian gentlemen, in the interests of a pure morality. Its design is to "place the relation of the sexes on its proper basis, to deter from vice by a just exposition of its nature, its dangers and its effects." There is nothing in the book suggestive of evil thoughts, or offensive to modesty. Necessary truth is presented in a form. which indicates the purity of the author's own mind, and his deep interest in the welfare of the young.

Our New Way Round the World. By Charles Carleton Coffin. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. This is a most instructive and readable book. The author, who gained a high reputation as the correspondent of the *Boston Journal* during the War, is a keen and practical observer, and an easy and graceful writer. The volume appears most opportunely at the time, when so many avenues are opening for Christian effort. in connection with those grand enterprises, that are girding the globe, and the empires of China and Japan are brought nearer to us than England was a half century ago, when God in his Providence is bidding us go forth, and possess the earth. We are glad to meet, in the work, with testimony so generous and strong in reference to the character and labors of our American Missionaries, with whom the author freely mingled.

Among My Books. By James Russell Lowell, A. M., Professor of Belles-Lettres in Harvard College. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. This volume is a collection of essays, originally prepared for the *North American Review*, and discusses the following subjects: Dryden, Witchcraft, Shakespeare, New England two centuries ago, Lessing and Rousseau. They are able papers, some of them among the finest specimens of criticism, altogether worthy of the author's high reputation.

China and the Chinese. By Rev. John L. Nevius. With a Map and Illustrations. New York: Harper and Bros. This volume contains a description of China and its population, its civilization and form of government, its religious and social institutions, its intercourse with other nations, and its present conditions and prospects. The author, who spent ten years of missionary life in the country, and is prepared to write intelligently on the subject, skilfully presents valuable and reliable information, the results of patient and careful observation. Since this vast and ancient empire has been brought

into new and more intimate, social and commercial, relations with this country, there will be a disposition to become more thoroughly acquainted with its history, literature, social and religious condition.

Henry J. Raymond and the New York Press for Thirty Years. Progress of American Journalism from 1840 to 1870. With Portrait Illustrations and Appendix. By Augustus Maverick. Hartford, Conn.: A. S. Hale & Co. This is a most interesting memorial of an able man, full of facts, incidents and personal reminiscences. It is not only, a very readable book, but a valuable contribution to biography, and to the history of American Journalism. The relations of the subject with the press and with politics, with public measures and with prominent characters, cannot fail to awaken in the work, written with so much delicacy and judgment, and in so clear and forcible a style, an abiding interest.

Haydn's Dictionary of Dates, relating to all Ages and Nations for universal reference. Edited by Rev. Benjamin Vincent, and revised for the use of American readers. New York: Harper & Bros. This valuable work, the result of years of toil, a chronicle as well as a chronology of the world's history, a digested summary of every department of human knowledge, has been brought down to the present time, carefully arranged and revised. It is, beyond doubt, the best and most complete work of the kind ever published.

The History of Rome. By Theodore Mommsen. Translated with the Author's sanction and additions by Rev. W. P. Dickson, D. D. Vol. II. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. The present maintains the same high character as the former volume. It is the best history extant of the period of which it treats, the most original and exhaustive investigation of the subject since the days of Niebuhr.

Classical Study: Its Value illustrated by extracts from the Writings of eminent Scholars. Edited with an Introduction by Samuel H. Taylor, LL. D., Principal of Phillips Academy. Andover: W. F. Draper. Dr. Taylor, himself a profound classical scholar, has given us, in this volume, a collection of essays from various authors, the testimony of a large number of distinguished scholars, some of the ablest thinkers of the age, both in this and other countries, as to the value of the critical and continuous study of the Greek and Roman classics, as an instrument in education. The work has grown out of the recent controversy in reference to the comparative importance of classical and scientific studies, and is designed to oppose the materializing tendencies of some of our educational theories. Not the least valuable part of the work is the Editor's valuable Introduction, in which, among other things, reasons are given why the rich benefit of classical studies are not more frequently attained.

The Odes and Epodes of Horace. A Metrical Translation into English. With Introduction and Commentaries. By Lord Lytton. New York: Harper & Brothers. By those who are interested in classical studies, this volume will be highly valued, not so much on account of the metrical translation, as for the critical notes which accompany the translation. The Introduction brings out, with great correctness, Horace's peculiar power, and assigns reasons for his great popularity in all ages.

T. Macci Plauti Captivi, Trinummus et Rudens. With English

Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By C. S. Harrington, M. A., Professor of Latin in the Wesleyan University. New York: Harper & Bros. These three Comedies by the great master of Roman Comedy, prepared with judicious notes, appropriate illustrations, and the explanation of the metres, will secure from the classical teachers of the land many thanks for the service which the Editor has rendered.

The Æneid of Publius Virgilius Maro, elucidated by English Notes, Critical, Historical and Mythological, with a Metrical Index and Map; and illustrated by antique statues, gems, coins and medals. To which is added a copious dictionary giving the meaning of all the words with critical exactness. By Nathan Covington Brooks, LL. D., President of the Baltimore Female College. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. This is just such an edition of Virgil as we would expect from Professor Brooks, whose whole life has been spent among classic authors, and devoted to the work of instruction. The pictorial illustrations are beautiful, impressing the pupil with the spirit of antique life and art, the notes are sufficiently ample, furnishing the help that is really necessary; and the references to parallelisms in other parts of the Æneid and in other productions, ancient and modern, must awaken a living interest in the author, exercise the judgment, and cultivate the critical taste of the student.

Flowers and Fossils, and other Poems. By John K. Stayman, Professor of Ancient Languages and Classical Literature in Dickinson College. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. We congratulate our friend, Professor Stayman, on his success in the cultivation of the Muses. We have no doubt it has been to him pleasant recreation, in connection with the multiplied and sterner duties of his profession. Some of the pieces possess more than ordinary merit.

Health by Good Living By W. W. Hall, M. D. New York: Hurd & Houghton. The author of this book is one of the most practical and sensible writers on the subject of health. Some excellent advice is given, and the importance of devoting proper attention to diet, air, exercise and rest, earnestly enforced. The work is free from all professional technicalities, and is suited to the wants of the general reader.

Dame Nature and her Three Daughters. A Grandpapa's Talks and Stories about Natural History and Things of Daily use. Translated from the French of X. B. Saintine. New York: Hurd & Houghton. This story has about it a purity, a grace, and a playfulness, which cannot fail to charm the youthful reader.

Old Horse Gray and the Parish of Grumbleton By Edward Hopper. New York: Hurd & Houghton. This is a pretty little story in verse, and deserves all the praise that has been bestowed upon it.

American Edition of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Revised and Edited by Prof. H. B. Hackett, D. D. With the coöperation of Ezra Abbott, LL. D. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Parts XII., XIII. and XIV. of this valuable Dictionary, which has so often been commended in our pages, are on our table. The work and is rapidly reaching a successful completion.

Christian Giving: A Discourse preached December 12th, 1869, in St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Philadelphia. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D.

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The *Evangelical Quarterly Review* for April, edited by Prof. M. L. Stoever, LL. D., Gettysburg, has an attractive title of contents. There are fourteen articles, mainly by prominent men in the Lutheran Church.—*National Baptist.*

The April number of the *Review* makes its appearance with its wonted promptness. The articles in the present number are well written, and some of them possess more than usual merit.—*Reformed Church Messenger.*

The April number comes to us with more than its usual strength and richness. Under the benign editorship of Prof. M. L. Stoever, LL. D., the *Quarterly* is making for itself a name and a place in the heart of the Church, which bids fair to grow more and more, until the Lutheran Church will have the best reason for being proud of her *Review*, as among the best Quarterlies in the land. —*American Lutheran.*

This number of the *Review* is one of the best that has appeared for a long time. The whole Church should sustain it. No minister should be without it, and it should have a place on every intelligent layman's table.—*Lutheran Visitor.*

The *Evangelical Review* edited by M. L. Stoever, LL. D., for April, furnishes an interesting variety of articles, some of which are on subjects of great public interest in the Church. Its appearance is prompt, and the zeal of the excellent editor deserves the warmest encouragement.—*Lutheran and Missionary.*

The article by Dr. Valentine is characterized by the careful scholarship of the author. The *Reminiscences* of Rev. John Heck and Dr. Michael Diehl, are by the Editor, who never tires in the grateful labor of rescuing from oblivion, the toils and victories of our fathers and brethren. *Luther on the Ministry*, translated from the German by Prof. Martin, throws light on a subject much controverted. Prof. Ferrier in his critique on Hamlet presents, in brief compass, the mature results of profound study of the subject. *The Life and Times of Ambrose*, is a very interesting sketch of this prominent Latin Church Father. *Martin Stephan and the Stephanites* is a most valuable sketch of the remarkable career of a remarkable man. *The New Landers and German Redemptioners*, is an interesting paper from the busy and popular pen of Mr. Weiser. The translation of *Schmid's Dogmatic Theology*, by Dr. Hay, is a valuable contribution.—*Lutheran Observer.*

THE

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NO. LXXXIII.

JULY, 1870.

ARTICLE I.

SCHMID'S DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.* TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN AND LATIN.

By Charles A. Hay, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

§7. *The Attributes of the Sacred Scriptures.* †

If the Sacred Scriptures be really the Word of God, then it follows, that we are bound to yield to them implicit faith and obedience. As they are the only source of truth, they must contain this entirely and so clearly that we can really learn it from them. And they are, finally, as the Word of God, the only means by which we can attain unto faith, and, therefore, they must also be powerful

*Die Dogmatik der Evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, dargestellt und aus der Quellen belegt von Heinrich Schmid, Dr. und Professor der Theologie in Erlangen. Dritte Auflage, 1853.

† *Vide Evangelical Quarterly Review*, vol XXI., p. 299.

enough to awaken this faith in us. We ascribe to them, therefore, the attributes of *authority, perfection or sufficiency, perspicuity and efficiency.*

§8. (1.) *Authority.*

Baier: "The authority of the Sacred Scriptures is the manifest dignity, that inclines the human understanding to assent to their instructions, and the will to yield obedience to their commands." We believe what the Holy Scriptures declare, simply because *they* declare it, and it is they that beget faith in us, and they are the only source from which we derive our faith. They are, at the same time, the only inspired book, and by this they are distinguished from all other writings. So that it is only from them that we can learn what is true in divine things; and they furnish the means, by which we can everywhere distinguish between truth and error. The authority of Sacred Scripture is, accordingly, divided into (*a*) *causative authority*, by which the Scriptures create and confirm in the mind of man assent to the truths to be believed. (*b*) *Normative or canonical authority*, by which both authentic Scripture is distinguished from other writings and versions, and that which is true from that which is false.[2]

(*a.*) *Causative authority.* This rests upon the fact, that we acknowledge God as the author of the Sacred Scriptures,[3] and, this we prove by the inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures.[4] The proofs of inspiration are, it is true, derived in the first instance, only from the Sacred Scriptures themselves, and already presuppose faith in the Sacred Scriptures themselves, on the part of those who admit them as evidence. But, for the Church and her members, there is no need of proof for the inspiration of Scripture, for her very existence depends upon this faith, and this faith precedes all proofs,[5] without this no article of faith would be based upon the Sacred Scriptures.[6] Therefore, the proof, that the Sacred Scriptures are inspired, or what amounts to the same thing, that they are of divine origin, and consequently possess full authority in matters of faith, is required only for those who are yet without the Church, or who, if within her pale, are not confirmed in the faith. But it lies in the nature of the case, that no proof can be given to those, which they cannot, in an unbelieving frame of mind, evade; for the only absolutely stringent proof lies in the fact, that the Holy Spirit bears witness in the

heart of each individual, and thus convinces him of the divinity of the Word of God, by the mighty influence which it exerts upon him;[7] but, that this may be the case, it is necessary, that the individual do not resist the drawings of the Holy Spirit, and, before this takes place, the testimony of the Holy Spirit can have no probative power for him.[8] To this experience, therefore, the individual is referred, and through it alone will he attain to absolute certainty in regard to the divinity of the Sacred Scriptures. All other so called proofs, are rather to be considered as such evidences for the divinity of the Sacred Scriptures, as can make this probable to the individual, and invite him to give himself up to the influence of the Holy Spirit, in order to acquire for himself the same experience which the Church has gained.[9] Such evidences are of two kinds. The Sacred Scriptures, namely, themselves testify in regard to this divinity, by their internal excellence and dignity (χριτήρια *interna*, internal proofs,) and the effects which the Sacred Scriptures have produced upon others, testify also to the same, (χριτήρια *externa*, external proofs.[10] These evidences the Church holds out to each individual and seeks by their means to induce him to yield his heart to the influence of the Holy Spirit, who will produce in him the full conviction of the divinity of the Sacred Scriptures.[11]

(*b.*) *Normative or canonical authority.* *Hollazius*: "The canonical authority of Scripture, is the supreme dignity of Scripture, by which, in virtue of its meaning, as well as of its divinely inspired style, it is the infallible and sufficient rule, by which all that is to be believed and done by man, in order to secure eternal salvation must be examined, all controversies in regard to matters of faith decided, and all other writings adjudged."[12] Accordingly, we must acknowledge the Sacred Scriptures, as the rule and guide of our life, by which alone, all controversies in regard to divine things must be settled,[13] so that in no case, is the addition of any other authority required, by which they might be decided.[14] But if the Sacred Scriptures are thus the only judge of controversies, the question arises: how is this decision to be obtained from them? It lies in the nature of the case, that not every one can accomplish this with equal success, for certain previous conditions are required for this purpose, without which the Sacred Scriptures cannot be understood and expounded; and besides, necessary ecclesiastical order demands, that at least for the

public investigation and announcement (*öffentliche Erhebung,*) of the decisions contained in Sacred Scriptures, there should be a regular calling. Hence, it pre-eminently belongs to the Church publicly to make known, by means of her representatives (the clergy,) the decision discovered in the Sacred Scriptures, in reference to a contested point,[15] whence, however, it does not yet follow, that every private individual within the pale of the Church does not possess the right of private judgment.[16] If, then in certain cases, the adjustment of a controversy be not attained, the fault lies not in the Sacred Scriptures, but in the fact, that the Sacred Scriptures were not properly interpreted, or the proper interpretation was not adopted.[17] But, in every case, when such a controversy is to be decided, resort must be had to the original test of the Sacred Scriptures; for, although a good translation may enable us to secure the testimony of the Holy Spirit, it is never so accurate, that we dare employ it in doubtful cases, in which often everything depends upon the most accurate investigation of the single words of the original text.[18]

1. The *attributes* are variously enumerated by the early divines. Calovius and Quenstedt add to those we have mentioned *infallible truth, the power of interpreting itself, normative and judicial authority,* which are again by others incorporated in those we have mentioned.

Some theologians also add the following as secondary attributes: (1.) "*Necessity*; or, that it was necessary for the Word of God to be committed to writing, in order to preserve the purity of the heavenly doctrine. (2) *Integrity and perpetuity*; or, that the Sacred Scriptures have been preserved entire, and will be thus perpetually preserved. (3). *Purity and uncorrupted state of its sources;* or, that the Hebrew text in the Old Testament, and the Greek in the New, has not suffered, in all copies, any corruption, either through malice or carelessness, but has been preserved by Divine Providence, free from all corruption. (4.) *Authentic dignity:* or, that the Hebrew text alone of the Old Testament, and the Greek of the New, is to be regarded as authentic, nor is any version to be counted worthy of such supreme authority. (5.) The liberty of all to read for themselves."

2. Baier: "The authority of Scripture, so far as it regards the assent that is to be yielded to its declarations, may be viewed in a two-fold light; *first, in a strict sense, in order to cause assent to the things that are to be believed,* which right the Scriptures hold because, inasmuch as they are the sourse of knowledge and the formal object

of faith and revealed theology; *secondly*, in order to distinguish by the inspired Scriptures themselves, both the true Scriptures and those other teachings which relate to matters of faith and practice; and this right they hold, inasmuch as they are canonical, or the rule and guide whereby to distinguish truth from falsehood. For, although the authority of Scripture is one and the same, based upon the veracity of God and the dependence of the Scriptures upon God, through which it is appointed, both in a formal sense to produce faith, and in a normal sense to examine and decide between certain Scriptures and other teachings; and as, further, the Scriptures are to be employed somewhat differently for the formal purpose of causing assent to the faith, and when used for the normal purpose of distinguishing truth from falsehood; thus, also, we must by all means treat distinctly of both these methods in discussing the authority of Scripture. Hollazius: In the former method, they (the Holy Scriptures,) are employed in every language for producing faith in the mind of an unbelieving man, and of confirming it in the mind of a believer; in which respect this authority is called causative or promotive of faith: in the latter method they are employed only in the original text, to distinguish from the actually inspired Scripture the Hebrew and Greek versions, the symbolical books, and all writings that treat of matters of faith and practice.

3. Baier: "The authority of Scripture, viewed in itself, and absolutely, or with reference to its contents, depends upon God, the sole Author of Scripture, and results from His veracity and great and innite power." Gerhard: "Inasmuch, then, as the Sacred Scriptures have God for their author, by whose immediate inspiration the prophets, evangelists and apostles wrote, therefore, they also profess divine authority; because they are inspired, (θεοπνευστος) they are in like manner (ἀυτοπιστος, το πιστον αφ᾽ ἑαυτῆς ἐχουσα) self-commendatory, securing faith by virtue of their own inherent excellence."

4. Baier: "So far as we are concerned, or that we may be convinced, that the Holy Scriptures are worthy to receive faith and obedience, not only these perfections of God must be known, but also the dependence of Scripture upon God, or its inspiration by Him, (θεοπνευστος). Our conviction, however, rests upon the two theses, (1.) Whatsoever Scripture is recorded by divine inspiration, that is certainly and infallibly true. (2.) The Holy Scriptures were recorded by divine inspiration.

5. Gerhard: "Those who are embraced within the pale of the Church, do not inquire about the authority of Scripture, for this is their starting point. How can they be true disciples of Christ, if they pretend to call in question the doctrine of Christ? How can

they be true members of the Church if they are in doubt concerning the foundation of the Church? How can they wish to prove that to themselves which they always employ to prove other things? How can they doubt concerning that whose efficacy they have experienced in their own hearts? The Holy Spirit testifies in their hearts, that the Spirit is truth, *i. e.*, that the doctrine derived from the Holy Spirit is absolute truth.

6. Gerhard therefore very properly observes, that the doctrine of the authority of Scripture, is no article of faith, but rather of the fountain-head of the articles of faith. "The doctrine concerning the canon is, properly speaking, not an article of faith, since Moses, the prophets, evangelists and apostles did not fabricate in their writings a new article of faith superadded to the former, which they taught orally."

7. Gerhard: "The first (testimony) is the internal witness of the Holy Spirit, which, as it bears witness to the spirit of those that believe, that they are the sons of God, Rom. 8 : 16, so, also, it efficaciously convinces us, that in the Scriptures the voice of our Heavenly Father is contained, and God is the only fit and authentic witness. To this testimony belong the living feelings of the pious in daily prayer, and the exercises of penitence and faith, the grace of consoling and strengthening the mind against all kinds of adversities, temptations, persecutions, &c., &c., which the pious daily experience in reading and meditating upon Scripture."

Quenstedt: "The grand reason by and through which we are led to believe with a divine and unshaken faith, that God's Word is God's Word, is the intrinsic power and efficacy of that Word itself, and the testimony and seal of the Holy Spirit, speaking in and through Scripture. Because the bestowment of faith, not only that by which we believe in the articles, but even, that by which we believe in the Scriptures, that exhibit and propose the articles, this is a work that emanates from the Holy Spirit, or the Supreme Cause."

Hollazius: "By the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit, is here understood the supernatural act of the Holy Spirit through the Word of God, attentively read or heard, (his own divine power being communicated to the Holy Scriptures,) inciting, opening, illuminating the heart of man and inciting it to obedience unto the faith, so that man, thus illuminated by internal, spiritual influences, clearly perceives, that the word proposed to him did exactly proceed from God. and thus yields to it unqualified assent." The Scripture pooof for the testimony of the Holy Spirit, is deduced from 1 John 5 : 6 ; 1 Thess. 1 : 5, 6 ; 2 : 13. To the common objection, that theology here reasons in a circle, the following answer is returned: Hollazius: "If I enquire, says the objector: how do you know that the Scrip-

tures are divine? The Lutherans answer: 'Because the Holy Spirit in each one testifies and confirms this by the Scripture.' If I ask again: how do you prove that this Holy Spirit is divine? the same person will reply: 'Because, the Scriptures testify, that He is divine, and His testimony infallible.' To all of which, we reply: "We must distinguish between a sophistical circle and a demonstrative retrogression. In reasoning in a circle, one unknown thing is employed to prove another equally unknown; but in a demonstrative retrogression, we proceed from confused knowledge, to that which is distinct. For the divine dignity of Scripture is proved by the supernatural effect of the Holy Spirit, operating efficaciously through the Scriptures, illuminating, converting, regenerating, renewing. But, if you ask, whether that spirit be divine or malignant, then we reason from the effect, which is divine and salutary, that the Spirit, who bears witness within, concerning the origin of the Sacred Scriptures, is divine, most holy and excellent." QUENSTEDT further adds: "The Papists, therefore, wrongly accuse us of reasoning in a circle, when we prove the Sacred Scriptures from the testimony of the Holy Spirit, and the testimony of the Holy Spirit from the Sacred Scriptures. Else would it be also reasoning in a circle, when Moses and the prophets testify concerning Christ, and Christ concerning Moses and the prophets; or, when John the Baptist testifies, that Christ is the Messiah, and again, Christ, that John the Baptist is a prophet."

8. Therefore GERHARD distinguishes among those who stand without the pale of the Church, two classes: "some are *curable* who come with minds tempered and desirous of learning, others are *incurable* who come with minds unyielding and obstinate, and who contumaciously resist the truth, Acts 13 : 46; 19 : 28. The incurable, just as those who are past recovery, are to be forsaken to their fate, Titus 3 : 10. The same applies to those who are within the pale of the Church, if, in the midst of temptation, they begin to doubt the authority of Scripture."

9. QUENSTEDT: "Those arguments both of an internal and external nature, by which we are led to the belief of the authority of Scripture, make the inspiration of Scripture probable, and produce a certainty not merely conjectural but moral, so, that to call it in question, were the work of a fool; but they do not make the divinity of Scripture infallible, and place beyond all doubt, nor do they convince the mind internally ἀμεταπτώτως και ἀμεταχινήτως, *i. e. they do not beget a divine, but merely a human faith*, not an unshaken certainty, but a credibility, or a very probable opinion.

10. GERHARD: I. "The *internal criteria* (κριτήρια) inherent in the Scriptures themselves, some of which are found in the causes, others in the effects, some in the subject matter, others in incidental cir-

cumstances ; such criteria are antiquity, the majesty of the subjects discussed, peculiarity of style, harmony of all its parts, dignity of its predictions concerning future events, the truth of their fulfilment, divinity of the miracles by which that doctrine is confirmed, the violence of the diabolical opposition to it, the efficacy of Scripture itself, in persuading and moving to action. II. The *external testimonies* (which can be drawn from all classes of men) among which is preeminent the testimony of the Church, to which we may add, that of the martyrs, who sealed the doctrine taught in Scripture, with their blood. Also, the punishment of blasphemers and persecutors, who contumaciously opposed this doctrine.

The later divines present these proofs in substantially the same manner as Hollazius : "The *external criteria*, (which are not taken from Scripture, but elsewhere derived,) are, (*a*) the antiquity of Scripture ; (*b*) the singular clearness of the sacred writers, their desire after knowledge and truth ; (*c*) the splendor of the miracles by which the heavenly doctrine is confirmed ; (*d*) the harmonious testimony of the Church, spread over the whole earth, to the divinity of the Sacred Scriptures ; (*e*) the constancy of the martyrs ; (*f*) the testimony of other nations to the doctrine contained in the Sacred Scriptures ; (*g*) the successful and rapid propagation of the Christian doctrine through the whole world, and its wonderful preservation during so many persecutions ; (*h*) the extremely severe punishments inflicted upon the despisers and persecutors of the Divine Word." In reference to these, Hollazius remarks : "We premise these external criteria, in order to prepare the minds of the unbelieving, for reading and meditating upon Sacred Scripture with interest and desire * * it is necessary, that first of all. unbelievers be led by external criteria to regard it as not improbable, that the Sacred Scriptures had their origin in God, and, therefore, begin to respect, read, and meditate upon them.

The *internal criteria*, drawn from the intrinsic nature and attributes of Scripture, Baier, are : (*a*) the majesty of God, testifying concerning himself in the Sacred Scriptures ; (*b*) the simplicity and seriousness of the biblical style ; (*c*) the sublimity of the divine mysteries which the Scriptures reveal ; (*d*) the truth of all biblical assertions ; (*e*) the sanctity of the precepts contained in the Sacred Scriptures ; (*f*) the sufficiency of the Sacred Scriptures to salvation." In regard to these, Hollazius further adds : "These internal criteria taken together and conjointly constitute a stronger argument than if taken successively or singly."

11. Gerhard : "Although the testimony of the Holy Spirit is of the very highest importance, yet we are not to make a beginning with it in the conversion of such men, *i. e.*, they are not commanded to

wait until the Holy Spirit bears witness immediately in their hearts, concerning the authority of Scripture, but they are to be directed to the testimony of the Church, which, in this respect, performs the part of a preceptor to the unbelieving disciple. Just as, therefore, it is necessary for a pupil first to believe, until he afterwards becomes able to form an independent judgment concerning the things taught, so it is necessary for an unbeliever (paganus) to yield assent to the testimony of the Church, which is the first step towards ascertaining the authority of Scripture; then the internal criteria of antiquity, prophecies, &c., are to be added. Yet the testimony of the Church alone, is not sufficient to convince an unbeliever of the divine authority of the Scriptures, since he may, perhaps, still be in doubt whether this be really the true Church of God. Wherefore, it is the duty of the preceptor not only to propose precepts, but also to corroborate their truth; thus, it is not sufficient for the Church to declare, that these are divine Scriptures, unless it accompany its declaration with reasons. Then, at length it may follow, that the Holy Spirit bears testimony in the heart of the inquirer, and proves the truth of His words."

The testimony of the Church varies in weight, according as it is derived from the earlier, or from the later Church. GERHARD: "The *primitive* Church, that heard the apostles themselves, excelled in being the original recipients of the sacred books, in being favored with the living instruction of the apostles, and with a number of miracles to prove the authority of the canon; the *next age* in which the autographs of the apostles were still preserved, excelled the former in the more complete fulfillment of New Testament prophecies, and in the abundance of versions of both Testaments into various languages, and the testimony concerning the Sacred Scriptures, extracted from various writings of believers; and it excelled the age succeeding it, by possessing the autographs of the evangelists and apostles, the voice of the ancient Church and a number of miracles. The latest age of the Church excels both the others, (although the autographs of the apostles are no more,) in the more perfect fulfilment of prophecy."

Occasion is here taken to protest against the Romish axiom, "all the authority of Scripture depends upon the Church," and to guard against such an interpretation being put upon what has been above stated. HOLLAZIUS: "The authority of the Sacred Scriptures, neither depends upon the Church for the divine, preeminent dignity in which its power lies; nor, in order that it may be known, does it need the testimony of the Church, as the grand and ultimate source of proof, for the divine authority of Scripture, nor, as the only and absolutely necessary argument." GERHARD remarks: (1) "It is one thing for the Church to bear witness to the Scriptures and their authority

ministerially, and another to confer upon Scripture its authority dictatorially and judicially. From the ministry and testimony of the Church, we are led to acknowledge the authority of Scripture, but from this it by no means follows, that the authority of Scripture, either in itself, or in respect to us, depends alone upon the authority of the Church; because, when we now have learned, that the Scriptures are divine and contain the Word of God, we no longer believe the Scriptures on account of the Church, but on account of themselves; because, viz.: they are the voice of God, which is αὐτάλήθεια, and hence, αὐτόπιστος, which we know must be believed on its own account and immediately. (2) It is one thing for us to become acquainted with the authority of the Scriptures by the testimony of the Church, and another, for the whole authority of the Scripture, so far as we are concerned, to depend solely upon the testimony of the Church. The former we concede, the latter we deny; because, beside the testimony of the Church, we have two other classes of evidence, for the authority of Scripture, and in the same class, that embraces the testimony of the Church, other external evidences derived from all kinds of men may be adduced; yet, at the same time, we do not deny, that the testimony of the Church, is to be preferred to all others in this class. (3) It is one thing to speak of the testimony of the primitive Church, which received the autograph of the sacred books from the apostles, and handed down a credible testimony concerning them to posterity, and another, to speak of the authority of the present Church."

Quenstedt notices, in addition, the objection of the Papists, "the Church is more ancient than the Scriptures, therefore, it has greater authority;" to which he replies: "We must make a distinction between the Word of God contained in the Scriptures, and the act of writing itself, or, between the substance of Scripture, which is the Word of God, and its accident, which is the writing of it. The Church is prior to the Scriptures, if you regard the mere act of writing, but it is not prior to the Word of God itself, by means of which the Church itself was collected. Surely the Scriptures, or the Word of God, is the foundation of the Church, Eph. 2 : 20, but the foundation is older than the building."

12. Hollazius: "The Sacred Scriptures exercise their highest canonical authority, when a controversy arises concerning the truth of a doctrine, and the truth is to be confirmed, and falsehood to be confuted: but the Scriptures exert their faith-producing authority, as often as the unbelieving are to be converted to the Christian faith, or the weak faith of believers is to be strengthened."

13. Gerhard: "The Sacred Scriptures are the rule of our faith and life, therefore, also, the judge of theological controversies. Add

to this, that all the qualities of a rule, properly so called, belong to Scripture. For a rule should be certain, fixed, invariable, fundamental, suited to meet every case, always self-consistent. But these qualities belong neither to tradition, nor the teachings of human reason, nor the writings of the fathers, nor to the Pope, nor to the decrees of councils,, but to the Sacred Scriptures alone." Formula of Concord, (Preface 1,): "We teach, that the only rule according to which all doctrines and all teachers are to be estimated and judged, is none other, than the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments." (Compare also the remarks of QUENSTEDT: "When we say, that the Sacred Scriptures are the only rule of faith and life, conformed to the will of God, we do not speak of every age of the Church, for there was a time, when the Church was instituted and governed without the written Word of God, the time, viz.: before Moses; but, we refer to that age in which the first written canon was prepared, and especially concerning New Testament times, in which all things necessary to faith and the worship of God have been written down, and with great care collected into the canon.")

HOLLAZIUS: "As a rule of knowledge, it performs a two-fold function, directive and corrective. For it directs the thoughts of the human mind, so that they abide within the bounds of truth, and it corrects errors. Wherefore, the Sacred Scriptures are called the canon, or rule, partly on account of their directive character, because the true faith and pure morals are learned from them; partly on account of their corrective character, since controversies in regard to the faith are decided by them, and whatever is right and proper is retained, and what is erroneous and improper is rejected."

Others, as CALOVIUS and QUENSTEDT, express this by a separate attribute, viz.: the normative and judicial authority. CALOVIUS: "The Sacred Scriptures are a rule, according to which all controversies in regard to faith or miracles in the Church should, and can be decided, (Ps. 19 : 5; 2 Cor. 5 : 33; Gal. 6 : 16; Phil. 3 : 16;) and as a rule they are not partial, but complete and adequate, because, beside the Scriptures, no other infallible rule in matters of faith can be given. All others beside the Word of God are fallible, and thus we are referred again to the Sacred Scriptures as the only rule, (Deut. 4 : 2; 12 : 28; Josh. 23 : 6; Is. 8 : 19; Lk. 16 : 19; 2 Pet. 1 : 19;) to which, also, Christ and the apostles always referred as a rule, (Matt. 4 : 4; 22 : 29 ,31; Mr. 9 : 12; Jno. 5 : 43; Acts 3 : 20; 13 : 33; 18 : 28; 26 : 23.)

14. Hence, the two corallarise of QUENSTEDT: (1) "It is therefore not necessary that there should be in the Church, a supreme, regularly appointed and universal judge, who, seated upon a visible throne, is peremptorily to decide all strifes and controversies, that

arise among Christians concerning faith and religion, and orally and specifically to pronounce sentence in regard to them. We cannot acknowledge as such a judge, either the Roman Pontiff, or the fathers, or councils. (2) Nor is the decision concerning to the mysteriesand controversies of the faith to be granted to human reason, nor to an internal instinct or secret fact."

15. CHEMNITZ: "The Church has the right and liberty of deciding." GERHARD: "If the Church is 'the pillar and the ground of the truth,' and we are 'commanded to hear it,' (1 Tim. 3 : 15; Matt. 18 : 17,) then all decisions in matters of faith belong to her."

But the right which is hereby ascribed to the Church, is carefully distinguished from that which belongs to the Sacred Scriptures. This is usually done in the following manner: (1) "The principal judge is the Holy Spirit, the instrumental judge, the Sacred Scriptures, the ministerial (inferior) judge. the clergy. In regard to the latter, however, ('whose duty it is to seek for the decision of the Supreme Judge as laid down in Scripture, and from this, to teach what is to be done, to interpret this, and decide in accordance with it,') it is maintained, 'that this judge should not pronounce sentence according to its own will, but according to the rule laid down by the Supreme Judge,' *i. e.*, according to the Sacred Scriptures, which we call the decision of the Supreme Judge, and the rule of the inferior judge, and the directive judge."

And QUENSTEDT: "An inferior decision, (viz.: of a teacher of the Church,) is nothing less than the interpretation, declaration, or annunciation of a divine, decisive and definitive judgment, and its application to particular persons and things." Whence it further follows: "We are to abide by the decision of an inferior judge, not absolutely, but if he pronounces according to the prescriptions of the divine law or the Scriptures,, and in so far as he shows, that he decides according to the Word of God. Deut. 17 : 10. Wherefore, *we may appeal from this inferior judge to the Supreme, but not conversely, from the Supreme to the inferior.* The subordinate judge is, therefore, not absolute, but restricted and bound by the decisions of the Supreme Judge as recorded in Scripture." According to this distinction, the Sacred Scriptures are called the judging Judge, or the Judge *ad quem*, (to whom there is an appeal,) and the Church, the judged Judge, or the Judge *a quo*, (from whom there is an appeal.)

The Church is, therefore, it is true, *a visible judge*, but merely *discretive*,, which, in the exercise of sound judgment, distinguishes truth from falsehood. She is, however, "*not a judge, specially and strictly so called, viz.: authoritative and decisive*, pronouncing sentence authoritatively, and, by virtue of the authority belonging to her, compelling the disputants to acquiesce in the whole opinion she may propose without further investigation."—HOLLAZIUS.

16. Gerhard: "Whatever properly characterizes a spiritual person, the same may be regarded as belonging to all the sons and members of the Church. The reason of this is, that by spiritual person we understand not merely the clergy, according th the nomenclature of the Papists, but all the children of the Church, who are controlled by the Spirit of God. Rom. 8 : 10. That 'he that is spiritual judgeth all things.' 1 Cor. 2 : 18."

Quenstedt: "We assert, that every believer, according to the measure of the gift of God, can and ought to judge, not indeed, in all controversies, but concerning the doctrines necessary to salvation, and to mark the difference between brass and beans by his own discretive judgment. Not that every one could follow his own notions, as the Papists accuse our Churches of doing, but that he should submit himself to the judgment of the Holy Spirit, recorded in the Scriptures, and examine all things according to the tenor of this decision, *but leave to the learned, the public decision of controversies.* 1 Cor.10 : 15 ; 11 : 31 ; 1 Thes. 5 : 19."

In accordance with this, a distinction is made between the *public* and the *private* ministerial (inferior) judge. The *public* judge is the clergy, the *private*, each member of the Church, or private person.

17. Gerhard: "We must distinguish between power and its exercise. The Sacred Scriptures are indeed sufficient and adapted, by virtue of their authority, and the perfection and perspicuity of their character, to decide controversies ; but, through the fault of human weakness and wickedness, it happens that this effect does not always, nor with all persons, follow their application ; just as the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation, to all such as believe, Rom. 1 : 16, yet, at the same time, not all are actually converted and saved by the the preaching of the Gospel." Baier: "Doubtless, all controversies that relate to matters of faith and practice, necessary to be decided and known, can, in this way, be adjudged and decided ; only, when an occasion of controversy occurs, let those who are to engage in it, bring to the task minds that are pious, truth-loving and learned. For thus, prejudice and partiality and evil feelings being laid aside, and the arguments of both sides being duly weighed, according to the rule of Scripture, it easily becomes apparent, which is the true and which is the false opinion ; on account of the perspicuity of Scripture, which acts in this case by virtue of its office. But, as to other questions, either side of which, may be held without injury to the faith, their decision ought not to be demanded, or expected to be so clear.

Here belongs, also, the remark, (Hollazius): "The Holy Spirit, speaking in the Holy Scriptures, does not, indeed, compel by an external force, but yet effectually moves by an internal persuasion, and

this suffices to illuminate, convert and instruct those, who do not pertinaciously resist the Holy Spirit.

Hollazius : "The *causative* authority of the faith differs from the *canonical* authority of Scripture, (*a*) because the Scriptures beget divine faith, through the inspired sense, which sense of Scripture remains one and the same, whether expressed in the original idiom of Scripture, or in a version conformed to the original text. So that the illuminating power, connected with the sense of Scripture, effectually manifests itself in the production of faith, not only by means of Scripture in the original tongues, but also through versions, provided the versions be perspicuous and conformed to the authentic text. Such is Luther's version of the Bible, which is used by believers in our Churches, which, when read, or heard, is as efficacious in causing assent to this faith, as if they would read the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New, or hear it read and expounded by a teacher, although the words of that version were not immediately inspired by God. But, that the Scriptures may have canonical authority, it is necessary, that not only the sense, but also the words have been derived immediately from God. For to canonical and normal authority in matters of doctrine and practice, an absolute certainty and infallibility in the words themselves is necessary, *which does not exist except in the original text of Scripture*, for this descended to us by immediate divine inspiration. Versions are the work of men, who, in translating the Scriptures may have erred.

ARTICLE II.

REMINISCENCES OF DECEASED LUTHERAN MINISTERS.

LXXX.

CHARLES FREDERIC EDWARD STOHLMAN, D. D.

The subject of our present sketch was a native German, born in Klein, Bremen, in the kingdom of Hanover, February 21st, 1810. His father was a man of more than ordinary ability, well educated, and was engaged in the work of teaching the young. Although somewhat infec-

ted with the prevalent rationalistic spirit of his day, he was deeply interested in the religious education of his children, and to their advancement in Christian principle, he faithfully gave much attention.

Charles was a sprightly youth, and early showed an unusual fondness and aptitude for study. He was very successful in the acquisition of knowledge. For a season he pursued his studies under the direction of his father. Then he was transferred to the renowned *Gymnasium* at Bückeburg, where he was fully prepared for admission to the University of Halle. He entered upon his duties in this celebrated school with great zest, with all his wonted enthusiasm and zeal. Dr. Tholuck was, at the time, a member of the Faculty. His deep piety, evangelical spirit, and earnest Christian character, made an impression upon the youthful student. To the influence of this remarkable man in after life he traced many of his theological views, his strong convictions and religious principles. On the completion of his studies in the University, with his father's family he came to this country in the autumn of 1834, and soon after settled in Erie, Pennsylvania. Here he took charge of a small congregation, worshiping at the time in an old dilapidated school house. With great earnestness he devoted himself to the pastoral work; the congregation rapidly increased, and very soon a convenient church edifice was erected. His labors were accompanied with the divine blessing, and he enjoyed, in a high degree, the public esteem and favor.

In 1838 Dr. Stohlman received and accepted a call to the city of New York, as Pastor of St. Matthew's German Lutheran Church. Here he faithfully and successfully labored till his death. It was an interesting field for his efforts. With an earnest, positive character, an enthusiastic devotion to the interests of his German brethren, and a warm admiration for his vernacular language, he was unwearied in his labors to promote the welfare of his countrymen. In his earlier ministry he, perhaps, awakened the impression that his prepossessions were too strongly in favor of German interests. His course, sometimes, led to the belief, that he supposed the German language would be perpetuated in this land, and to this object the efforts of the Church should be mainly directed. But his views were very much modified, during the latter part of his life. Without any diminuation of his attach-

ment to the German, he acquiesed in the conclusion that every day was forced upon his attention, that the Lutheran Church of this country in its future must be an English Church.

Dr. Stohlman was a faithful and successful minister of the Gospel. His heart was in the work. He made his labors a delight, and was never more happy than when most busy with the duties of his calling. He enlisted a host of ardent friends. They clung to him, until the last, with the warmest and most tender affection. His influence over his congregation was extraordinary. "Such indeed," says Dr. Wedekind, "was the confidence reposed in him, that whatever received his endorsement was sure to be favorably regarded by his people, and whatever failed to interest him, received little confidence from them. Emphatically was he the shepherd of his flock. They knew his voice, and followed him. He was the father as well as the minister of his people, a companion to the aged, a judicious counsellor to the young, a true friend to all." In social intercourse he was gentle and refined in his manners, instructive in conversation, abounding in anecdote, and often overflowing with harmless mirth and sportive wit. He was a most genial companion, and took a deep interest in the younger members of the ministry. He had, indeed, a kind word for every one with whom he was brought in contact. His was a ready hand to minister to the hearts of the poor, and the sympathies of his heart ever gave a prompt response to the cry of affliction. He was affable, exemplary in his deportment, consistent and considerate, humble and unostentatious, illustrating in his life the power of divine truth.

Dr. Stohlman was regarded by his brethren as a fine scholar. "A man," says Dr. Schmidt, "of varied, extensive and profound learning, thoroughly read in theology." He occupied a high position as a philologist and a philosopher. "He was, "writes Dr. Wedekind, "perfectly at home in the various systems of German philosophy, and possessed the rare ability of clearly distinguishing between the true and the false, the spurious and the real." Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, conferred upon him the Doctorate in Divinity, in 1853. He was deeply interested in the subject of education, and a favorite idea with him for many years, was the establishment of a German College in this country, in which Ger-

man youth might receive the highest literary culture in their native tongue.

He was a good preacher, earnest and impressive, always presenting the gospel with fervency and power, and in his style resembling the celebrated Dr. Dräsike, of Bremen. "He was truly eloquent," says Dr. Schmidt, "fertile in profound and striking thoughts, wonderfully skilful in developing, educing and exhibiting the deep meanings of the sacred text, earnest and forcible in his appeals to the conscience and heart, and severe, but dignified, in the rebukes which he administered to prevalent vice and wickedness, more especially to the flippant and insolent infidelity which infests our great cities." "There was," says Dr. Wedekind, "a freshness and vigor in his thoughts, that rendered him always attractive. He uttered poetry in his prose, and aphorisms in his ordinary conversation. His thoughts, like his character, were all transparent. Had his physical strength and his voice been equal to his mental power, he would have been one of the first German orators in the land." In preaching he adhered strictly to the prescribed *pericopes*, a practice from which he departed only for some special cause, on some particular occasion.

Dr. Stohlman wielded the pen of a ready and forcible writer, and in his able and vigorous contributions to the *Lutherische Herold*, in defence of the Christian religion and its faithful confessors, provoked no less than in his public discourses the hostility of freethinkers and infidels who hated him most cordially. He was not unfrequently in danger of personal violence from such characters, and was once actually assaulted on the street. In his doctrinal views he was evangelical. He held with unflinching tenacity to the great doctrines of the Christian system. Christ was the centre of all his theology. The Augsburg Confession and the other Symbolical Books he unhesitatingly and cordially adopted, and yet he was liberally disposed towards those who, in their honest convictions, differed from him in his theological opinions, provided they held the truth in essentials. "He was," says Dr. Schmidt, "a firm defender of the doctrinal system of our Church. Yet, while he was a decided Lutheran, he had none of that narrow-mindedness which unchurches all who do not agree with us, and while he stoutly maintained the authority of our Symbolical Books, as the embodiment of the faith of the Church, he was utterly opposed to the spirit and policy which

would use our Book of Concord, as a club with which to knock others on the head. While it was to him a firm foundation to stand upon, and he would have it a bond of union for all good Lutheran Christians, he often spoke with great severity of the intolerance of those who would not own as Lutherans any who could not accept all *their* interpretations of our Confession, and all the practical uses, which *they* chose to make of them, and all the disciplinary measures for which they claimed to derive authority from them. In taking and maintaining this position he was always perfectly consistent with himself. There was nothing unsettled, or fluctuating, in his views, or nothing loose in his convictions. He was firm and immovable, whenever he had arrived at clear and settled convictions as regards doctrine, practice or discipline." At the meetings of his Conference, or Synod, his power was always felt. He was a tower of strength. His advice was valued, his counsels sought. In the discussion of exciting questions he was courteous, candid and just, never disposed to take advantage of his opponent, always ready to forgive an injury, the attainment of truth rather than victory seemed to be his object. He was a model of patience and forbearance, never exhibiting unkindness of feeling, never employing denunciatory language in reference to those who differed from him, and cheerfully conceding to others what he claimed for himself. His course was such as to inspire confidence and respect. At all times he earnestly labored to promote the peace of the Church.

Although Dr. Stohlman's health had been gradually declining, his death, when it occurred, was very unexpected. He died May 3d, 1868. It was on the Lord's Day. Only the Wednesday preceding, he was considered severely ill. A fortnight before his departure he preached his last sermon, and administered the Lord's Supper, in the old church edifice, which, for thirty years, had been the scene of his labors. At the conclusion of the services he occupied a position near the door, and took the members by the hand, bidding each one an affectionate adieu, and adding, "It is the last time we have communed together," meaning, of course, in the old church. Neither pastor nor people, however, anticipated that the pleasant and solemn relation which had so long existed, would so speedily terminate. But the very day, on which the recently purchased church was to be occupied by his con-

gregation, and the cherished wishes of his heart were to be realized, when the vast crowds were filling the large and beautiful building, he was in conflict with his last enemy, passing away from his earthly toils to his heavenly reward—the day of anticipated pleasure and delight became the occasion of the deepest gloom and sorrow. His mind was clear, and his confidence in Christ unshaken. He retained his consciousness till the last, and expressed his faith in the simple words, "Christ's blood and righteousness my beauty are, my glorious dress." Only four hours before his death he wrote several pages of manuscript containing advice to his family, to the congregation and the Conference, and urging all to be faithful to the Saviour; the substance of it was "Little children, love one another;" Love Jesus Christ above and beyond all things else." Dr. Krotel writes: "It was a sad day for the churches in New York, but still all rejoiced that a long, laborious and faithful life was closed so beautifully, and that the dying hours, as well as the life and teachings of the preacher had magnified Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and forever." The funeral was attended by an immense concourse of persons. Thirty ministers of the Gospel, by their presence and their tears, manifested their profound grief in the loss they had sustained by the death of this good man. "It was," says Dr. Wedekind, "an impressive scene to see men and women, the aged and the young, the rich and the poor, bursting into loud sobs, as they passed the form, now cold and stiff in death, which they had known and loved so long and so well." The services on the occasion of the funeral were most solemn and impressive. They were conducted by Drs. Schmidt and Mann, and Rev. Messrs. Drees and Rägner. Dr. Mann delivered an eloquent discourse, full of sympathy and truth, from the words: "Whither I go ye know, and the way ye know."

Dr. Stohlman was married to Miss O. J. Brown, who, after a happy union of thirty-two years, now with her four daughters, one of them the widow of Rev. J. A. Bungeroth, survives to lament the sad bereavement.

LXXXI.

ABRAHAM RECK.

Abraham Reck was born January 2d, 1790. Almost

an octogenarian, he closed his serene and beautiful life, May 18th, 1869, an illustration of the truth of God's promise to the righteous: "With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation. He shall flourish like the palm tree; he shall grow like the cedar in Lebanon. He shall still bring forth fruit in old age." From the time he surrendered his heart to the Lord, he could truly say: "My settled purpose is to devote my life to the service of God." His ministry he commenced in 1812, three years in advance of Dr. B. Kurtz,* and seven years earlier than Dr. C. P. Krauth,† with both of whom he was most closely united in bonds of fraternal sympathy. "There never lived," says Dr. Morris, "more earnest, sincere and successful laborers, and their praise is in all the churches." All three were commissioned by the Synod of Pennsylvania to preach the Gospel; all three were long associated together in the *Synod of Maryland and Virginia*, at a time too, when measures, the most important in their influence upon the Church, were adopted; and although their paths subsequently diverged and they labored in different Synods, their interest in Zion never faltered, their trust in God never wavered, and they died as they had lived, in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the confident and peaceful hope of everlasting perfection and bliss through his merits. They now, all three, rest from their labors, and their works do follow them. When the venerable patriarch upon whose grave we would place a chaplet, though withered and tear-bedewed, then a young man not yet twenty-two years of age, entered upon his official work, there were not one hundred ministers connected with the Lutheran Church in this country; in the year of his death, there were more than nineteen hundred, the congregations had increased to four thousand, and the communicants to two hundred and fifty thousand. In the retrospect how his heart must have been filled with amazement and delight, and how gratefully must he have realized that "a little one" had "become a thousand and a small one a strong nation!"

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*See sketch of Dr. Kurtz in the Evangelical Quarterly Review, Vol. XVIII, p. 25.

†See sketch of Dr. Krauth, in the Evangelical Quarterly Review, Vol. XIX p. 89.

Abraham Reck was the son of Abraham and Margaret Reck, and was born at Littlestown, Adams County, Pennsylvania, at that time included in York County. His ancestors were Germans, who immigrated to this country as early as 1727, from the Palatinate on the Rhine. His parents were respectable and pious people, Christians of the Arndt and Francke school, and as soon as they had secured a shelter for themselves, they, with others, united in the erection of a place of worship. From the atmosphere of piety which pervaded the home of his youth, Abraham inhaled the spirit, which animated his life to the hour of his death. Early instructed by Christian parents, he had in his childhood deep religious impressions, which were strengthened by the faithful preaching which he heard, and by the careful reading of God's word, but chiefly by the catechetical instructions of Rev. John Grubb, Pastor of the Lutheran Church at Taneytown, Maryland, "a truly converted man," as he says. When he was six years old he was sent to school, and so rapid was his progress, that in eight months he had learned fluently to read the Bible. At the age of fifteen, he renewed the baptismal vows, assumed for him in infancy by his parents, and was received into the Church by the rite of Confirmation, but he thinks at this time he had not experienced a change of heart. Nearly two years afterwards, a severe accident from a scythe confined him to his bed for four months, which proved, in his judgment, the greatest blessing of his life. He spent the time in reading the Scriptures and other good books, and in prayer. God was with him in his seclusion. He enjoyed the influences of the Holy Spirit, and was, in a remarkable degree, favored with the divine blessing. On his restoration, he went into a store, with the design of preparing himself for mercantile business. But his Pastor, from all that he had learned concerning him, supposing that he would be a proper subject for the Christian ministry, inquired of him one day, "Whether he did not wish to become a minister of the Gospel?" The very idea at first startled him—that he, so imperfect, should seek an office so high and holy—and his answer was, "Sooner any other than myself!" The faithful and judicious Pastor replied: "I like your humility; but go, and ask your God, and if he wants you, he will open a door for you." He obeyed the directions, and the way was soon prepared, every obstacle was removed and the

path of duty made clear. Stricken down with an attack of pleurisy, lying at the very gates of death, he learned more fully to know Christ and to have compassion for souls. His affliction was sanctified to him. He rose from his sick chamber a more devoted Christian. He abandoned his projects for the future, and at once commenced his studies with a view to the ministry, under the direction of that pious and learned divine, Rev. F. V. Melsheimers, for many years Pastor of the Lutheran Church at Hanover, who frequently instructed young men in their preparation for the sacred office. He was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Synod of Pennsylvania, at its session in Carlisle, Trinity Sunday, 1812, and recommended to visit the Valley of Virginia, especially Winchester, recently made vacant by the death of Rev. Christian Streit,* who had been settled there as Pastor for twenty-six years.

Having received and accepted a call, as Pastor of the Winchester charge, he entered upon his duties, January, 1813. His labors were not confined to the town, but extended to four different counties, and included nine congregations. He occupied this position for fifteen years. The period was an eventful one in his own life, and formed an epoch in the Lutheran Church in that section of the country. His labors were greatly blessed. Large numbers were added to his congregations. Revivals commenced in his catechetical classes, and an awakening of religious interest spread through all his congregations. He proclaimed in all its divine fulness and freeness, the way of salvation, and multitudes were brought to a saving acquaintance with Christ. His revival measures, however, encountered bitter opposition, and he was persecuted by the enemies of the truth. He was even threatened with personal violence, and in a neighboring village an attempt was actually made to murder him, but he was fearless in the discharge of duty, and the feeling against him softened, and the opposition gradually subsided. During all this time, says Dr. Morris, "No one ever dared to breathe the slightest suspicion against his eminently upright conduct and unsullied character." On one occasion there was a party in the charge, very much opposed to him, and desirous of his removal. They hired a law-

*See sketch of Rev. Christian Streit in the Evangelical Review, Vol. IX, p. 378.

year to go to the Synod and accuse him of irregularities. When on the floor of Synod the lawyer rose to speak, Mr. Reck objected to the proceedings as unconstitutional, alleging that the lawyer was not even a member of the Church, and the arraigned had not been notified of the charges—but he was permitted to proceed and to read to the Synod many pages of manuscript, the substance of which was that the accused had departed from the old landmarks, the good old way, and had become a Methodist fanatic. "The sainted Dr. Lochman, of Harrisburg," says Mr. Reck, "volunteered to defend my cause, and did it most manfully, justifying me wholly. Then Dr. B. Kurtz, the young Pastor of Hagerstown, rose and clinched the nail, that had been driven—and the work of the Lord still prospered." Some who were arrayed against him, subsequently became his most devoted friends. Whilst Pastor of this charge, his labors were very arduous and exhausting. Animated with an earnest missionary spirit, he made great sacrifices for the cause of Christ, and the self-denial which he practiced in the performance of his official duties, the long rides and frequent exposures to heat and cold, his intense sufferings, all this time, from pain in the chest and throat, seem scarcely credible. He did a vast amount of itinerant work in the earlier part of his ministry. In referring to these labors in a communication before us, he says: "I had a congregation in Hampshire county, thirty miles distant from my home, and had to cross a mountain, eleven miles. The roads were desperate, a part of the way was crossed with sharp-pointed stones fast in the beds of the rock, so that the poor horse could hardly venture to place his feet down. I was obliged to leave home at three or four o'clock in the short winter days, to reach the place in time. I then preached German and English, and afterwards catechised a class. I reached the first habitation on my return, at ten o'clock, sometimes literally frozen stiff, so that they were compelled to lift me from my horse, unbutton my coat and thaw me before a good fire." During his connection with the Winchester charge he was sometimes appointed by Synod to visit destitute portions of the Church, and he exposed himself to perils of various kinds, to gather our scattered members into congregations, to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments. On one of these missionary tours, his report states that he had travelled on horseback one thousand

and six miles, and preached eighty-five sermons, in court-houses and in private houses, wherever he could secure an audience, and there was a prospect of doing good. The Synod, in connection with his report, speaks of him as a "zealous, laborious and deeply pious minister." He usually made quite an impression, when he preached. The people heard him gladly; they were deeply affected, and sometimes from a single sermon there were the most marvelous results. In one neighborhood, where, as a vistor, he filled the pulpit, there was a thorough reformation in the place, and the commencement of a new spiritual life among the people. "Young Reck," said one who felt no interest in the subject of religion, "has turned the whole neighborhood into fools, for they wont dance and frolic any more, but all go to prayer-meetings." Notwithstanding his success in the ministry, the subject of our narative was often discouraged. He passed through some severe trials, and, sometimes, when suffering from bodily affiiction, was strongly tempted to resign his office and turn his attention to secular pursuits. The sense of his personal unworthiness was often overpowering. On one of these occasions, when much depressed in spirit, he consulted his old Pastor, Mr. Grubb, on the subject, who, in his quaint, yet still tender, manner said: "All this is from the devil; he sees that God intends you for some good work, and, therefore, he tries to get you out of the way." Mr. Reck's name is still mentioned with veneration in the field which first engaged his attention. "In our first ministry in Winchester, Virginia," says Dr. Stork, "we heard so much of this good man from the people to whom he had ministered—the testimony of many whom he had led to Jesus, and of many whom he had comforted in affliction—that he was enshrined in our affectionate remembrance." Rev. T. W. Dosh writes: "He was esteemed, a man of devoted piety, zealous in every good work, and his memory is still cherished with gratitude."

In 1828, after several successive annual calls, he took charge of congregations in Middletown, Maryland, and the vicinity. Here he exhibited the same unwearied zeal and conscientious devotion to his pastoral duties. He found the spiritual condition of things very discouraging, but in his first class of catechumens, upwards of sixty experienced a change in their religious life. "The work of the Lord," he says, "spread through my entire charge of

nine congregations, and multitudes of the young, as well as the old, dead formalists, professed conversion, and thus were my church members multiplied, and greatly edified." During a ministry of nine years in this region, more than fifteen hundred persons expressed a hope in Christ. His labors were regarded as eminently successful. His influence was felt by all classes; even upon children the most wonderful impressions were made. "He was," says Dr. Bittle, who at this period, knew him intimately, "a live man in the ministry, in the pulpit and out of it. He preached, and when he delivered his sermons they made impressions, he catechised, established Sabbath Schools, Temperance Societies, visited families and individuals, and talked to them directly and kindly in regard to their personal salvation. What a man of God he was! He prayed much, and was always ready, in season and out of season, to give an account of the hope that was in him in meekness and fear."

In the spring of 1836, in opposition to the wishes of his congregations, he was induced to remove to Indianapolis, and to look after our Lutheran interests in the West. Here he purchased property, and at once commenced his missionary work in great earnestness, but various misfortunes befell him, his health failed, he was deceived by false friends, his family suffered from sickness, his funds were exhausted, yet he felt that he was not forsaken by God, or sympathizing friends. He toiled on, preaching and catechising, and gathering into congregations our scattered members. He established nine Lutheran Churches, some of them twenty and thirty miles from the capital. Notwithstanding the difficulties with which he had to contend, he remained here six years. But the severity of the climate at last rendered a change necessary.

The next field of labor, which he occupied, was Cincinnati, Ohio, whither he removed in 1841. He here organized an English Lutheran Church, but in his efforts he met with unparalleled difficulties. At first, he tells us, "he preached in a little open rickety place, over an engine shanty, the stairs outside and dangerous." Subsequently the feeble band "rented the old college." Although he was obliged to submit to great privations—his family being often destitute of the necessary comforts of life—his labors were very much blessed. An intelligent Roman

Catholic was brought under the influence of divine truth, and in the presence of the congregation openly renounced Romanism. She was re-confirmed, and, at the same time, presented her only child for baptism in the Church. Mr. Reck enjoyed the confidence of other Christian denominations. Dr. Beecher and Prof. Stowe were his warm friends. His tireless energy and blameless life impressed all who witnessed his efforts. He labored here for four years.

In 1845 he pitched his tent in Germantown, Ohio, where many of his old Maryland parishoners lived. Here he organized two new churches, and although he remained only three years, his labors were successful. Whilst engaged in this place, he had a controversy with a layman, calling himself a Lutheran, who was a Universalist. Mr. Reck triumphantly proved from the Augsburg Confession, that no man maintaining that doctrine had a right to the name *Lutheran*, and effectually silenced his opponent.

We meet with the subject of our sketch next at Tarleton, Ohio, where his labors were attended with the divine blessing. The Spirit's quickening and renewing influences were richly enjoyed. But he encountered opposition from those, too, who were pledged to sustain him. He suffered, also, in health from ulcerated sore throat of an aggravated type. He supposed, in direct answer to prayer, he was relieved from this severe and dangerous affection.

In 1852, his health being somewhat precarious, he removed to Lancaster, Ohio, but he preached, whenever his physical ability was adequate to the effort. He received frequent calls to vacant charges, but they were either too large for his impaired health, or too small for the support of his family. He led a life of quiet retirement, seeking to do good as opportunity occurred and he was able, patiently waiting for the coming of his Lord. The last communication we had from him, was written, November 22d, 1867, in which he says: "I am now seventy-seven years old, and look for my release from this body of sin and pain, to be taken to our Heavenly Father's house above, by infinite riches of Divine grace. There I hope to meet the blood-washed hosts, that Christ gathered through all past ages, and I will look for *you*, dear brother in Christ."

The closing scenes of his life, so wholly consecrated to God, were tranquil and happy. "It was a privilege," it is said

"to hear the heavenly counsels which fell from his lips." He was rational until the last, his memory retentive, his eye bright, his hand steady, and his faith growing. He gave the most minute directions in regard to his funeral, expressing a desire, that his lifeless body should be clad in pure white, and not in black; and selecting as a text for the occasion the words of the Psalmist: "The days of our years are three score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be four-score years, yet is there strength, labor and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away." Five minutes before he ceased to breathe, he bade adieu to his family, and then was added to the number of the redeemed, one who was wise in winning souls to Christ, and whose reward was sure. He rested from his long and faithful labors. His remains were borne to the grave by the ministers of the place, at their own request, and deposited in the "Luther Cemetery," at Lancaster, Ohio, May 20th, 1869. The sermon was preached by Rev. J. O. Hough, whilst Rev. Messrs. Mechling and Speilman, of the Lutheran Church, and the Rev. Messrs. Scott, Snodgrass, and Spahr representing the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, participated in the services.

Mr. Reck was one of the chosen instruments of divine power for doing a great work for the Church to which his services were given. Dr. Morris says: "He was a model man." "I never knew," he adds, "one who seemed to be more deeply imbued with the spirit of Christ. He never had an enemy who was a true Christian. His bitterest opponents were compelled to acknowledge the unsullied purity of his life, and the most established believer could learn profitable lessons from his conversation, or his example. He was fearless in the defence of the truth, and uncompromising in his opposition to wrong of every kind. He despised chicanery and meanness. Strongly attached to his own Church, an enthusiastic admirer of Luther, yet he had a most catholic spirit, and loved every body who loved Christ." His piety was scriptural, intelligent, steadfast and reliable, not superficial, sickly and fluctuating. His zeal was such as no discouragement could repress, and no failure abate. His highest element of success was his Christian consistency, the purity and sanctity of a heavenly life. Dr. Morris refers to his "intense and protracted attacks of disease during every period of his life, and most wonderful restorations; fearful accidents and re-

markable deliverances; domestic afflictions and yet uncomplaining submission; diabolical opposition, and yet most signal triumphs over his enemies; seasons of the saddest depression, and yet cheerful confidence in God; pinching poverty, and yet trust in Him who sent the ravens to feed the famishing prophet; alienation of former friends, and yet joyful attachment to Him, who sticketh closer than a brother, never despairing, ever hoping, because always praying." He may have had his imperfections and short-comings, but he never defended them.

He was the ideal of a good Pastor, holy, harmless, separate from sinners, as nearly assimilated to his divine Master as poor, fallen human nature often reaches, blending active usefulness with unfeigned humility and Christian gentleness. His large sympathies were freely bestowed in every effort to spread the Gospel. He was most efficient in his work. He lived and labored for the promotion of pure revivals of religion, but he did not favor fanaticism or extravagant measures. His personal interviews with religious inquirers were judicious and impressive. He thoroughly instructed his members in the faith of the Church. "My ministerial experience," he says, "led me to appreciate the great wisdom of Dr. Martin Luther in giving us his *Smaller Catechism* as one of the most successful methods, in judicious and pious hands, of indoctrinating and properly preparing candidates for membership in our good old Evangelical Lutheran Reformation Church. Thereby God gave me the first Bible Revivals in the last century. I recommend the proper use of the Catechism to all the younger brethren in our Church, and recommend them not to lay it aside, as some have done." The fruits of these revivals were seen in the faithful, consistent character of his members, some of whom were introduced by him into the ministry. Of these the names of J. B. Reck, G. W. Keil, E. Keller, D. D., D. F. Bittle, D. D., H. Settlemyer, J. Gaver and E. B. Olmstead, now occur to us. He was very much interested in Beneficiary Education, long before there were any organized societies for the purpose in our Church. In aiding several pious and talented young men for the work he expended upwards of three thousand dollars from his private resources during his ministry. When he was at Winchester, he himself paid one hundred dollars to secure the release of an apprentice whom he thought God had called to preach the Gospel.

He prepared him for the work, taking him to his own home, and, for several years until he was licensed, paying his expenses for books and clothing. "He was," says Dr. Bittle, "a most zealous and good man, far in advance in his ideas of the wants, condition and responsibility of the Lutheran Church to many of his times. He always urged upon his catechetical classes and the young men of his congregation to consider their duty in reference to preparation for the ministry."

Mr. Reck was not learned, but he was a man of ripe experience, large observation, and extensive influence, a plain, earnest, practical preacher. His success was marked, decisive and permanent in results. In the pulpit he was faithful. He preached the simple truths of the cross. His exhibitions of the gospel were sound, solemn, tender and impressive. The secret of his incessant labors was in his own experimental consciousness, a personal trial of the plan of redeeming grace. "When a boy," writes Rev. H. Bishop, "I heard this father preach in the Valley of Virginia, and though many years have passed, I well remember with what pathos this servant of the Master delivered the messages of the truth. He had a kind, tender heart, and manifested more than ordinary feeling when preaching. He was never long without the consciousness that his ministry was owned and blessed of God." Dr. Schmucker speaks of him as "a beloved brother who was characterized by unusual simplicity, and self denial, who was the means under God of the earliest revivals in our Church in this country during the last half century, and whose ministry was, for a long series of years, attended by unusual success in the conversion of sinners." "He was," says Dr. Stork, "an earnest, faithful preacher of the gospel, and a most kindly sympathetic Pastor. There was such an unaffected simplicity in his manners, such heartiness in his friendship, such purity of life and Christian consecration and such a life-long devotion to the work of the Master, that his memory is redolent of the grace of God in all the churches." He was repeatedly invited to prominent points in the Church. Chambersburg, Gettysburg, Lancaster, Charleston, all desired to secure his services, but as he was useful in the position in which he was at the time laboring, he did not wish to make a change. Such a man will ever be in demand, and wherever, in the Providence of God, he is called to minister to the spiritual

wants of the people, he will be successful in the great work to which his life was consecrated.

Mr. Reck was united in marriage in 1820 to Miss Louisa Motter, of Shepherdstown, Virginia. From this union there were eleven children, eight of whom with their mother are still living.

ARTICLE III.

LUTHER AT THE DIET OF WORMS. TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL NARATIVE CONTAINED IN THE SECOND VOLUME OF LUTHER'S WORKS, PUBLISHED AT JENA, IN 1557.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The importance of the Diet of Worms in the history of Protestantism is generally acknowledged. Rome here endeavored to bring the whole power of the German Empire to bear upon the growing Reformation, and not only to arrest it, but to crush it forever out of existence. The Emperor Charles V. was now just entering upon his public career. He was young, ambitious, and powerful, and Roman policy was determined, if possible, to bend him to its purposes. Francis I, of France, was his rival, had disputed with him the crown of Germany, and was now more eager than ever to snatch from him the dominion of Italy. Pope Leo X. was a very astute politician. In order to carry his purposes and secure the destruction of Luther, he determined to play off the King of France against the Emperor of Germany. He is said to have been negotiating treaties with both of them at the same time—with Francis for dividing with him the possessions of Charles in Naples and the adjoining territory, and with Charles for the expulsion of the French from Milan the possession of Parma and Piacenza which Francis then held.

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* *Tomus Secundus omnium operum Reverendi Patris, viri Dei. D. Mart. Luth. quae edidit etc. Jhenae, Excudebat Christianus Rhodius.* 1557.

There is nothing incredible in this, for it is said to have been one of his maxims, that "when one had concluded terms with either party, he must not omit to treat with the other."* But finally Leo concluded to league with Charles for the reconquest of Milan, and it is a very significant fact that the very day on which this alliance was made, has been assigned as the date of the edict (May 26th, 1521) against Luther and his adherents.

But it was a long time before his conclusion was reached. The Diet, originally appointed at Nürnberg for the beginning of January, could not be held there on account of the breaking out of the plague in that place, and was transferred to Worms, where it was opened by the Emperor in person on the 28th of January 1521. The great object of Charles in this Diet was to consolidate his power, to secure the confidence of his German subjects and obtain their united support against his great rival Francis I., of France. The talk about a war with the Turks, was only a cover for other plans. But the German Princes and cities (then a great power in German politics) wanted relief from burdensome taxation, from whatever quarter it might come, whether from the Empire or the Church. With this view they presented their celebrated "*Hundred Grievances*"†—a list of one hundred and one abuses, of which they demanded the correction. But the Pope, represented by his Nuncios, Alexander and Caracciolo regarded the condemnation of Luther, and his being placed under the ban of the Empire, as the great point for which he was to labor. But the German Princes, even those who had no great sympathy with Luther, revolted at the idea of condemning him without a hearing. Charles was therefore compelled to concede this, and called upon the Elector of Saxony, in whose dominions he was residing, to have him brought to Worms. Frederick the Wise, to whom, more than to any one else, Charles was indebted for his imperial crown, declined to do this, unless the Emperor would give him his own Imperial safe conduct, and that of the Empire, that is to say, the Emperor's word of honor and an official declaration by him on behalf of the Empire, that Luther should suffer no injury, either

*Suriano, Relatione de 1533, as quoted by Ranke in his "History of the Popes," p. 30 Am. Ed. 1845.

† "Centum Gravamina."

on his way to the Diet, during his attendance upon its sessions, or upon his return thence to the place of his abode. To this Charles was compelled to assent, though reluctantly, and against the strongest remonstrances of the Papal Nuncio. We have the result, as far as Luther is concerned, in the following narrative, which seems to have been drawn up by Nicholas von Amsdorff, who accompanied Luther to Worms, published soon after his return to Wittenberg, and subsequently incorporated into the great folio edition of Luther's Latin works, which von Amsdorff commenced to publish at Jena, soon after Luther's death. (His Preface bears the date of January 1st, 1556.) It is, therefore, a contemporary account, by an eye-witness, of that most interesting assemblage, the Diet of Worms of 1521, and of Luther's sayings and doings, both inside and outside of the Diet, during the ten days of his sojourn in Worms.

My main object, however, in making this translation, was to give a full report of Luther's celebrated speech before the Diet, of which I know not that there is elsewhere any English version. Even D'Aubigne's version of this speech covering several pages of his History of the Reformation,* and first translated from German into French and then from French into English, has sundry serious gaps in it. By the notes appended I have endeavored to illustrate both the text itself, and various historical circumstances which seemed to need elucidation. Tr.

THE LETTER OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. TO DOCTOR MARTIN LUTHER, WHEREBY HE WAS CALLED TO THE DIET AT WORMS

Charles, by the grace of God, Emperor† of the Romans, perpetual Augustus,‡ etc., to our honorable, beloved and devoted Martin Luther, of the Augustinian order:

Honorable, Beloved and Pious: Inasmuch as WE and

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*Vol. II, p. 261 to 264 of American Tract Society's Edition.

†D'Aubigne (Hist. Ref. 2, p 224 Am. Ed.) has it "Emperor elect," which is not in our text. Charles V. was elected Emperor of Germany in 1519, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle before the Diet of Worms.

‡D'Aubigne (*ubi supra*) has "*always august*," which is probably a silp of his English translator.

the Estates of the Holy Empire now here assembled have proposed and determined to examine you in reference to the doctrine and the books, sometime since published by you, we have given you for your coming hither, and for your departure hence, for your safe protection, our own, and the Empire's free and direct security and safe conduct,* which we herewith send you.

It is our desire that you immediately enter upon your journey, so that you may, without fail, be with us within the twenty-one days specified in this our safe conduct, and not remain at home, nor fear any violence or injury. For it is our will, in our aforesaid safe conduct, firmly to defend you, and we are assured that you will come. By so doing you will fulfil our strict intentions. Given at Worms, on the 6th day of March, A. D. 1521, and of our reign [the second."]†

THE ACTS OF THE REVEREND FATHER DR. MARTIN LUTHER AUGUSTINIAN, BEFORE HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, THE ELECTORAL PRINCES, AND THE ESTATES OF THE EMPIRE IN THE DIET OF THE PRINCES AT WORMS.

In the year of our salvation 1521, on the third day after the Sunday of *Misericordia Domini*,‡ Doctor Martin Luther, of the Order of Augustinians entered Worms,§ being called,

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*In the margin of the Jena folio edition of Luther's Works, it reads: "*Salvus conductus imperatoris pro D. M. L.*" "The Emperor's safe conduct for Dr. M. L.," as though this were the safe conduct itself; but from what follows we learn that this was only the letter to Luther, enclosing the safe conduct. D'Aubigne (*ubi sup.* note to p. 225,) says that a copy of the safe conduct itself is found in "*Lucas Cranach's Stammbach*, etc." to which I have not access. He quotes its address, which is the same as that of the letter in our text, and also its opening words, which give the Emperor's titles in detail, but none of its material contents.

†I take the words in brackets from D'Aubigne, who also adds this: "By order of My Lord, the Emperor, witness my hand, Albert, Cardinal of Mentz, High Chancellor, Nicholas Zwil."

‡The dates, are, of course, according to Old Style. The Sunday, "*Misericordia Domini*," is, according to the English calendar, the second Sunday after Easter, which would place Luther's arrival in Worms on Tuesday, April 16th, 1521.

§Worms is situated on the left bank of the Rhine, twenty-six miles

thither by the Emperor Charles, of that name the V., King of Spain, Archduke of Austria, &c., who, in the first year of his reign, held the first Electoral Diet in that Imperial City.

And whereas, three years before, Dr. Martin had set forth certain Paradoxes* as subjects for discussion, at Wittenberg, in Saxony, in opposition to the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, (which propositions had, meanwhile, been in various ways attacked, condemned and burnt by the Papal party, but yet refuted by no one, either by Scripture or by sound reasons)—the matter began to create disturbance, the common people defending the cause of the Gospel against the clergy. On this account it was determined, at the instigation of the Roman legates† to send for Luther himself,—an imperial herald, and letters of safe conduct being given for this purpose by the Emperor and Princes of the Empire. He is cited, comes, and lodges in the hostelry of the Cross-bearing Soldiers, or as they are generally called, the Knights of the Teutonic Order.‡ Received as their guest, many Counts, Barons, Knights of the Golden Fleece, nobles, clergyman and laymen continued to call upon him and pay their respects, until late at night.

But his arrival was contrary to the expectation of many, both adversaries and others, for although he had been cited by an Imperial messenger and by letters, pledging to him the public faith, yet inasmuch as, a few days before his arrival, his books had been condemned by placards openly posted, and by public authority,§ no one thought that he would come after having thus been prejudged. And when his friends‖ held a deliberation in the neighboring city of

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South of Mentz. It was anciently one of the residences of the Frankish sovereigns. The site of the Council Hall, in which the Diet before which Luther appeared was held, is now occupied by a Lutheran Church.

*"Paradoxes" are propositions opposed to commonly received opinions. The reference is evidently to Luther's "Ninety-five Theses," and similar discussions.

†Caraccioli and Aleander.

‡D'Aubigne's translator, p. 248, calls it "the hotel of the Knights of Rhodes."

§An imperial edict.

‖The margin of the original has this curious remark, "Bucer meets

Oppenheim, where Luther first heard of these things, and most of them advised that he should not expose himself to danger, seeing that these beginnings were contrary to the faith that had been given him, after he had listened to every thing, he replied with great courage: "Having been called, I have determined, and my resolution is unalterable, to enter the city in the name of the Lord Jusus Christ, even though I knew there were as many devils opposed to me as there are tiles upon the roofs of the whole city."* On the second day after his arrival, (Wednesday) Ulrich von Pappenheim, a nobleman, Imperial Master of Horse, being sent by the Emperor came before dinner, conveying to Doctor Martin the Emperor's mandate, that at four o'clock in the afternoon, he should appear before His Imperial Majesty, the Princes, Electors, Dukes and other Orders of the Empire, to hear the grounds of his citation; which Doctor Martin received as he was bound to do. So immediately after the striking of the fourth hour of that day, came Lord Ulrich von Pappenheim and Caspar Sturm, the Imperial herald in Germany (by whom Dr. Martin had been cited from Wittenberg, and who had also attended him to Worms) These gentlemen escorted him through the garden of the Teutonic hostelry into the lodging place of the Count Palatine. That he might not be inconvenienced by the crowd which was great on the direct way to the Imperial residence, he was conveyed to the audience hall† along certain secret stairways. But many still recognized him, were with difficulty prevented by force from entering the hall of the Diet along with him. A great number also, in their desire of seeing Luther, mounted upon the tops of the shops. When now he stood in the presence of His Imperial Majesty, and the Princes, Electors, and Dukes, in short, of all the Orders of the Empire, who were then with the Emperor, Dr. Martin was first admonished by Ulrich von Pappenheim, that he should not speak until he was called upon to do so. Then the Chancellor‡ of His Imperial Majesty, John von Eck,§

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him in the city of Oppenheim, dissuading him from entering the city, suborned thereto by the Archbishop (Albert) of Mentz."

*The Latin text reads "orbis," evidently a misprint for "*urbis.*"

†The latter is "*adjutorium,*" which is no doubt a misprint for "*auditorium.*"

‡The Latin term is "*Orator*"—spokesman.

§Not Luther's famous adversary of the same name.

Official General of the Bishop of Treves,* by the command of His Imperial Majesty, speaking in a clear and loud voice, first in Latin and then in German, set forth these ideas, in the manner following, or to that effect: "Martin Luther, His sacred and invincible Majesty, by the advice of all the Orders of the holy Roman Empire, has commanded you to be called hither to the throne of his Majesty, that he might question you upon these two points: First, Do you acknowledge that these books here present, (pointing to a pile† of his books, written in Latin and in German,) which are circulated under your name as their author, are yours, and do you acknowledge them as yours or not? Secondly, Will you retract and revoke them and their contents, or will you rather adhere to and persevere in the same?"

Here, before Luther could reply, Mr. Jerome Schurff,‡ who stood by Luther's side as his adviser, exclaimed: "Let the titles of the books be read." Whereupon the official of Treves read the names of those books of Doctor tor Martin which were printed at Basle, among which were enumerated his "*Commentaries upon the Psalter*,"§ the "Tract upon Good Works,"‖ his "Commentary upon the Lords' Prayer," and also some other Christian tracts, not of a controversial character.¶

After these things, and in reply thereto, Dr. Martin thus answered, first in Latin and then in German:

"Two questions are proposed to me by His Imperial Majesty. First, whether I am willing to acknowledge all the books bearing my name as mine? Secondly, whether I will defend them or retract any of those things which

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*Richard von Greiffenklau.

†It is said that there were some twenty volumes or tracts in the pile, and that they were collected by Aleander's industry. D'Aubigne II., 293.

‡Schurff was a distinguished lawyer of Wittenberg, and had accompanied Luther from that place.

§Luther's "Operationes in XXII. Psalmos Priores" is probably the work here referred to. These were lectures delivered to the theological students at Wittenberg, and first published in 1519.

‖"*Libellus de bonis operibus.*"

¶Luther's "*De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ*" appeared in 1520, was very offensive to the Romanists, and, doubtless, among those here brought forward for condemnation.

have heretofore been written and published by me? To which I shall reply as briefly and correctly as may be in my power.

"First, I cannot but acknowledge the books just named as mine, nor will I ever deny any of them. But as to what follows, viz: That I should state whether I will defend them all alike or revoke anything? Inasmuch as this is a question touching faith, and the salvation of souls, and as it concerns the divine word, than which nothing is greater, whether in heaven or upon earth, and which we are all justly bound to revere, it would be rash and perilous for me to advance anything thoughtlessly. Without premeditation I might assert something less than the thing demands, or more than the truth admits, either of which things would expose me to that censure of Christ, when He says, "*Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in Heaven.*"* I therefore, for this reason, and most earnestly ask of His Impereal Majesty time for deliberation, in order that I may answer this question without any prejudice to the divine word, or peril to my own soul."

Thereupon there was a deliberation of the Princes, the result of which was thus given by the official of Treves: "Martin Luther, although you might already sufficiently understand, from the Imperial mandate, the design of your citation, and do not for that reason deserve any longer delay for reflection, yet, out of the clemency natural to him, His Imperial Majesty will grant you the indulgence of one day for your meditation, so that you appear before him tomorrow at the same hour; upon this condition, however, that you are not to set forth your sentiments in writing, but express them in spoken words."

After this Doctor Martin was reconducted by the herald to his hostel. In regard to which matter we must not omit to state, that both whilst Luther was going to hear the Emperor's orders, and also when he was actually in the assembly of the Princes, he was exhorted by different persons to be courageous, to quit himself like a man, "*not to fear those who could only kill the body, but had no power to kill soul, but rather to fear Him who would destroy both soul and body in hell.*" *Likewise*, "*When ye shall stand be-*

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*Mat. 9; 33.

*fore kings take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that same hour."**

On the following Friday, after four in the afternoon, came the herald to convey Dr. Martin to the Emperor's court, where on account of the engagement of the Princes, he remained until six o'clock, waiting amid a crowd of men who jostled each other an account of their numbers. When the Diet had once more come into session, &c., Dr. Martin stood before them; the official addressed him as follows:

"Martin Luther! His Imperial Majesty yesterday assigned this hour for your hearing, inasmuch as you openly acknowledge the books which we enumerated to you to be yours; but for the question, whether you would recall any of those statements, or defend all of them? you asked time for deliberation, which is now ended. You had, indeed, no right to a longer space for reflection, as you have so long known for what you were called hither. Moreover a matter of faith ought to be so certain to all, that each one, whenever called upon, could give a certain and consistent account of the same—much more you, a Professor of Theology, so distinguished and so well practiced. But now, at length, come and reply to the question of His Majesty, whose kindness you have experienced in the time that he has granted you for reflection. Will you defend all the books which you acknowledge as yours? Or, will you retract anything?" The official said these things, first in Latin, and then in German.

Doctor Martin also answered in Latin and in German, but humbly, not clamorously, modestly, yet not without Christian courage and firmness, and in such a way that his adversaries wished that both his language and his spirit had been more abject. Still more anxiously did they desire a recantation, of which they had conceived some hope from his demand for time to deliberate. But he replied thus:

"Most serene Lord and Emperor, most illustrious Princes, and most gracious Lords: I appear in obedience to your commands at the time prescribed to me yesterday evening, praying you, by the mercy of God, your most sincere Majesty, and your most illustrious Lordships would deign graciously to hear (as I hope you will do)

*Mat. 10; 18-20. The citations are from the Latin Vulgate.

this cause of truth and justice. And if, in my ignorance, I shall fail to give to any one his proper titles, or offend in any way against court etiquette and language, I pray you graciously to pardon me, as I am a man accustomed not to courts but to the corners of a monastery, and who can testify nothing else concerning myself than that I have hitherto taught and written with simplicity of mind as to have only in view the glory of God and the sincere edification of Christ's faithful people.

"Most serene Emperor, and most illustrious Princes, in regard to those two articles proposed to me yesterday by your most serene Majesty, namely: Whether I recognize as mine the books enumerated and published under my name? And whether I would persevere in defending these or retract them? To the former article I gave a plain and prompt reply, in which I still persist, and will do so forever, namely: That those books are mine and published by me, in my own name, unless, perchance, anything has been changed in them, either by the craft of enemies, or by an overweening wisdom either adding to, or subtracting from them. I do not acknowledge anything which is not wholly my own work and written by me alone without any other man's officious interpretation.

"But in answering to the second point I beg your most serene Majesty and your Lordships that my books are not all of the same kind. There are some of them in which I have so simply and evangelically discussed piety in faith and morals, that even my adversaries are compelled to confess that they are useful, innocent, and altogether worthy to be read by Christians. Yea, even the Papal bull, fierce and cruel as it is, declares some of my books harmless, although, by a monstrous decision, it condemns even these. If, therefore, I should begin to retract these, what, I pray you, should I do, except that I alone of all men should condemn that truth which friends and foes alike confess—I alone opposing that concordant confession of all men?

"There is another class of my books which assails the Papacy and the doctrine of Papists—those namely, who alike by their most wretched doctrines and examples have devastated the Christian world by evils inflicted upon both soul and body. For neither can any one deny or dissemble, seeing it is testified to by the adherence and complaints of all, that by the laws of the Pope and the doc-

trines of men, the consciences of the faithful are most miserably ensnared, and vexed, and tortured, whilst their property and substance, especially in this renowned nation of Germany, are devoured by an amazing tyranny—yea, even now devoured without end, and in the most shameful manner. And yet even they themselves in their own laws, (as in Dist. 9 and 25, 21 and 22,*) provide that the laws and doctrines of the Pope contrary to the gospel, or to the opinions of the Fathers, shall be regarded as erroneous, and reprobated.†

"If, therefore, I were to revoke these books, I should do nothing else than strengthen tyranny, and open not merely the windows but the doors,† but so great an impiety would then extend its ravages more widely and more unrestrainedly than it has ever hitherto dared to do. Aided by the testimony of this my retraction, their iniquitous dominion will become most licentious and unchecked, and more intolerable than ever to the poor people, and at the same time strengthened and established, especially if they shall be able to boast, that this was done by me under the authority of your most serene Majesty, and of the whole Roman Empire. Good God! what a covering shall I thus have become for tyranny and wickedness.

"A third class of my books is composed of such as I have written against some private persons and individuals, those, namely, who have endeavored to defend Romish tyranny, and to weaken the piety which I have taught. Against these I confess that I have been more severe than was becoming either to religion or my profession. But I do not pretend to be a saint, nor to discuss my own life, but only the doctrines of Christ. Yet it would not be right for me to retract even these, inasmuch as the result would be, that after such a retraction, tyranny and impiety would be strengthened by my assistance, and rage more violently against the people of God than they ever did before.

"Yet inasmuch as I am a man, and not God, I cannot defend my books in any other way than my Lord Jesus Christ defended his doctrines. When He was asked before Annas concerning his doctrine, and received a blow from

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*The reference is to the Canon laws.

†"Valvas"—the folding doors.

the servant*, He said, "*If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.*"† If the Lord himself, who knew that He could not err, did not refuse to bear testimony against His doctrine, even from the vilest of slaves, how much more ought I, the dregs of the earth, who can do nothing but err, expect it and desire it, if any one wishes to bear testimony against my doctrine?

"I therefore beg by the mercy of God, that your most serene Majesty, your most illustrious Lordships, or whoever it may be, whether the highest or the lowest, would give such testimony, convict my errors, and correct me by the prophetical and evangelical Scriptures. I shall be most ready, if better instructed, to retract any error whatever, and will then be the first to throw my books into the fire.

"I think that it is thus apparent, that I have duly considered and pondered the dangers and perils, the dissensions and violence excited, in consequence of my doctrine throughout the world, and of which I was yesterday so gravely and strongly admonished. To me, in such matters, the most cheering of all indications is to see contests and violence arise on account of God's word. For that is the course, the fortune and the issue of the word of God; for He says, "I *am not come to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to divide the father against the son and the son against the father.*"‡

We must therefore remember that our God is wonderful and terrible in His counsels, lest, perchance, that which is undertaken with so great zeal, if we begin by condemning the word of God, may afterwards turn into an overwhelming flood of misfortunes. Let us beware lest the reign of this most excellent and youthful§ Prince Charles, (in whom next to God our hope is greatest) thus become ill-omened and unfortunate.

"I might illustrate this subject more fully by scriptural examples such as Pharaoh, the King of Babylon, and the Kings of Israel, who then most completely destroyed themselves, when they aimed at pacifying and establishing their kingdoms by the wisest counsels. For it is He

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*St. John 18; 22. †Ibid V., 23.

‡St. Luke 12; 53.

§Charles V., born in 1501, was now in his twenty-first year.

who "*taketh the wise in their own craftiness*,"* and "*overturneth the mountains, before they are aware of it.*"† It is therefore necessary, for us to fear God. I do not say these things as though such lofty personages as those, before whom I speak, had much either of my learning or of my admonitions, but because it ill becomes me to withold my services from my beloved Germany.‡ And, with these things, I commend myself to your most serene Majesty and your most illustrious Lordships, humbly beseeching that they would not allow the violence of my enemies to render me odious to them without cause. I have done."

To this speech the Imperial orator replied in a threatening style, that he had not answered to the point, and that matters which had long since been condemned and decided by councils ought not to be brought in question again. Therefore, a simple and unsophisticated§ answer was demanded from him—would he, or would he not, retract?

To which Luther replied: "Since, then, your most serene Majesty and your Lordships demand a simple answer, I will give it, without either horns or teeth,‖ in this manner: Unless I shall have been convinced by evidence derived from the Scriptures, or overpowered by clear reasons in the passages of Scripture adduced by me, (for I do not trust either to Pope or Councils alone, since it is evident that they have often erred and contradicted themselves,) and unless my conscience is taken captive by the word of God, I neither can, nor will retract anything, inasmuch as it is neither safe nor honest to do anything concontrary to conscience. Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; God be my help. Amen."¶

This speech thus delivered by Doctor Martin, the Princes proceeded to consider. After it had been examined, the Official of Treves began to tear it in pieces in this style:

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*Job 5; 13.

†Job 9, 5. The English version has it. "Which removeth the mountains and they know it."

‡"*Meæ*"—my own Germany?"

§The original is "*cornutum*"—"*horned*, referring to the logical dilemma, which is spoken of as having two horns.

‖*Neque cornutum, neque dentatum.*"

¶"Hier stehe ich; ich kan nicht anders; Gott helfe mir. Amen," which is almost untranslatable.

"You have answered with less modesty, Martin, than becomes your person, and not to the point. You have divided your books into various classes, and yet all that you have said has nothing to do with the question proposed to you. But if you had recanted those, in which the greater part of your errors are found, His Imperial Majesty, out of his innate clemency, would undoubtedly have prevented the condemnation of the others which are good. But you resuscitate errors which the whole Council of Constance, assembled from the whole of Germany, condemned, and desire to be corrected by the Scriptures; in which you are certainly crazed. For what is the use of re-opening the discussion in regard to matters, settled by the Church and a Council for so many ages,* unless indeed a reason must be rendered to everybody upon every matter. But if it shall once have become established, that every one who contradicts the decrees of Councils and the Church, must be refuted by the Scriptures, then we shall have nothing certain or determined in Christendom. And this is the reason why His Imperial Majesty demands of you a simple and plain answer, either negative or affirmative. Will you defend all your sentiments as Catholic? Or will you revoke any of them?"

Then Doctor Martin requested that His Imperial Majesty would not permit him to be forced to retract, contrary to his conscience, which was taken captive and held bound by the Sacred Scriptures, and without conclusive arguments by his opponents. As to the unsophisticated, simple and direct answer which is demanded, he had no other to give than that which he had already given. Unless his opponents could extricate his conscience from what they called his errors by satisfactory argument, he was not able to escape from the net, in which he was entangled. That all the decrees of Councils were not necessarily true; yea, Councils had often erred and issued decrees contradictory, the one of the other. Hence, the argument of his opponents was not valid; that he could show that Councils had erred, and that he could not revoke that which was written with the greatest plainness in the Scriptures.

To these things no answer was made by the Official, except to say very briefly that it could not be shown that a

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*The Council of Constance was held from A. D. 1414 to A. D. 1418, something over a century before.

Council had erred. But Doctor Martin declared that he was able and willing to prove this.

It was not until darkness had gathered throughout the whole audience chamber, that they retired to their place of abode. As he was retiring from the tribunal of His Imperial Majesty, a great part of the Spaniards assailed that man of God, Luther, with sneer and jeers, and sent after him a long continued groan.

On the sixth day after *Misericordiam Domini*, (Friday, April 19,) upon the assembling of the Electoral Princes, Dukes, and other Orders of the Diet, usually present at its deliberations, the Emperor sent in a written message, as follows:*

"Our ancestors, who were also Christian Princes, were none the less obedient to the Roman Church, which Doctor Martin Luther now assails. And seeing that he has made up his mind not to depart a finger's breadth from his errors, neither can we, with honor, depart from the example of our ancestors in defending the ancient faith, and

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*Cochlaeus, (as quoted by D'Aubigne, vol. 2, p. 271,) says that this was "an autograph message written [by the Emperor] in the Burgundian language, with his own hand." D'Aubigne's account of this missive is so different from our text, that I insert his professed translation entire, for their easier comparison. It is as follows: "Descended from the Christian emperors of Germany, from the Catholic kings of Spain, and the archdukes of Austria, and from the dukes of Burgundy, who have all been renowned as defenders of the Roman faith, I am firmly resolved to imitate the example of my ancestors. A single monk, misled by his own folly, has risen against the faith of Christendom. To stay such impiety, I will sacrifice my kingdoms, my treasures, my friends, my body, my blood, my soul and my life. I am about to dismiss the Augustine Luther, forbidding him to cause the least disorder among the people; I shall then proceed against him and his adherents, as contumacious heretics, by excommunication, by interdict, and by every means calculated to destroy them. I call on the members of the States to behave like faithful Christians." The difference is accounted for by the fact that D'Aubigne does not adhere to original documents, but selects from all accessible sources, whatever (like a true Frenchman, as he is) he considers most dramatic. He has here translated first from the German version of the Latin of our text, and has then inserted a highly rhetorical passage from Pallavicini's Hist. I, 118.

giving aid to the Roman See. We shall therefore put Luther himself and his adherents under the law, and employ whatever means we may to destroy them. But we we will not violate the faith which we have given and written. On the contrary, we will aid him in returning in safety to the place, whence we brought him."

This proposition of Charles, the Electoral Princes, the Dukes and Estates of the Empire, discussed, through the whole forenoon of Friday, and also on the whole Sabbath which followed, and Dr. Martin, had hitherto received no answer from His Imperial Majesty.

Meanwhile he was visited and seen by many Princes, Counts, Barons, Knights, Nobles, ministers of religion, and laymen, to say nothing of great numbers of the common people. These last continually crowded the court, and could never be satisfied with seeing him. Two placards were likewise stuck up, the one against Doctor Luther, the other, apparently, in favor of the Doctor. But that is supposed by many, and those intelligent persons, to have been done by the craft of his enemies, that a pretext might be afforded for revoking the safe conduct which had been given him, and which the Roman legates most earnestly sought to have done.* On the Monday after *Jubilate*,† before supper, the Archbishop of Treves sent word to Doctor Martin Luther, that he should appear before him on the Wednesday following, at six o'clock, the place to be designated afterwards. On St. George's day, about supper time, the chaplain of the Archbishop of Treves, by the command of his Prince, returned to Luther, requesting his presence in his Lord's hostelry, on the next day but one.

On the Wednesday following St. George's day, Doctor Martin, in obedience to this command, enters the hostelry of the Archbishop of Treves, conducted by the Archbishop's chaplain and the Imperial herald, being accompanied by those who attended him hither from Sax-

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*D'Aubigne (*ubi supra*) says: "Charles, if we may credit a historian, bitterly repented in after years, that he did not adopt this infamous suggestion." But if we take what we have presented above as a genuine copy of his autograph message to the Diet, we may well acquit him of any such dishonorable intentions. He there voluntarily and distinctly pledges himself to keep his pledged word inviolate to its full extent.

†The third Sunday after Easter, in our calendar.

ony, by Thuringians and some others of his especial friends. When he came to the presence of the Archbishop of Treves he found him surrounded by Joachim, the Marquis of Brandenburg, George, the Duke of Saxony, the Bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, Count George the Master of the Teutonic Order, John Bock of Aargau, and the Doctors Werdheymer and Peutinger. Doctor Væus (Wehe,) the Privy Counsellor of Baden, began to speak, protesting, "That he had not been called, in order that they might hold a controversy with him, but that, out of mere Christian charity and clemency, the Princes had obtained permission from His Imperial Majesty to give him a kind and fraternal exhortation.

Then he says: "Councils, although they have established different decrees, have never established contradictory ones. But even if they had erred in the highest degree, even that did not overthrow their authority, at least not so, that any one who pleased could oppose them at his own pleasure." He had a great deal to say about the Centurion and Zaccheus, also about human constitutions, ceremonies and statutes, asserting that they were all established for the repression of vices, according to the circumstances and necessities of the times, and that the Church could not do without her human constitutions. The tree was known by its fruits. It was said, however, that many good things were derived from the laws; that St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and many other saints had attended councils.

Secondly, that his books would excite great commotions and incredible disorders; that the common people would abuse his book "*On Christian Liberty*," to throw off the yoke and establish insubordination; that matters were very different now from what they were, when believers had but one heart and one mind. Laws were therefore necessary.

Moreover it was to be considered, that although he had written many good things, and, beyond all doubt, with a good spirit, as in regard to the "*Threefold Justice*,* and other works, that the devil was now secretly laying his snares that all of his [Luther's] works might be forever condemned. For from these his last writings, it would be truly shown that the tree was not known by its flower, but by its fruit.

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*"*De triplici Justitia*," a short tract, written by Luther in 1518.

Finally, he added something about "the devil at noonday,"* and "the affair that walketh in darkness," and "the flying arrow." The whole speech was of a hortatory character with rhetorical passages about the honor and utility of laws, far remote from the region of the dangers of conscience, but full of the public and private safety. Then alike in the beginning, in the middle, and at the end, he insisted again and again, that this admonition was administered to him by the Princes with the strongest good will, and out of an especial clemency. At the close, by way of epilogue, he subjoined threats, saying that it would come to pass that if he persisted in his purpose, the Emperor would go forward and banish him from the Empire, and exhorting him to lay these, and the like things, to heart and duly weigh them.

Doctor Martin replied: "Most gracious and most illustrious Princes and Lords, I thank you with all the humility that I can, for the most kind and most gracious benignity which has suggested your admonition. For I recognize myself to be a person entirely too insignificant to be admonished by such distinguished Princes."

He then declares freely, that he had not blamed all Councils, but only that of Constance, especially on this account, that it had condemned the word of God. This appears in this article of John Huss, which was there condemned: "The Church of Christ is likewise the whole body of the elect.† It is certain that the Council of Constance condemned this article, and so, consequently, this article of our faith," *I believe in the holy Catholic Church.*" He said that he did not refuse to offer up both his life and his blood, only let him not be placed in such a position that he should be compelled to deny the plain word of God. For in defending this we must obey God rather than men.

Nor could he here prevent scandal to the faith. For scandal is two-fold—of charity and of faith. Of charity, which depends upon manners and the life, and of faith or doctrine, which is dependent upon the word of God. And this it was not now in his power to avoid. For it was

*The references is to the 91st Psalm, verses 5 and 6, where the Septuagint also reads "δαιμονιου" and "πραγματος" instead of "destruction" and "pestilence" as in the English version.

"†Ecclesia Christi"—*est et unversitas predestinatorum*—translate "*praedestinatorum*" "*elect,*" as we are not accustomed in English to speak of "*the predestinated.*"

not in his power, that Christ should not be a rock of offences. If the sheep of Chaist were fed with the pure pasturage of the gospel, the faith of Christ truly preached, and the officers of the Church good and pious, so as to perform their duties faithfully, there was no need to load the Church with human traditions, &c. That he knew that it was a duty to obey magistrates and rulers, even when they lived badly and unjustly. He knew that we must yield to our own feeling, and that he had taught this in his writings, and that he would perform all these things most obediently, only let him not be compelled to deny the word of God.

Doctor Martin having withdrawn, the Princes deliberated upon the answer, which should be made to him. Having recalled him to the dining-room, the Baden Doctor repeated what he had said before, urging him to submit his writings to the judgment of the Emperor and the Empire.

Doctor Martin answered humbly and modestly, that he did not, and would not suffer any one to say that he had declined the judgment of the Emperor, of the Princes and Estates of the Empire. For so far was he from fearing their investigation, that he gave the right, even to the lowest, of examining his books with the greatest strictness, provided, it were done under the authority of the divine word, and of the sacred Scriptures. But that the word of God was so manifestly upon his side, that he could not yield, unless he were better instructed by the word of God. For that St. Augustine wrote, that he had learned to give this honor only to those books which are called canonical, that he would believe them true; but as to other Doctors, however distinguished by sanctity or learning, he only then believed them, when they wrote that which was true. Moreover St. Paul had written to the Thessalonians,* "*Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.*" And to the Galatians: "*Even though an angel should come from heaven, and preach anything else, let him be Anathema,*"† and so he was not to be believed. He, therefore, most earnestly begged that they would not urge his conscience, bound by the bonds of Scripture and the Divine word, to

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*Thess. 5, 21.

†Gal. 1, 8. Luther, of course, quotes from the Latin Vulgate, and for the sense rather than with verbal accuracy.

deny the word of God, which was so plain. "He begged that they would regard him favorably, and especially that they would prevail upon his Imperial Majesty, that he might not be compelled in this matter to do anything contrary to his conscience; otherwise, there was nothing that he would not do with the greatest readiness.

The Elector John, Marquis of Brandenburg, asked him as he was saying these things, whether he had said that he would not yield, unless convinced by sacred Scripture? Doctor Martin replied: "Yes, most gracious Lord, or by most clear and evident reasons."

Thus this conference being dissolved, and the other Princes going to the Diet, the Archbishop of Treves called Doctor Martin to his dining-room, having his own chancellor, John Eck, and Cochlaeus* present with him. Dr. Jerome Schurff and Nicholas Amsdorff stood by Dr. Martin Luther. Thereupon the Chancellor began to argue as a sophist and a canonist,† defending the cause of the Pope. He said that heresies had almostl aways arisen from the sacred Scriptures, as for instance, the Arian, from this passage of the gospel; "*Joseph did not know his wife until she brought forth her first born son.*"‡ He then proceeded to assail the proposition, "That the Catholic Church is the whole body of the saints." He dared even to make wheat out of tares, and limbs out of the bodily excrements. These and similar ridiculous and futile things brought forward by him, Doctor Martin and Doctor Jerome Schurff, although soberly, exposed as not bearing upon the subject in hand. John Cochlaeus also sometimes putting in his clamors endeavored to persuade Doctor Luther to desist from his undertaking, and thence forward abstain from writing and teaching. Finally they withdrew.

Towards evening of the same day the Archbishop of Treves announced to Doctor Martin, through Amsdorff, that his safe conduct had been extended by the Emperor for two days longer, so that he might be able to treat with him in the meantime. For this purpose, therefore, Doctor Peutinger and the Doctor of Baden would come to him

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*One of Luther's bitterest enemies.

†One who relies upon the authority of the Church Canons.

‡St. Matt. 1, 25.

the day after to-morrow, and, in fact, he would treat with him himself.

On Thursday, therefore, which was St. Mark's day, before noon, Peutinger and he of Baden endeavored to persuade Luther that he should simply and absolutely give over to the Emperor and the Diet* the decision in regard to his writings. Luther replied, that he would do and suffer all things, if only they would decide the matter by the authority of sacred Scripture. Otherwise there was nothing that he would be disposed so to commit; for God had said by the prophet:† "*Put not your trust in Princes, nor in the son of man in whom there is no help.*" Likewise, "*Cursed be the man that trusteth in man.*"‡ That nothing was less to be given up to the judgment of men than the word of God. So they went away, asking him to deliberate so as to answer better, and saying that they would return after dinner.

Having returned after dinner, they vainly attempted the same thing that they had done in the morning. They begged that he would, at least, submit his case to the judgment of a future Council. Luther agreed to this, but upon this condition; that they should exhibit to him the articles taken from his books, which they would subject to the future Council, and yet so that they should pass sentence upon them from the Scriptures, and prove the contrary by testimonies of the same.

Thereupon having departed from Doctor Martin they tell the Archbishop of Treves that Martin had promised that he would leave his affairs to a Council in some articles, in regard to which he would, in the meantime, keep silence, of which, however, Doctor Martin had never even thought, for he was never able to be induced either by admonitions or by threats, either to deny, or to submit to human judgments his books which he had proved by clear and plain testimonies of the Scriptures, unless he could be convicted of error by holy writ, or by plain reasons.

It happened, therefore, by a singular good providence of God, that the Archbishop of Treves called Luther to him, that he might hear him personally. Then when he understood very differently from what Peutinger and he of Baden had reported to him, he declared that he would

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*The original is "*Imperium.*"

†David in Psalm 146, 3. ‡Jeremiah 17, 5.

not for a great deal have missed hearing him, for he was just upon the point of going to the Emperor and telling what those Doctors had reported to him.

But the Archbishop of Treves discussed matters very kindly with Doctor Martin, in the first instance apart from all witnesses, as well in regard to a decision by the Emperor and the Diet, as in reference to the judgment by a Council. In this conference Doctor Martin concealed nothing from the Archbishop, declaring that it would be by no means safe to leave so great a matter to those who had made new demands upon him after he had been called out under the public faith, had condemned his opinions, and approved the Pope's bull.

Then having called in a friend, the Archbishop of Treves asked of Doctor Martin what remedies he would propose for this matter? Luther answered that there were no better remedies than those which, according to the testimony of St. Luke in Acts V., 38-39, Gamaliel had proposed when he said: "If this counsel of this work be of men, it will come to *naught; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it.*" The Emperor of the Estates of the Empire might write this to the Roman Pontiff, and that he (Luther) was well assured that if this, his undertaking, was not of God, it would perish of its own accord within three years, yea within two.

To the Archbishop's inquiry as to what he would do, if the articles that should be submitted to a Council should be condemned? Luther replied, Provided only that they are not those condemned by the Council of Constance. The Archbishop said that he feared that those would be the very ones. "But," said Luther, "upon those points, I neither can, nor will be silent, inasmuch as I am sure that the word of God has been condemned by those decrees, and therefore I would rather lose my head and life than desert so clear a word of God.

The Archbishop, seeing that Doctor Martin would by no means submit the word of God to the judgment of men, graciously dismissed him, and to his request that he would obtain for him from His Imperial Majesty a gracious safe conduct,* replied that he would properly attend to the matter, and send it to him.

Not long afterwards the chancellor† of Treves, in the

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*"Clementem commeatum." †Von Eck.

presence of one who had formerly been a chancellor of the Emperor Maximilian, but was now one of the Emperor's Privy Consellors, by the Emperor's command, said to Doctor Martin, in his place of sojourn: "Inasmuch after having been so often vainly admonished by his imperial Majesty, and by the Electors, Princes and Estates of the Realm, you are unwilling to return to a hearty unity with the Church,* it only remained that His Majesty (as the defender of the Catholic faith) should proceed in the discharge of his duty. It was therefore the command of the Emperor that within the twenty-one following days he should return hence to his place of security, under the public safe conduct, which he would fully† keep, and whilst on his journey he should not excite the people, either by preaching or by writing.

Having heard this message Doctor Martin replied with great modesty: "The Lord hath done as seemed to Him good, blessed be the name of the Lord." And he then added, that "he very humbly gave the most sincere thanks to his most serene Majesty, to the Princes and other Orders of the Empire, for so kind and gracious a hearing, and for their safe conduct which had been and was still to be kept; that in all that he had said he had no other desire than a reformation of the Church by the sacred Scriptures; and for which he was still most anxious. In other respects, he was willing to submit to anything for his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, whether life or death, honor or dishonor, that he would make no reservations, except the free word of God alone, to which he must always confess and give his testimony. Finally, he most humbly commended and submitted himself to his Imperial Majesty and to the whole Empire."

On the next day but one, that is to say, on the Friday after Jubilate, (April 26,) having bid adieu to his patrons and friends who had come to him in great numbers, after he had taken breakfast, he departed at ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by those who had attended him hither. The herald, Caspar Sturm, having followed him some hours later, by command of the Emperor Charles, given by his own mouth, overtook him at Oppenheim.

May God, therefore, long preserve to His Church a most pious man, born to purify Christian doctrine and illustrate

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*Ad cor et unitatem."

†Libere ipsi servando.

the glory of Christ, and raise up many others with him to preach the word with great power! Amen.

ARTICLE IV.

MISSION WORK IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THIS COUNTRY.

By Rev. D. M. Henkel, Stroudsburg, Pa.

No Protestant denomination in this country has half the amount of Mission Work to do, as that of our own Church. The tens of thousands of Germans, and yet more of Scandinavians who annually come to this country for earthly homes, very naturally look to us for spiritual homes. In addition to these, are our own native-born Lutherans, who also depend upon us for religious instruction and Church accommodations. How shall we, or can we, meet these great demands?

I. The necessity of Mission Work in our Church, in the larger towns and cities of the country, on account of language, claims our special attention. In nearly all the larger towns and cities of the country, we find those who have no preaching, no religious attention given them, on account of their language being strange to most other denominations; and their own Church, either through neglect or inability, fails to supply their spiritual wants. In consequence of this, thousands annually are lost to our Church, who either go to other denominations or to the world. This should not be; hence the great need of a more energetic and a more extended Mission Work by us, in towns and cities. The larger towns and cities are the centres of population, from which the smaller towns and rural districts are chiefly supplied, and if their spiritual interests are properly cared for, they will soon form for us thriving congregations.

There is also a necessity of Mission Work in our Church on account of our peculiar doctrines. If we believe our doctrines to be scriptural, and the nearest in accord with gospel truth, it behooves us especially, to see that they are

taught, and particularly to the children of our faith. There is a peculiarity in our religious faith and system, not found in other denominations, which seems to fit us for no other communion so well as for our own. Hence it is, that many of our faith in the larger towns and cities, having no church of their own, stand aloof from all others, and but too often are devoted to the claims of the world. Here then, is Mission Work for us to perform, not merely to keep those of our faith, who are faithful and true, in the Church, but also to reclaim and to win back those who have wandered from the fold and the Church of Christ.

II. There are difficulties in the way of Mission Work. The want of pecuniary means is a very decided hindrance to our efforts in the larger towns and cities. The great majority of our people, especially in the West, being foreigners, in indigent circumstances, have not the means to purchase lots and to build houses of worship; consequently they must wander about from place to place like sheep without a shepherd. Thus for the want of the pecuniary resources our progress hitherto has been very slow in town and city. Yet it is a satisfaction, notwithstanding this difficulty, within the last decade there has been considerable advancement. Another great difficulty, with which we have always had to contend in our Mission work, has been the want of a sufficient number of men, of the right character. It is a very great mistake, which our Church has committed, in supposing that it matters little what kind of men are selected to do Mission Work, only so they are pious and respectable preachers. This has been a great drawback to our progress, as a denomination. It is true, piety and preaching ability are two necessary qualifications for a missionary; but they are by no means all that are required. But another difficulty in the way of Missionary Work is the variety of language, required in our Church. Where one language is only required, it is comparatively easy to find men to do Mission Work, but where, as with us, in every large town, at least two languages, and in some of our large cities, as many as four are required, the difficulties are greatly increased. Such is our condition in this country, and as the old world from almost every section continues to pour into our land the children of our faith, the difficulties, connected with language, increase until we are constrained to cry out: "Come over and help us!" But who will help us? or whence will help come? The flood

is already upon us, and overwhelming us. If we are, however, faithful and energetic in the work assigned us, God, who is ever mindful of his people, will send help in our extremity.

There is yet another difficulty in the way of successful Mission Work; it is the want of Church love. Love for a cause is the great lever which surmounts every obstacle. Now where love for the Church and for her peculiar doctrines is wanting, Mission Work is difficult. And we are compelled to acknowledge that, in many of our large towns and cities, this Church love is sadly wanting, not so much in our foreign element as in our own native-born Lutherans. Why should this be? The foreign-born and indoctrinated Lutheran is taught to believe that there is something different, something distinctive in his Church and her doctrines from other denominations, which deters him from readily leaving it. Whilst on the contrary, with many of our native-born, who have been taught to believe that there is not much difference between the doctrines of his own Church and other denominations—that the name and discipline constitute the greatest difference, therefore it matters little where they belong—their love for the one Church is about as great as for another. Both, however, suffer, the members and the Church. The individual member suffers by being continually tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine, and the Church is constantly undergoing depletion. Were our youth properly instructed in the distinctive doctrines and usages of our Church, so as to be imbued with a church-love, Mission Work would then, in town and city, be less of a task, and, we would to-day, count many more churches of our denomination in the great centres of population, than we now do.

III. The necessary requisites to success in Mission Work are not so much pecuniary means as united effort. Money will erect a church edifice, yet it cannot build up a congregation of believers. But a united effort of a dozen large-hearted, faithful Christians, can organize a congregation, and, if they cannot, at once build a church, they can, at least, secure a place in which to hold worship. We know from experience what it is to encounter difficulties in the way of building up churches in large towns, and we also know what will overcome those difficulties where money is not at hand—united and energetic effort, and

nothing else. Another requisite is the right kind of laborers. We have already said that it is a mistaken idea to suppose that if a man is only pious and possessed of a preaching ability, he has all that is necessary to success in Mission Work. There are some other qualifications just as necessary, and if not possessed, failure will follow. He should not be a novice in the ministry; sometimes, it is true, inexperienced young men succeed in Mission Work, but as a rule, they do not. He must also be a sound, earnest, gospel preacher; not necessarily a brilliant man, for such are not, generally speaking, good workers, And the danger to be apprehended in connection with brilliant men in Mission Work is, that when they leave, a collapse succeeds, because their work was not on the proper basis; the foundation was the man, not Christ. But other essentials are good sense, sound judgment, and withal good business qualifications. Mission Work above every other work in the Church, in order to succeed, requires the missionary to be possessed of these qualifications. As a general thing, in most new organizations, the minister is looked up to for advice; he is expected to lead, not to follow. It is then upon his good sense, his sound judgment, and his business qualifications that the newly organized congregation depends. But if he is deficient in either, the organization will soon come to an end. Another requisite is perseverance. He who is deficient in this, cannot expect to be very successful. When others despond and are fearful, then must the Missionary be cheerful and hopeful. When others are ready to yield, and to sink under difficulties, then must the Missionary come with his resources and cheer up the faint-hearted, and raise the enterprise from its depression. He must also possess honesty of character, must not only be honest in his dealings as a business man, but also as a preacher of the doctrines he professes to advocate. There is nothing which so soon and so effectually breaks up a new organization, as dishonesty. Whenever discerning men see in the minister, whom they have called to lead in the dissemination of our distinctive doctrines, a disposition to occupy an equivocal position, and an effort to compromise our doctrines, then difficulties begin and divisions ensue, or a total disorganization is the result. Much valuable ground has been lost by pursuing just such a course. On every hand our Church calls for Mission Work. May it be our

aim, as much as possible, to supply this demand. If any one class of ministers more than another needs the aid, the prayers, and the sympathies of the Church, it is the missionary. For he is the frontiers-man who fells the forest, clears the land and thus prepares a habitation; and though rude in appearance, it is the foundation for a subsequent structure of more symmetrical proportion and imposing appearance. He is the miner who from the bottom of the mine, throws up the jewel in its rough state, and places it in other and more expert hands, to be polished and to be set in its appropriate place. But whilst he is thus engaged, let us not disparage him, or his work, as is too often the case, but rather let us encourage and assist him in his arduous work, for we cannot do without him.

ARTICLE V.

THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT: REVELATION, IV.

By Rev. P. Bergstresser, A. M., Taneytown, Md.

St. John, the author of the book Revelation, having written a different letter to each of the seven churches of Asia Minor, is now favored, (ch. IV.) with a symbolical representation of the Divine Government, as carried on in the interest of Christ's kingdom. The subject is complicated, and comparatively little has been written on the chapter under review.

The existence of the Divine Government does not need much proof, if we believe in a personal Deity. It is established in Natural Theology, that all things are made and preserved by God, who knows thoroughly all our physical and moral susceptibilities, even the thoughts and intents of our hearts. "In Him we live, and move, and have our being."

That the Divine Government is moral in its nature, must be inferred from its end, and from the nature of God. Its valid ground lies in God's intrinsic perfections. God fully

knows his own excellence, and governs accordingly. He is the standard of all virtue and truth, the object and end of his legislation, and He is desirous that all his intelligent creatures, in heaven and on earth, should be wrought up to this, for which he holds out many inducements, and in which alone, is found true and permanent happiness. Man finds within himself a moral want, which can become satisfied only, as the soul is assimilated in moral excellence to the Deity. He has capacities for higher communings than any which human society affords. He has spiritual susceptibilities, and is truly a being fitted for religious worship and service. This is already seen in the key-verse of the chapter under consideration, which says: "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." Thus the deepest want of the human soul is supplied by the divinely appointed and the authoritative method of appearing before God, and in confiding love and trust, pouring out the whole religious being in adoration, and receiving the pledges of the divine approbation and favor. So St. Paul: "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ: by whom also, we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in the hope of the glory of God." (Rom. 5 : 1, 2.) For this the Divine Government is instituted and carried on in the interest of Christ's kingdom, through whom alone the creature can find his way up in adoration to the Father of spirits. Man needs a discipline, which no being but God, as Father, Son and Holy Ghost, can administer.

Sin, in every way displeasing to God, is involved in the Divine Government, as consequent upon liberty. God has given man a moral agency for the purpose of exercising himself in holiness, but in the exercise of this moral agency, sin has been evolved, not because it was not displeasing to God, but because it would have been contrary to the divine image in which man was created, for God to have excluded it by force. A free moral agency having been bestowed on man for a good end, it was competent that it should be put into exercise, notwithstanding the evolution of sin.

Although sin has now entered into the world, and perverted man's moral agency, yet it has not destroyed his personality, nor the possibility of his communication with

the Father of spirits. God's attributes and man's faculties still involve the ethical behest of authority on the one side, and of subjection on the other. But, how is this subjection to be secured in a being, alienated from his Sovereign? Reason has no answer to this question, but the Gospel has. This communication between God and man must necessarily introduce a moral government, modified in its application to sinful man by a dispensation of grace, if its original end, man's holiness, is to be recovered and maintained.

But here the conflict between reason and revelation at once commences. A person might, however, suppose that so long a time as that which human reason has given in vain to this subject, would be sufficient to baffle any further attempt to solve the moral problem by its own powers, yet the very attempt shows, that man is connected to the spirit world by ties, which cannot be severed. Hence, the readiness with which he has betaken himself in all ages to oracles and auguries. No important journey is undertaken; no wars are declared; no truces entered into; no seeds are sown; no sickness or calamity is endured, without first consulting the spirit world. Gifted men, believed to see further into the spirit world than others, were sought out; all passing events and flight of birds were noticed, and the voices, which issued from the hollow graves and slimes, and the whisper of the breezes were attentively listened to, in order to give the perplexed inquirer some intimation of supernatural guidance. While human reason, therefore, argues against the necessity of a supernatural revelation, its own history, and its own productions brought under trial, are the strongest argument in favor of both the necessity and of the possibility of such communication. Man's own history shows, that he has the abiding conviction, that God may, if He chooses, reveal his will to man in some positive way, as we have it in this chapter.

How, then, should we approach the investigation of the subject? With an abiding faith in its truthfulness. St. John says: "*After this I looked, and behold a door was opened in heaven.*" The scene is laid in heaven, but the drama is enacted on earth. The hand that moves and guides the affairs of this world, is invisible to mortal eye. But a door has been opened in heaven to all who desire to look in.

This phenomenon drew the Apostle's profoundest attention, and absorbed his spiritual being. But, for this he was prepared, having previously enjoyed a similar communication from the celestial world. It was when Christ was transfigured on Tabor. In that he had a typical illustration of the glorified state. When philosophy, therefore, doubts the possibility of such communication, we simply answer, that she is incompetent from her own resources to decide anything in reference to an order of things, which is known to us as little by conclusions of reason, as by intuition. She is wholly incompetent to know how this should be; it is, therefore, our duty as children to sit at the feet of the Revelator, and to hear what the communication from the celestial world is.

The apostle continues: "And the first voice that I heard was as it were of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter." (v. 1.) The voice which St. John had heard before, (Rev. 1 : 10,) but which is the first among others, that he heard at this time, was the voice of Jehovah, the Incarnate God. In this voice we have the strongest argument for, and the firmest hope in the existence of a spirit world. Having heard the trumpet voice, the apostle is immediately thrown into a spiritual ecstacy. St. Paul had a similar experience, "When he was caught into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for man to utter." He could not tell, whether he was in the body, or out of it during his trance; it is, therefore, useless for us to attempt to solve the mystery. It was, nevertheless, a real communication with the spirit world, like that of St. John's.

The Divine Government, a pure Theocracy.

This is inferred from what follows: "And immediately I was in the Spirit: and, behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne." (v. 2.) The throne denotes regal power, and here a pure theocracy, which is the best government that can be established, as it has the highest liberty of its subjects in view. The world has evidently departed from true liberty; it is in bondage to sin, and under the guidance of Satan, who plays a prominent part in this book.

This bondage to Satan manifests itself in ten thousand ways. This it is, that has produced the atheism, panthe-

ism and superstition in which the greater part of the race are still held. How cold and damp is atheism! How cheerless and revolting are pantheism and superstition! "Pantheism shows us a beautiful mansion—but the sight is melancholy; we have no desire to enter the building, for it is without an inhabitant; there is no warm heart to beat, no just mind to rule, in these large but tenantless halls. It gives us delusions, which serve to alleviate nothing, to solve nothing, to illuminate nothing; they are vapors, which may, indeed, show bright and gaudy colors when seen at a great distance, but in the bosom of which, if one enters, there is nothing but chill and gloom." Not so with God's spiritual temple, which he is constructing. This is inhabited; God himself is the light of it. The plan of this temple belongs to the Father Almighty; the Son has purchased the material with his own precious blood; and the Holy Spirit prepares the material, and builds it up. It is evident from this, that God's spiritual temple, is to be his masterpiece. His plan embraces the rise and fall of worlds, of empires, kingdoms, republics and states. The whole stream of history, that of men and angels, is continually sweeping around it, that, in the ages to come, He may point to this, as the monument of his grace and power. God is the author and finisher of his own habitation. Having finished it, He will also dwell in it. Then will be heard, "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. (Rev. 21 : 3.)

This pure theocracy has a perfect code of moral precepts, written in man's conscience and republished by revelation. It demands that both the outer and the inner life be in harmony with the divine will. "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." To bring man back to complete loyalty, which consists in conformity of heart and life to this code, is the object of the divine legislation. This liberty can be attained alone by the gospel. But it is evident from the description which is given, that all men will not be restored to this true liberty as it is in Christ, and that many thousands will be lost; yet all will in the end glorify God, either by their salvation, or their damnation.

The theocratic "throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne." The representation is much in the same manner as the prophet Ezekiel has given it. (Ezek. 1, 26-28.) Who does not see by this, that all things are established by God, who cannot be turned from his ultimate purpose in the creation of the world? This was to reveal his divine character, and to have it duly acknowledged by all his intelligent creatures. This shall yet be attained, which is evident from the next chapter, (verse 13,) which unfolds the practical workings of the divine government in the hands of the Lord Jesus, but which is not now the direct subject under consideration. The passage alluded to is this: "And every creature which is in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I say, Blessing, honor, glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb for ever and ever." This corresponds with what is taught us, in Rom. 14, 11. "As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess God." Sin cannot turn the Divine Legislator from his ultimate purpose; it must become subservient to his will. God is not the author of sin, but still He overrules it for the good of his Church. The introduction of sin into the world has, however, modified the Divine Government; its administration in penal justice has been changed into an administration in grace. But for this the race would have been destroyed in its progenitors. God had said to man: "But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." This sentence would have been executed immediately after the transgression, and thus the whole race would have been cut off in its progenitors, had not such change of administration in the wisdom of God been effected.

The Divine Government of the world in grace is beautifully symbolized in the chapter under consideration: "And he that sat, was to look upon like a jasper and sardine stone; and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald." In this description we find nothing of the terrible; but all moves on as if conducted by the hand of a gracious Father. The jasper was of various colors, as red, yellow, brown, and green, with the yellow predominating; the sardin stone λίθος Σάρδινος, was a precious stone of a blood-red and sometimes flesh

color; while the emerald is well known to have the green, a color so attractive to the eye. Now the green, red, and yellow are the three fundamental colors, out of which are formed the seven well-known shades of the rainbow, which is a symbol of grace—a sign of the covenant which God has made with man. "I have set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth." (Gen 9 : 13.)

What, therefore, does the Holy Spirit wish to teach us by this description of the theocratic throne? Evidently that the Divine Government is an administration in grace. This is proved by the rainbow. By the divine countenance we may be able to form an opinion as to how we stand before God. Here the divine countenance is lighted with mercy. "He that sat was to look upon like a jasper and sardine stone, &c." By the countenance we judge the feelings of another toward us. "Cain was wroth, and his countenance fell." "Jacob beheld the countenance of Laban, and, behold, it was not toward him as before." The same language is employed in referenceto the Lord—language adapted to human infirmities. "The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee." "Thou hast made him glad with thy countenance." The Bible is full of this subject.

Therefore we conclude that this whole aspect of the theocratic throne is symbolic of the administration of the world in grace, by which nations as well as individuals are disciplined for a higher sphere of existence. If it were not so, the human race would long ago have been destroyed by penal judgments; but as the design which God has in view, in afflicting men, is for their good, the world continues from generation to generation. From other portions of Scripture, however, it is distinctly seen that the Divine Government will by and by be changed again into an administration of justice, and then cometh the end. "When all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him, that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." (1 Cor. 15 : 28.) That will be at the judgment, when Christ's mediatorship shall have ceased, and He shall have assumed the character of Judge. (Rev. 20 : 12.) Herein lies a profound thought, whose consideration we will now attend to in the investigation of the

Consummation of the Divine Government.

We have a beautiful description of this in the fourth

verse of our chapter." "And round about the throne were four and twenty seats (θρόνοι:) and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders (πρεσβυτέρους,) clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold." In this description there are four things, which demand special attention: (1) the twenty-four thrones; (2) the twenty-four presbyteries; (3) the white raiment with which the presbyteries are clothed; (4) the crowns of gold.

1. *The Tweuty-four Thrones.* In this, we have the fact brought to light, that in the administration of the Divine Government, God employs divers agents, to whom he delegates the exercise of regal power; there were thrones set round about the great throne. Who cannot see from this, that God has made creatures with wills in liberty, which move independently within their prescribed limits, by means of which, God attains his ultimate end in creation? Hence, the creature, whom God has made in his own image, is not a mere machine, moved from one point to another by an invisible hand, but he is a moral agent with a will in liberty, in the creature's free exercise of which God attains his ultimate end. To rule such a world demands indeed omniscience. This gives us a sublime view of the Divine Government, which will not plunge us into the rigid logic of fatalism and materialism. That such is a proper view of man, is evident to any one who has made the operations of his own mind a subject of accurate investigation, and who has a correct comprehension of liberty in Christ, as taught in the New Testament.

2. *The twenty-four elders upon the Thrones.* These are the representatives of the redeemed ones under the Old and New Covenants; twelve for each, making twenty-four in all. These redeemed ones, from both dispensations, having passed through the divine discipline, have attained the ultimate end of their creation. They show the highest development, to which human beings can attain. Although they were at first created a little lower than the angels, yet they have, at length, come nearer the throne than the angels. So they have reached their destination! Who should refuse to submit to the divine discipline, when it conducts to so glorious an end? "Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless, afterward, it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby." (Heb. 12 : 11.) By a divine discipline in grace, He brings

us, through various stages of moral development, until we are complete in Christ.

We perceive, that the elders were sitting, which position, of course, symbolizes rest. They have now entered into the rest, which awaits all God's people. (Heb. 4 : 9.) They have now come into the heavenly Canaan, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. The conflict is over, and the victory is obtained.

3. This is further evident, from the *garments*, with which the *elders are clothed*; they are clad in white raiment. Nothing, which is morally unclean, can enter this high position in the spirit world. In the seventh chapter we are told how these garments were made white. "These are they, who have come out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." (Rev. 7 : 14.) This shows, that the Divine Government includes the Christian system for the highest moral development of fallen humanity. Except as the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ reaches man's mind and heart, there is little hope of his improvement in moral excellence. Man cannot attain to those thrones in the heavenly place by his own efforts, for the dead weight of sin, which hangs upon him, will ever draw him down to the world by its own inherent power. "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Nothing can make our garments white but the blood of Christ, who must become to us righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, in order that we may attain to the glorified state of the elders.

4. *The crowns of gold.* This denotes the regal state, to which the glorified ones have been exalted. Jesus said to his disciples: "Verily, I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." (Matt. 19 : 28.) The twenty four elders then represent the redeemed ones under the Old and New Covenants. The Church of God is identical in all ages; it is only divinely modified from generation to generation, to suit the moral development of the race, which it has under instruction and discipline. Therefore, what the Saviour here says in Matthew, is generally applicable to all the redeemed, for

in Christ Jesus we are all made kings and priests unto God, the Father. (Rev. 1 : 6.) But shall we be kings and have no thrones to sit upon? Not now, but in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit upon the throne of his glory. The saints will occupy these thrones, immediately after their glorification. (Rev. 20 : 4.) Then will also be fulfilled the third beati tude: "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth." (Matt. 5 : 5.)

It appears from the intimation, which is here furnished, that God is preparing, by his Divine Government, beings who shall be exalted to some vacant thrones, now found in the spirit world; perhaps, those from which the rebellious angels were cast. This may, in part, account for the devil's intense wrath against the saints of the Most High, and for the Saviour's comforting words to his disciples: "Let not your hearts be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house there are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you." (John 14 : 1, 2.) When I look to the heavens, I can see even with my natural eyes, that my Father's house has many apartments, how vast, therefore, must be this habitation! It is further evident, from the Scriptures, that the fallen angels once had dominion over a large part of this vast empire of God, but, having sinned, they were driven from their habitations. (2 Peter 2 : 4; Jude 6.) These may be the kingdoms which the Saviour is now arranging for his people, whom he is preparing in this world, by his Divine Government and discipline. The saints may, therefore, be the complement of the spirit world, and all the complicated workings of this government, may be directed to the end, that those thrones may be occupied by worthy ones. See, then, "that no man take thy crown." (Rev. 3 : 11.)

The Application of the Divine Government.

The application is made by *divine judgments and the operations of the Holy Spirit.* Here we have the process given: "And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and voices: and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God." (verse 5.) In this we have the manner in which the Divine Government is applied.

1. By judgments, which are symbolized by the lightnings, thunderings, and voices. Lightnings are apt sym-

bols of the divine judgments. The Hebrews often represented them as direct exhibitions of divine wrath. In the book of Job we read: "Hear attentively the noise of his voice, and the sound that goeth out of his mouth. He directeth it under the whole heaven, and his lightning unto the ends of the earth. After it a noise roareth; he thundereth with the voice of his excellency." (Job 37 : 2-4.) By this symbol, the lightnings, thunderings, and voices, we have, therefore, an illustration of one method by which the Divine Government is applied to the moral development of man. The introduction of sin into the world has made it necessary, that the Divine Government should be applied to moral agents by means of judgments; by which we mean the calamities inflicted on men for their reformation. However these may be employed, their end is not penal, but disciplinary. God corrects men and nations as long as they are in this life in mercy, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to a knowledge of the truth; for all the divine legislation throughout the whole world is subject to the economy of grace. In the execution of these judgments God employs war, famine, pestilence, and the beasts of the earth. (Rev. 6 : 8.)

Let us investigate the history of the most prominent nations of the earth, to see how the principles, by which they are disciplined in righteousness, are illustrated. Take first the Babylonian nation, which is symbolized, (Dan. 7 : 6,) by the lion. This nation culminated in a universal monarchy 626 B. C. Its chief head was Nebuchadnezzar. This man passed through a wonderful discipline, until he arrived at a knowledge of the true God. We first discover him as savage as the lion, with the eagle's swiftness to execute his wrath. With what celerity he pushed his armies into India, Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt, Northern Africa, and as far as the pillars of Hercules. During these wars he seemed destitute of a human heart, but he learned by bitter experience that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will;" for as he was rejoicing in his pride and savage cruelty—he became insane for an appointed time, at the end of which his reason was restored, when he said: "Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise, and extol, and honor the King of heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways judgments: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase." (Dan. 4 : 37.) Having thus attained to a knowledge of the true God, Nebuchad-

nezzar issued a proclamation to all people, nations, and languages, in all the earth, in which he records the salutary discipline, and in which he ascribes due honor to the Majesty of Heaven. The nations of the earth, were, at that time, also, prepared to receive such a proclamation. (Dan. 4.)

2. The part which the Holy Spirit takes in this work of discipline. "There were seven lamps of fire, burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God. "From this as well as other portions of Scripture, it is evident that the Divine Government is applied to the moral development of man by the Holy Spirit, who is here represented as seven lamps of fire burning before the throne—seven being a sacred number, and denoting manifold or multiform operations. The Holy Spirit is that hypostasis in the Divine Being, who controls all the moral energy of God in its application to moral beings. "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God." He reproves the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment. (John 16 : 8.) This is the gracious Being who takes the Church militant, whom He has begotten through his word unto eternal life, through the various stages of moral development, as represented further on in this chapter. (Also, Rom. 8 : 26, 27. In the divine discipline through which Nebuchadnezzar passed, it is readily seen what part the Holy Spirit took. The wars. which Nebuchandnezzar was employed by Divine Providence to wage against the nations of the earth, against the theocratic nations, as well as against idolaters, were conducive, in the hands of the Holy Spirit, to much good every way. Thus the better part of the Israelites were led into Babylonish captivity, whither they brought with them the Holy Scriptures, and many persons who were under the direct illumination of the Holy Spirit. Among the most prominent of these was Daniel, the Prophet, who was brought by the Holy Spirit into direct contact with the monarch, and by whom Nebuchadnazzar was instructed in righteousness.

While the Holy Spirit was thus preparing occupants for the seats around the theocratic throne in heaven, He was also disciplining His own special nation in the truth, as already revealed, and preparing it for higher attainments in moral development. By means of the Babylonish captivity and a more extensive circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the Greek language, the Jews were entirely delivered from the sin of idolatry; but for which it is

doubtful whether this blessed consummation would ever have been reached.

The next universal empire which arose after the Babylonian, was the Medo-Persian, which was established by Cyrus in the conquest of Babylon, 538 B. C., and continued in power to the overthrow of Darius Codomannus, 333 B. C. During these two hundred years of its existence, the Medo-Persian became, in the Providence of God, a powerful empire, but it commenced to decline after its invasion of Greece under Xerxes, who marched against that classic land with an army of three hundred thousand men, picked soldiers, but was overthrown by the Grecians at Salamis, Thermopylae, and Marathon under such Generals as Leonidas, Aristides, Miltiades, and Themistocles, names so justly celebrated in Grecian history. The Medo-Persians, during the two hundred years of their empire, passed through the same kind of discipline as the Babylonians. The two factors, the divine judgments and the energy of the Holy Spirit, are already discovered from their history to have been at work for the purpose of preparing men from among them for a higher sphere of existence.

The most interesting and highest moral development here we find in Cyrus the Great. This man was conducted by Divine Providence through all the four stages—the savage, the civilized, the enlightened, and the religious. If half of what Herodotus tells us is true, Cyrus was the most renowned character of antiquity. When he was called by God to overthrow the Babylonian empire, which had subserved the divine purpose, and filled up the measure of its iniquity, he was yet in the savage, or heathen state. But how rapidly he improved, and others with him, under the divine discipline! By wars and conquests he introduced among his people the blessings of civilization; by his contact with the enlightened Jews and Babylonians, he attained to a knowledge of the true God, and thus, in the course of time, became also truly religious. For having become acquainted with the sublime prophecies of Isaiah, respecting himself, he issued the following decree: "Thus saith Cyrus, the king, since God Almighty hath appointed me to be king of the habitable earth, I believe that he is that God which the nation of the Israelites worship; for he indeed foretold my name by the prophet, and that I should build him a house at Jerusalem, in the country of

Judea." This was foretold by Isaiah, the prophet, one hundred and forty years before the first temple was demolished. (Is. 44 : 28; 45 : 1-5.) When Cyrus read this prophecy he was at once convinced of the truth, and led to admire the Divine providence which was guiding him. How sublime to Cyrus must these holy words, read in the history of the capture of Babylon, have appeared: "I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight; I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron; and I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I, the Lord, which calletd thee by thy name, am the God of Israel. I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God besides me; I girded thee, though thou hast not known me." Thus we see that Cyrus was disciplined in grace, until he was raised from a state of barbarism to a high condition of religious culture. He was a wise conqueror and accomplished prince. He was alike great in military and civil life. If we were to investigate the history of other nations of the earth, we should find the same factors, the divine judgments and the Holy Spirit, at work in their moral discipline, which would render the argument cumulative.

The Foundation of the Divine Government.

"And before the throne there was a sea of glass, like unto crystal." That is a brilliant sea, θάλασσο ὑαλίνη. This symbolizes the justice and equity with which the Divine Government is carried on. However difficult it may be to vindicate the divine character in the permission of sin and death in the world, yet the child of faith is assured that "righteousness and judgment are the habitation of the divine throne." (Ps. 95 : 2.) This agrees with Rev. 15 : 2, in which we have a fuller description of the same subject: "And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire; and them that had gotten the victory over the beasts, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the hands of God." This foundation is too brilliant for mortal man to examine with a steady gaze, and hence the many and absurd conclusions, which have been drawn relative to the Divine Government. An intelligent answer for the perplexed subject can be obtained only as we contemplate the proper end, which God has in view in all his complicated

government. Some suppose this end to be the greatest happiness of his sentient creatures. According to this theory happiness would be the highest good, and obedience to God, essential to the highest holiness, and thus the highest holiness would be essential to the highest happiness. God foreknew that *man*, placed in the position where he could secure the highest holiness by his obedience, would not be obedient, but would sin. He then arranged his remedial influences through the punishment of sin, the atonement, and the operations of the Holy Spirit, that he can reclaim so many to just such a state of holiness and happiness as will exactly counterbalance the sin and misery.

This theory involves an intrinsic absurdity. If the highest holiness and happiness can be secured only by the introduction of sin and misery, of which they are the equal counterparts, the introduction of sin and misery into the world was an absolute necessity. This would make God the author of sin, by placing him under the absolute necessity of introducing it. How can his government be vindicated by such theory? Of this theory there are modified forms, but all equally absurd.

Others have endeavored to vindicate the justice of the Divine Government on the ground of God's highest worthiness. This seems more satisfactory. According to this theory, God is supreme and absolute excellence, and He cannot deny himself, which would imply a contradiction. God's worthiness and excellence *is the rule of action.* To create intelligent creatures, who shall stand before God in his own image, is worthy of God. Man has thus become a personality. This has brought responsibility, and an opportunity to try the moral agency which has been bestowed. This involves the possibility of sin. If he act worthily of his inner excellence, which lies in the image of God, man will be confirmed in holiness for ever; but if he abuse his liberty, he will fall into self-destruction, from which he can never deliver himself. God, however, may interpose for his deliverance, if He can find a substitute which will subserve the interests of justice as well as the penalty of death. This has been discovered in the atonement made by Jesus Christ our Lord, "who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness, by whose stripes we were healed." (1 Peter 2 : 24.)

And St. Paul teaches us how we may secure this righteousness, the lost image of God, and also how we shall finally be confirmed in holtness for ever: "Now it was not written for his (Abraham's) sake alone, that it (righteousness) was imputed to him. But for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead; who was delivered for our offences, and who was raised again for our justification." (Rom. 4 : 23-25.)

We defend this position by the following argument: All finite personality, with will in liberty, is liable to sin, which liability rises necessarily in limited faculties. But no *creature*, with infinite faculties, could exist. In a finite personality there must be necessarily a conflict between the higher and the lower faculties. There is thus constant liability to sin. When God exerts his influence in restraining sin, the tendency is still on the same side. The creature has not yet learned by experience to guard against sin. And God must act just so far, and no farther, in restraining man than his own worthiness will allow, or than man's moral agency, which is according to the divine image, will permit. God gives laws to restrain sin by their penalties, the nature of which He need not fully explain to the creature, but while these penalties remain unexecuted, they are constantly losing their weight of restraint. But now when sin has entered the universe through the limited faculties of the creature, and his want of strict attention to his Maker's command, God may consistently augment remedial and preventive influences. Punishment may now begin, and exert its restraining influences. Chastisement in grace may now conduct the whole government for the recovery of the creature. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"

Having now vindicated the equity of the Divine Government, we are better prepared to resume the thought, suspended in the discussion of this Government, in its application to the recovery of man from sin and misery. The Seer continues: "And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts, full of eyes before and behind. And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle. And

the four beasts had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within; (verses. 6, 7. 8.") The word ζῶα which is here translated beasts, means literally *living ones*. These were not beasts in the common acceptation of the term, but symbolic representations of man, in his fourfold state, the savage, the civilized, the enlightened, and the religious, embracing the whole world, four being the signature of the earth. (Rev. 7 ; 1 ; 21 : 13.)

These cherubim, the symbolic representatives of man, in his fourfold state, were full of eyes before and behind symbiolzing intelligence. The Divine Government, which we are contemplating, has to do with God's intelligent creature, man, all around the globe. This is a wonderful being, who by the divine discipline, in judgments and grace, may be brought from his low savage state to the highest religious intelligence. His nature is not like that of angels, who, once fallen, are ruined for ever; but he contains within himself, in virtue of the nature which God has given him, a capacity for constant improvement in moral excellence. "What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving, how express and admirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a God!"

These *living ones* are represented in the vision as being in the midst of the throne and round about it, which shows clearly that the seat of the Divine Government extends to this world. The Triune God is right among us, superintending all his works, which are continued for the spiritual good of man. With this fact in view let us again contemplate man in his moral development under the divine discipline. It is not meant, however, to be taught here that all men will attain to the glorified state; the divine discipline will be to many a savor of death unto death. Only to those who are exercised by it will it "yield the peaceable fruit of righteousness." (Heb. 12 : 11.)

But before entering more fully into this part of our subject, we desire to compare it with the description which is found in Ezekiel, 1 : 5-10, relative to the same matter: "Also out of the midst thereof, (the fire-infolding whirlwind) came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance: They had the likeness of a man. And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings. And their feet were straight feet; and the

sole of their feet was like the sole of a calf's foot; and they sparkled like the color of burnished brass. And they had the hands of a man under their wings, on their four sides; and they four had their faces and their wings. Their wings were joined one to another; they turned not, when they went; they went every one straight forward. As for the likenesses of their faces, they four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion on the right side; and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle," In St. John's description we have four living ones, evidently in the likeness of man as to their bodies, with six wings each, three on the one side and three on the other, one beast having the face of a lion, another that of a calf, the third the face of a man, and the fourth that of a flying eagle. In Ezekiel's description, we have four living ones, all in the likeness of man as to their bodies, each with four wings and four faces, the face of a man, the face of a lion, the face of an ox, and the face of an eagle. The visions are substantially the same; the one presenting to our view the Divine Government from a Jewish stand-point, and the other,from a Christian. In both visions man is the subject of the divine discipline. Ezekiel's vision was designed to comfort the Church of God in her Babylonish captivity; St. John's, to comfort the Church in her spiritual Babylonish captivity. St. John presents man to our view in his individual capacity; Ezekiel, in his collective capacity. Hence in St. John's description, we have one living creature having the face of a lion; another that of a calf; the third, the face as a man; and the fourth, that of a flying eagle; each cherub having six wings. In Ezekiel's, we have four living creatures, each having these four faces, and four wings. In the latter description, we contemplate the vision more as a whole; in the former, more in its individual aspect; but what is true of the whole is also true of its parts. As the whole human family must pass through the divine discipline, in the four-fold state, represented by the face of the lion, the ox, the man, and the eagle, or the savage, the civilized, the enlightened, and the religious, so must each individual be taken through the same moral development in order to attain the glorified state of the elders. The Holy Spirit finds every man dead in trespasses and sins, and from this state He quickens us into newness of life by a diversified discipline, until He has rendered us complete in Christ,

and has brought us into the glorified state. But in St. John's vision each living creature had six wings, while in that of Ezekiel, each had but four. How shall we reconcile this apparent discrepancy of these sacred writers? If the living ones symbolize man, which seems to be well established, the solution is not difficult. The constituent elements of man, according to a Jewish point of view, are soul and body, and so we have a wing for each; but as a man is of a dull nature, we have two wings for each side, making four in all. So in Ezekiel's vision. But according to St. John's vision each cherub had six wings, three on each side of this dual creature. This is looking at man's constituent elements from a Christian stand-point, which describes him as composed of spirit, soul, and body, through all of which parts, the three measures, the leaven of the kingdom must be diffused in order to complete redemption. (1 Thess. 5 ; 23 ; Matt. 13 : 33.)

We are now prepared to enter into a fuller description of the meaning of these divine symbols. But as we have already contemplated man somewhat at length in his collective capacity, according to Ezekiel's vision, we will confine ourselves more particularly in the sequel to what we have in the text. We have said that what is true of the whole race in the application of the Divine Government is also true of each individual in it. The divine discipline exerted in the interest of Christ finds man, in his individual capacity, in the barbarous state of sin, wholly sensuous, carnally minded, and destitute of righteousness in its true intellectual apprehension, as well as in its application to actual life. Yet out of this state are to be brought the glorified ones, who are to be seated around the throne of God. This must include man's entire transformation spirit, soul, and body. We will take the trichotomy in the order here given, not from mere caprice, but in the order of their redemption, being just the reverse of the order in which sin entered to man's entire defilement. That this is not an arbitrary division is amply proved by Christ's parable of the leaven, which was hid in *three measures* of meal, till the whole was leavened. (Matt. 13. : 33.) The highest and most excellent department of this living creature in his spirit, which embraces reason, will, and conscience, rendering him a free personality, accountable to the Father of Spirits, in whose image he has been created. By reason, we mean that faculty of the mind by which we

become possessed of religious principles, which guide us in the acquisition of moral truth; by conscience, our self-knowledge of our responsibility; and by will, the motive power to act according to enlightened principles. How to restore the spirit of this living one to its normal condition, is the difficult problem of morals.

The spirit man is moral darkness, and needs illumination. Whence is the light, which is so much needed, to come? He can comprehend the truth when presented, but who shall present it when all are in moral darkness? He is full of eyes within, but what can he see in his moral darkness? Hence, Jesus Christ "is the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." (John 1 : 9.) Only in Jesus Christ by the aid of the Divine Spirit does the spirit of man become possessed of principles, which are to guide him in his moral restoration. Here he must learn to know sin in its sinfulness. How? "By the law is the knowledge of sin. I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, thou shalt not covet." (Rom. 7 : 7.) In order therefore to elevate man, light must come into his spirit by the aid of the Holy Ghost through the truth; he must see light in the great light. Otherwise the fragments of truth, which seem to survive the fall, will be used by him to his perversion on account of his bondage to sin. The invisible things of God, which appear like dim spectres, will otherwise but drive him away from a true apprehension of that God, in whom we live, and move, and have our being. Thus as long as there is no true intellectual apprehension of God, "there is no fear of God before his eyes." (Rom. 3 : 18.) The beginning of a better life, however, must commence in the fear of God, which man can learn only in Jesus Christ. "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son shall reveal him."

The true God having thus been apprehended by man in Jesus Christ, the monitions of conscience will also be right. As the bodily eye, undiseased, receiving light from the sun, furnishes the whole body with light, but being diseased leaves the whole body in darkness, so conscience illuminated by the Sun of righteousness, the human reason being also enlightened, will be full of heavenly light, basking in the joyful light of God's countenance, the lovely aspect of him who sits on the jasper-sardine throne. Thus enlight-

ened, we may trust conscience's guidance; for its prohibitions are just, and recordings are correct. Yet, in all this, it approaches the normal state only, as it comes under the increasing light of the divine discipline. It does not, however, in this life, reach the normal state, which was that of Adam and Eve before the fall, but being sprinkled from its guilt by the blood of Jesus, its restlessness is removed, its shame is covered up, and its fear is conquered. Thus man is transformed by the renewing of his mind. (Rom. 12 : 2.) This is a growth, which implies a coming under the divine guidance and discipline; a difficult work, which the moral energy of the Divine Spirit alone can infuse into us. But for a long time the conscience may remain weak. (Rom. 14 : 20-23.)

The reason having become enlightened and the conscience purified, the will goes ever permanently and steadfastly toward righteousness and truth. It is free-will that makes us subjects of history. The historian writes about the actions of men, and passes judgment upon those acts, approving here and condemning there. Now, had not man free-will, he could not thus be judged. He would then not be responsible for his acts, having been unable to act otherwise. Yet the will must be liberated from its voluntary bondage to sin, before there can be a proximation to the image of God, from which man has fallen. This is done when the soul is united by faith to Christ. So St. Paul: "But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter." (Rom. 7 : 6.)

This union induces a change in the feelings. Those things which administered pleasure to the soul before the great change, now occasion pain, and *vice versa*. The feelings of the regenerated, however, must be disciplined by the Great Ruler, in order to bring the soul entirely into subjection with the will of God. If pain is necessary to produce this, the Lord has ten thousand agents at hand, which He may employ for man's discipline in righteousness.

But we must hasten to the third division, man's body, which must be also brought and kept under righteous discipline. Hence, St. Paul, writing to the Romans says: "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lust thereof. Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; but

yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God." The body is therefore not a mere useless appendage, but one of the constituent parts of man. We are under moral obligations to seek a complete and healthy development of the body, and to present it undefiled as the temple of God. (1 Cor. 3 : 16-17.) From a vicious neglect of the body many children die in infancy, and others drag out a sickly, deranged, and deformed body through life. Yet with the utmost care the body is subject to many infirmities. "Although Christ be in us, the body is dead because of sin." (Rom. 8 : 10.) But Christ will again quicken our mortal bodies by his spirit that dwelleth in us. For this we groan within ourselves, "waiting for the adoption, to-wit, the redemption of our bodies." When our bodies are glorified, then will our redemption be complete, and we shall be around the throne with the four and twenty elders.

"And they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come. And when those living ones give glory, and honor, and thanks, to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." Here God has the united praise of the Church militant, and the Church triumphant. Wisdom is justified by the children on earth and in heaven. They alone have been instructed as to the end of all things, and the result is perpetual hymns of praise.

ARTICLE VI.

MARTIN CHEMNITZ AND THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

By Rev. H. E. Jacobs, A. M., Phillipsburg, Pa.

Dr. Martin Chemnitz, next to the great Reformer, con-

fessedly the most eminent of our theologians, in his "*Examen Concilii Tridentini*," bequeathed to the Church a masterpiece, which she has cherished ever since, among her most precious treasures. As a most noble vindication of the doctrines of evangelical Christianity, and an unanswerable refutation of the claims of Rome, as a monument of immense labor, thorough scholarship, and most childlike piety, as a treasury of the pure gold of God's Word, and the sanctified experience of all preceding ages of the Church, it stands next to our Confessions among the classics of Lutheranism. The present article proposes to introduce to the readers of the *Review*, the theme, the author, and the circumstances, which called forth this most remarkable work.

The Council of Trent.

From the beginning of the Reformation, there had been, in many quarters, an earnest desire for the convening of a General Council. The Protestant theologians, hoping, that in a free assembly, an opportunity would be given them to overcome the prejudices of their opponents, and to gain for the truth an impartial hearing, had repeatedly appealed to its decision. The Protestant princes, who were as anxious to prevent a disruption of the Empire, as their spiritual advisers were to prevent a sundering of the Church, hoped by the same means, to conciliate the Emperor, and the portions of Germany which were still hostile to the Reformation. A powerful pressure from both theologians and princes within the ranks of those loyal to the Romish faith, united with that of the Protestants, in urging the trial of this expedient, as the last remedy for the peaceful settling of the difficulties between the two parties. The opposition of some had been excited by the increasing demands of the Papacy; sympathizing with the Wittenbergers in nothing else, they desired a Council, in order that an opportunity might be afforded them, to limit that despotism which was constantly becoming more absolute. The power of the revived Gospel, too, had been felt by many (a noble representative of whom was the pious and learned Cardinal Contarini), who had not openly protested, but, who hoped, that in this way, the Church might be led back, if not to the pure fountains of Israel, at least much nearer than before. As a measure of political expediency, the Emperor desired, that these wishes of the large ma-

jority of his subjects might be gratified; for the condition of the Empire, was at that time, such as to require, for its safety, the most entire harmony. The Protestants were, therefore, frequently encouraged by the assurance, that he would exert himself to have their request granted. Accordingly, first at Nuremburg, in 1523, and afterwards at Spires, in 1526, the desired council was promised. The Pope, however, fearing lest it might prove a repetition of the two last councils, in which the influence of the Cirmontane power had prevailed, before convening it, waited for such a juncture of affairs, as would be most favorable to his interests. Charles V, impatient at the long delay, in a personal interview with Pope Clement VII, urged upon him the necessity of promptness. The Pope promised to comply with the request; but, in the midst of his preparations, died. His successor, Paul III, at length, in 1536, issued his edict, summoning the Council to meet at Mantua, May 23d, 1537. But inasmuch as it was evident, that the proposed assembly would not be a free Council, the Protestants refused to attend. For the Council, to which they had appealed, was such as would be convoked, instituted and governed in the same manner as the Councils of the early Church. With a mere creature of the Pope, assembled at such a time and place, as would contribute most to his own interest, and least to theirs, packed with his favorites and slaves, presided over by his legate, and governed by his nod, they could not meet, unless they were willing to sacrifice the truth. The circumstances, under which the Council was convoked, showed that its design was to take measures against the Protestants, instead of impartially hearing their cause. With all his mild and gentlemany bearing, the Papal *nuncio*, Vergerius in his conversation with Luther, gave utterance to some expressions, which clearly show the intentions of the Pope. "God knows the secrets of hearts," says Sechendorf, "but it is certain, that the Pope then seriously desired to oppress the Protestants with war." Hence, Luther concludes the second part of the Smalcald Articles, with the words: "For at the Council, we shall not, as at Augsburg, stand before the Emperor, or temporal authority, who published a very gracious summons, and permitted matters to be investigated in kindness; but we shall stand before the Pope and devil himself, who does not intend to listen, but merely to condemn, to murder and force us into idolatry." The

design of the Protestants in all their appeals to a council, was not to regard its decision, but simply because they believed, that the power of God's Word was such as to constrain a free council to decide in accordance with the truth. Luther declares of a general council, that it has "little more power than a bishop in his diocese, or a pastor in his congregation, yet on this account, by no means to be despised."* "A council is an assembly of judges, who, having heard the case, declare their sentence, not according to new laws, but from the Word of God, and anathematize those who contradict it." Hence, Vergerius was surprised to hear Luther declare, that "a council was necessary, and should be desired, not on his own account, or for the sake of his associates, because they needed no council, since they had the pure Word of God, and sound and saving doctrine, and had their churches well grounded in this: but, for the sake of others, in order that his doctrine might come to them." In the introduction to the Smalcald Articles, Luther likewise remarks: "I could wish that a free and Christian council might at some time be assembled, that we might provide for the wants of many. Not that we need a council; for our churches, by the grace of God, through their purity of doctrine, by the correct use of the sacraments, and by their knowledge of the various relations of life and of good works, have been so much enlightened and confirmed, that we have no need of a council. But in various bishoprics, we behold so many parishes entirely destitute and deserted, that the heart of a good man must be almost crushed with grief." "O Christ Jesus, our Lord, do thou thyself convene a council, and there preside! Deliver us by thy glorious presence. We have nothing to hope from the Pope and the bishops: they do not regard Thee. Do thou therefore assist us, who are miserable and poor, who groan for Thee, who seek Thee from the heart, according to the grace which thou hast given us, through the influence of the Holy Spirit, who lives and reigns with thee, and with the Father, blessed forever! Amen." For these reasons, even before the council had been formally called, the Protestant princes, assembled at Smalcald, after conferring with their theologians, on December 21st, 1535, reply to the proposal of the

*Sackendorfii Historia Lutheranienii, Lib. III, §LXXVI.

Pope, communicated in writing by Vergerius, to the effect, that whilst on account of the persecution of the pure doctrine, and the defence in various quarters, of most wicked errors, they had earnestly desired such a council as had been proposed two years before, yet, that they did not think it worth while to attend an assembly, in which they saw no hope of a remedy for these abuses. They deny that Germany was not a suitable place for the meeting; and in reply to the assurance of safety, offered to the Protestants who should attend, they refer to the precedents of former councils, at which the most solemn pledges had been violated. They dispute the right of the Pope to call and direct councils, alleging, especially in this case, that he was an interested party, and, therefore, on this account disqualified to act as judge; and insist upon the privilege of all orders of Christian men to be represented. They repeat their demand for a free council, protest their innocence of further strife in the Church, and conclude by declaring, that they had not receded a particle from the evangelical doctrine, according to the words of Christ, Matt. 12 : 32, "Whosoever, therefore, shall confess me before men, him will I confess also, before my Father which is in heaven." Accordingly, in February 1537, after the Council had been formally called, in another conference in the same place, at which the famous Smalcald Articles were adopted, they refuse to go to Mantua.

This refusal of the Protestants, the unwillingness of Frederick, Duke of Mantua, to its assembling within his territory, and the war between the Emperor and the King of France, gave the Pope the necessary pretexts to again defer the convening of the Council, until some more favorable time. The opportunity, for which he had longed, had not as yet come; for political complications arising just then, caused the Emperor to desire more than ever, to conciliate the Protestants. The jealousy existing between the Papal and Imperial power, and the weakness of either to act as freely as under other circumstances, caused a delay of seven years longer. But in 1545, the success of the Emperor in war, and a prospect of a bond of union between the two powers, in the birth of a child, in whose veins would run the blood both of the Emperor, and of the Farnese family, conciliated them. As the result of negotiations, a war against the Protestants, and a General Council were agreed upon; the latter to be assembled im-

mediately at Trent. Luther had repeatedly declared that the Pope was not in earnest in inviting the Protestants to Council, but that all his efforts to induce them to attend, were mere masks of the devil, ("*larvas diaboli*,") by which his real purposes might be concealed, and the odium of war and bloodshed be transferred to them. The truth of this surmise became apparent, when it was discovered, that notwithstanding the hostile determination of both Emperor and Pope, the Evangelical Princes were invited to Trent. When the aid of their arms had been needed in the war against France, at the Diet of Spires in 1544, they had been promised such a general free Christian Council, as they had so long asked; but now since they had gained for the Emperor the Peace of Crespy, he determined in turn to force them to submission. Concealing his hostile preparations, he calls them to Worms, in May 1545, and endeavors to induce them to participate in the Council. But it was all in vain. For all their objections to the proposed Council, at Mantua, applied also to the proposed Council at Trent. They refused to submit to any decision which would not be in accordance with God's word, the Elector of Saxony quoting from Gal. 1 : 8, "Though an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." Among the opinions which have come down to us, of those whose advice the princes, on this occasion, had sought, is that of the legal faculty of Tübingen, given to their Prince, Duke Ulric. They deny that the Council of Trent was such as had been promised at Nuremberg in 1524. They object to the place as not situated in Germany. They deny that it can be a free Council, as all the prelates were bound by oath to the Pope. They deny the right of the Pope to call a Council, because laymen also should be represented, over whom they alleged that the Pope has no power, appealing to the precedents of the early councils which were convened by the Emperor. For this reason, in connection with the fact that the Pope had already condemned them, and that the decision of the council would proceed from the false assumption that a council could not err, they advise the Protestant princes to refuse all connection with the proposed assembly at Trent.

Accordingly, early in June 1545, the Emperor dismissed the Diet at Worms, and hastens his preparations. The city selected for the meeting was Trent, now a town of

about 14,000 inhabitants, in the southwestern corner of Austria, in the district known as the Tyrol. "Its situation," says Dean Stanley,* "immediately under the Alps, yet on the Italian side, exactly expresses the peculiarity of the assembly convened there. It was to be as near the dominions of the Emperor as was possible, without being altogether out of reach of the dominions of the Pope. It was to come as close to the confines of Protestantism as it could, without crossing the barriers which parted it from them." Here, on December 13th, 1545, the council assembled. The number of members in attendance at first was small; but before the close it swelled to two hundred and fifty two. Several times were its proceedings interrupted. Once, upon the pretext of the appearance of the plague at Trent, but in reality, on account of the Pope's fear of the increasing power of the Emperor, it was removed, March 11th, 1547, to Bologna. The dissatisfaction of the German bishops, led to its dissolution two years later. Again it was convened by Pope Julius I., in 1551, and continued in session, at Trent, until the approach of the army of Duke Maurice, of Saxony, in 1552. Paul IV. assembled it again in January, 1562, when it remained in session, until its final adjournment on December 4th, 1563. The great effort of the Ultramontane party in all their sessions, was to foil all the efforts of those who, for political or moral reasons, desired a thorough reform, to increase the power of the Pope, and so to familiarize the errors in doctrine, against which the Protestants had complained, that henceforth no one who held to the Evangelical faith, could consistently remain in the communion of the Romish Church. The interests of the Pope were represented by his legates who presided over the council. Among those especially zealous on this side, was the President, Cardinal Monte, who opened the council; an impetuous and irascible man, fonder of literary ease than of theological controversy, but who, in some inexplicable way, afterwards became Pope Julius IV. Lainez and Salmeron, two of the founders of the Jesuit society, supported it, with immense learning, and most ardent devotion. But the soul of the Ultramontane party was Cardinal Caraffa, who before the council had concluded its sessions, had ascended to the Pontifical chair, with the title of Paul IV.

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*History of Eastern Church, p. 128.

In his early years he was inclined towards mysticism; but in his later years, all his efforts were concentrated upon strengthening the power of the Papacy. This seems to have been the sole idea of his life. Austere, unrelenting, unscrupulous, everything was made to subserve this one great purpose. He is especially infamous as the re-establisher of the Spanish Inquisition. The proceedings of the council derived their shape from Caraffa, perhaps more than from any one else. Two of the legates of Paul III, Reginald Pole, and Marcello Cervini occupied quite an anomalous position. Both were men of considerable moral earnestness; both sincerely desired a reform of the Church; and both were far more evangelical than the majority of the council. But in the discharge of the functions of their office, they permitted their own personal preferences to be subordinated to the will of their master The former was an Englishman, a member of the House of York, and second cousin to Henry VIII. Whilst pursuing his studies at Padua, he had come under the influence of Caspar Contarini, and acquired theological tendencies, very closely approaching Protestantism. Banished from England, because he could not approve of the divorce of the King, the sacrifices which he there endured, made him a favorite at Rome. At one time, he was nearly elected the successor of Paul III. Upon the accession of Queen Mary, he was sent to England as the representative of the Pope. He was afterwards created Archbishop of Canterbury, but his moderation and leniency to the Protestants, gave great dissatisfaction to the more zealous Papists. Yet in the Council of Trent, he seems to have acted contrary to the tenor of his former life. Whether the saying "That men should content themselves with their own inward convictions, without concerning themselves to know, if errors and abuses existed in the Church," is rightly ascribed to him, cannot be determined. This much, however, is well authenticated, that when Marcellus declared his inability to concur in certain actions of the council, upon the ground of conscience, Pole replied that every one was in duty bound to submit to the will of the majority, even against the protest of his conscience, provided that the assembly clearly knew what were his original convictions. These words, most probably, revealed the manner in which he reconciled his own conduct, as a member of the council, with his better judgment as an individual.

Yet there were times when the latter would assert itself, as when during the discussion on justification, he pleaded with the council, not to reject a doctrine, for no other reason than that Luther taught it. Cervini's tendency by no means approximated so nearly that of the Protestants. He was, however, a man of irreproachable character. Upon being elected Pope, in 1555, he was filled with alarm, lest the position might corrupt him, as it had many of his predecessors. He ascended the chair of St. Peter with the title of Marcellus II., but died on the twenty-second day of his Pontificate.

The Papal legate, who presided during the concluding sessions, was Cardinal Morone, previously Bishop of Modena. Like Pole, he had sympathized with the doctrinal views of the elder Contarini. Several times he had been sent to Germany as the Pope's legate, where he displayed the same characteristics, which distiguished him as President of the council. Afterwards he was imprisoned, upon the suspicion of Protestant tendencies, by the stringent Paul IV (Caraffa.) He was a man of extraordinary administrative ability. But his record is by no means clear. With singular adroitness, he abused the confidence reposed in him by the House of Austria, to further the interest of the Papacy, of which he became a champion after the accession of Pius IV. How honest he was, may be inferred from the fact, that in order to conciliate the Spanish Bishop, he either cunningly drew up, or approved a decree, which was praised by the Jesuit Lainez, as being susceptible of two contrary explanations, thus removing the difficulty by allowing each party to think that it had carried the day.

Among those who were more prominent in the wing which opposed the claims of the Papacy was Marcellus, Bishop of Fesula, who boldly declared in the council that the monks were the wolves who had not entered the sheepfold by the door, and that if the council would not provide a remedy, he would appeal to heaven to correct their abuses. One of the first matters which occupied the attention of the bishops, was an elaborate paper by Cardinal Madrutius, directly attacking the position of Papacy, in reference to the reform of the Church. Jacob Nachianti, Bishop of Chiozza, contended with great zeal, against the decree concerning traitors. The Scriptures, he declared, contained all that was necessary for salvation, and a Chris-

tian life; and why then should they seek another source of information. In this he was supported by Peter Bertranus, Bishop of Fanensis, Francis Bandinus, Archbishop of Siena, in the discussion on justification, "attributed all things to Christ, nothing to man; the entire acceptance of righteousness to faith, nothing to any other preparations."*

The Bishop Della Cava offended the fathers by contending that hope and love and other fruits of the spirit, followed, instead of preceded justification. But unfortunately his zeal for the truth exceeded the bounds of moderation, as he permitted himself to be so exasperated by a Grecian Bishop, as to assault the offender upon the floor of the council, thus conforming Trent, in at least one particular, to the traditionary accounts concerning Nice. As the penalty of tearing away a portion of his opponents beard, he was condemned to perpetual exile. The sentence, however, was commuted. Paul IV afterwards imprisoned him for the offence; but after three years confinement, he was again liberated by Pius IV

Julius Contarini maintained the same position with regard to justification, and had the satisfaction of hearing the same charges made against him, as had been frequently preferred against his distinguished uncle. With the Archbishop of Siena, Della Cava, and Contarini, were five other theologians. But the chief conflict of the Papists, on this article, was with Seripando, the general of the Augustinian order. The doctrine, however, which he advocated, was not that of the Lutherans, but such as had been held by the elder Contarini, and the theologians of his school, who regarded the works of the new obedience as entering into the meritorious cause of justification, and the merits of Christ as imputed only to make up the the believer's deficiency.

But the adherents of the Pope were largely in the ascendency. The other party formed scarcely a respectable minority. Some appearance of reform was necessary, in order to prevent a rupture with the Emperor, and conciliate those portions of the Church, which were so greatly dissatisfied. But the whole subject was most adroitly thrown in the background, except so far as concessions could be made, which would not conflict with the interests of the Papacy. The more evangelical wing most earnestly

*Pallavicino, quoted by Seckendorf.

protested; but they were scarcely allowed freedom of speech. A recent Roman Catholic author of the liberal school has written:* "When, on one occasion, a foreign bishop mentioned an historical fact which would not fit in with the Papal system, the storm broke out. Vormediano, Bishop of Cadiz, had observed that former metropolitans used to ordain the bishops of their provinces, by virtue of their own authority. Cardinal Simonetha promptly contradicted him, and then the Italian bishops raised a wild cry, and put him down by stamping and scraping with their feet. They cried out, that this accursed wretch must not speak; he should at once be brought to trial. That was conciliar freedom of speech at Trent." "The German Reformers," says the same authority, "when they wish to paint for public view the heinous guilt of the Popes and Italian bishops, had no need to do more, than transcribe the words of the legates, and many similar statements and avowals let fall at the Council.

The Literature of the Council of Trent.

The literature concerning the Council of Trent, is quite extensive. Its history has often been written, and several times at great length; yet never with that accuracy which is desirable. Two works have the pre-eminence above all others. That of Sarpi, written from a professedly Romish standpoint, with the design of attacking the Council, in all fairness, must be rejected as an impartial history. Neither is the reply of the Jesuit Pallavicini to be accepted as any more trustworthy. The truth lies between the two extremes. A most elaborate criticism of these two authors, has been published by Ranke, in the Appendix to his History of the Popes.

The results of the deliberations of the Council, were embodied in "The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent." ("*Canones et Decreti Concilii Tridentini.*") This official record of its dogmatic statements constitutes the distinctive creed of the Roman Catholic Church. As such it was confirmed by Pius IV, in the bull, *Benedictus Deus*, dated January 26th, 1564. In the same document, he prohibited all expositions or explanations of these decrees, claiming their interpretation as a prerogative of the

*"The Pope and the Council, by Janus. Authorized translation from the German. Boston: 1870." p. 299.

Papacy. Whilst there was considerable dissatisfaction, concerning the decision of the Council, in reference to discipline, and a consequent failure to obtain an harmonious concurrence of all parts of the Romish Church, in its recommendations, the doctrinal articles were received almost unanimously; the only opposition of any consequence, being from the French. A summary of the Canons and Decrees, under the title of *Professio Fidei Tridentinae*, was prepared, approved and published the same year, and made the doctrinal test for all applicants for office in the Romish Church. Two years later, under the sanction of Pius V, the *Catechismus Romanus* appeared, a work prepared in accordance with a resolution of the Council, expanding, however, in many places, its dogmatic propositions; so that an inferior rank among the symbols of the Romish Church, has been assigned this catechism, by many of her theologians.

These works called forth many attacks and defences. Among the latter especially noteworthy, is that of the Jesuit, Dionysius Petavius, who endeavored to prove the identity of the faith of Trent, with the doctrine of St. Augustine. The reply of the Abbot, Augustinus Reding to Heidegger's "Anatomy of the Council of Trent," and the "Exposition of Christian Doctrine," by the distinguished Bossuet, belong to the same class.

Refutations were rather more abundant. We find records of dissertations against the Council by Calvin, Papp of Strasburg, Bachmeister of Rostock, Cellarius of Helmstadt. Calixt, of the latter city, published a "Consideration of the Papist doctrine," as derived from this source; whilst his untiring opponent Calov of Wittenberg, published a "Mateology," (μάταιος, foolish,) of the Council of Trent. The work of Paul Anthony, of Halle, is mentioned by Buddeus in his Isagoge and Walch in his Introduction to the Symbolical Books, as of especial value. The "*Examen Professionis Tridentinae*," of Valentine Albert, styled by Buddeus, as "by far the most distinguished and learned of the Leipsic theologians," is a masterly refutation of the work of Bossuet. The most formidable attack from the Reformed Church, was that of the Swiss theologian Heidegger of Zurich. But among all the works which were occasioned by the Council of Trent, by far the most valuable, is the *Examen Concilii Tridentini* of

Dr. Martin Chemnitz.

A few words concerning its author. He was born in Treuenbriltzen, in the Margraviate of Brandenburg, November 9th, 1522. His parents were poor, and his early studies were, therefore, frequently interrupted by a failure of means. His prospects of usefulness were marred also, by an impediment in his speech. At the age of fourteen, he attended school at Wittenberg, but after only six months stay, was compelled, by his straightened circumstances, to abandon his studies and return home. We find him next, for three years attending the University of Magdeburg, then teaching for a year, then at the University of Frankfort for a year, and then again school teacher, and clerk of Customs at Writzen. Here Melanchthon found him, by whose advice he repaired to Wittenberg, to study Mathematics and Astrology. His second residence at Wittenberg was not much longer than the former one, as it was terminated in 1546, by the Smalcald war. The next year he devotes to teaching in Königsburg, and thence goes again to Wittenberg, in order to begin his theological studies; but was not there long, until he was driven away by the plague. His theological attainments, therefore, were largely the result of private study. An opportunity for this was afforded him, by his appointment as librarian of Duke Albert, of Brandenburg. Here he remained until 1552, faithfully studying the Word of God, and the writings of the Fathers and Reformers. But when the Osiandrian controversy broke out, the decided position in reference to the controverted question, which he felt himself compelled to take, made him uncomfortable in his relations to the Duke, who was also an intimate friend of Osiander. Against the earnest remonstrances of his patron, he moved to Wittenberg, where, at Melanchthon's suggestion, he began to lecture on Dogmatic Theology. Two years afterward, he was called as Pastor to Brunswick, a position which, notwithstanding Melanchthon's earnest efforts to retain him, he accepted. In 1567 he became superintendent of his province, where the remainder of his life was very much harassed by controversy, a sphere for which he had no taste, but which he never sought to avoid, when the interests of the truth demanded it. Here he died, April 8th, 1586. "Remaining steadfast in the faith without wavering," says his successor Lyser,

"he peacefully fell asleep, and delivered his soul into the hands of Christ, his Redeemer."

Herzog's Encyclopedia thus estimates his character: "Chemnitz was no reformatory spirit, but the best and most distinguished theologian produced by the agitations of the German Reformation. In learning, few were equal to him. Taste, refinement, an earnest and well educated mind, he possessed in an eminent degree." Gerhard delights to refer to him, as "the incomparable theologian." Calov recognizes in him the second angel, mentioned in Rev. 14 : 8. Buddeus styles him, "That great theologian of our Church, whom no one will refuse to assign the first place after Luther among the defenders of Gospel truth."

He is well known as one of the authors of the Formula of Concord. He enriched Exegetical Theology, by beginning the "Harmony of the Gospels," which was continued by Polycarp Lyser, and completed by Gerhard. In Patristic Theology, his dissertation on the reading of the Fathers, "*Oratio de Lectione Patrum*," though brief, has been considered, from its first appearance, as one of the most valuable contributions to this department. In Dogmatic Theology, his great work is his "*Loci Theologici*," a posthumous publication, edited by Polycarp Lyser, and issued in 1591. It is a commentary upon the "*Loci Communes*" of Melanchthon, the outgrowth of his theological lectures begun at Wittenberg, and afterwards continued at Brunswick. Its spirit, whilst very decided, is at the same time, mild and conciliatory, its style is remarkable for clearness and precision, the learning it manifests, is most extensive and profound, whilst the warmth of feeling, and the practical tendency which pervade it throughout, give it such a charm as is found in but few works of its kind. "Whether we regard," says Buddeus, "the arrangement, or the doctrine, or the selection of material and argument, or sober judgment, or a clear and plain mode of expression, this work holds the chief place among the systems of the purer doctrine." That he was a master also in the department of Polemic Theology, is shown by his works, on "The True Presence," ("*Fundamentis Sacrae Doctrinae de Vera, Substantiali Presentia,*) and "The Two Natures," ("*De Duabus Naturis in Christo,*") the latter of which Luthardt has styled, "an epoch-making production."

But his master-piece was the *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, the most complete refutation of Romish doctrine ever pub-

lished, a work, which the Papists themselves admit to have done them more harm, than any volume written, since the days of Luther. So thorough is the treatment of every subject which it undertakes, and so little does the personal mingle in the discussion, that the value of the book is not to be measured by its merits as a controversial work. Were the Roman Catholic Church blotted out of existence, the faithful study of this most masterly refutation of her doctrine, would not be of less importance, as an exhibition of the pure faith of God's word.

The circumstances which led to its preparation, were the following: In the year 1560, the Jesuits representing the faculty of Cologne, published a "Judgment concerning the chief Articles of Heavenly Doctrine," ("*Censura de Praecipuis Doctrinae Caelestis Capitibus.*") "Concerning this Judgment," Chemnitz says: "I can truly affirm, that nothing in the Romish Church, be it ever so notoriously false, or shamelessly impudent, was ever thought, or dreamed of, which this judgment did not dare to openly approve, and defend with still greater impudence." In order, therefore, to expose the true character of the Jesuits, he continues, "I have thought it worth while to select from this "Judgment," the chief points of the theology of the Jesuits, in order that arranged in a brief summary, and publicly exhibited, all may understand and honor it, according to its merit. He attempted no refutation, for he considered "the subject so clear, that it could be understood and decided, even by those who had learned the first rudiments of Christian doctrine; but added explanatory notes. The work was prepared in 1562, and published under the title of "*Theologiae Jesuitarum, brevis ac nervosa Descriptio et Delineatio, ex praecipuis Capitibus Censurae ipsorum.* As its title indicates, it is brief, comprising forty-one folio pages, and seventeen chapters, treating respectively of the origin of the Jesuits, Holy Scripture, Sin, the Free Will, the Law, the Gospel, Justification, Faith, Good Works, the Lord's Supper, the Invocation of Saints, Repentance, Confirmation, Extreme Unction, Images, Celibacy, and certain Jesuitical axioms. The vein of satire which pervades the short notes of Chemnitz is most severe, unsurpassed even by the famous Provincial Letters of Pascal. As an illustration, we need only to refer to a note upon a sentence of the Jesuits, that "the reading of Holy Scripture is not useful, but in many ways pernici-

ous to the Church," which adds: "O happy and blessed Church, if no Sacred Scripture had ever been inspired by the Holy Ghost, and delivered to thee! What a noble, and excellent work was that of Diocletian, who burned the sacred volumes, in the midst of the forum! What a reckoning too, will God require of those teachers, who took such indifferent counsel for the Church, as to hand down to it Scripture, the source and cause of all evil, without which it would have been so much better and more peaceful, since the occasion of heresy, and the subject of strife, would have been avoided" So also the sixth chapter, concerning the Gospel, is thus introduced: "Deep, long, wide and profound is the silence, in the "Judgment" of the Jesuits, concerning the word Gospel. Why is it? Because the whole life of the Jesuits, and their entire salvation rests in the law, and inasmuch as in the present life, they can perfectly fulfill this, these saints have no need of the doctrine of the Gospel." The work concludes thus: "These are the chief articles of the theology of the Jesuits, which I could discover in that 'Judgment' of Cologne, and which I have collected and reduced to order, in order, that inasmuch as the name of the sect of Jesuits, has begun to be illustrious, their Theology also might not be unknown to the reader. If they have any other things concealed, following the example of Aristotle, who had some matters which were *exoteric* and others which were only *acroamatic*, that day will reveal it; and there will not be wanting those who may write an appendix, or supplement to the "*Theologia Jesuitarum.*" I beseech the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, to protect the glory of his name, from the insults of this sect. Amen." A German translation appeared shortly after the publication of the original. As the author had partially expected, the Jesuits did not permit this work to be circulated, without attempting a reply. The first response was in German, by John Albert of Ingolstadt, who seems not to have been very successful as a controversialist. Didacus De Pavia De Andrada, more commonly called Andradius, was the author of a more formidable answer, entitled "Orthodox Explanations concerning controverted Articles of Religion." He had played a prominent part in the Council of Trent, and undertook his work, at the request of quite a number of those, who, with him, had participated in its discussions. The result was a volume, more remarkable for its bombast, than for

anything else. "At first sight," says Chemnitz, "I determined, because of its bitter and turgid abuse, to pass by, in silence, this writing of Andradius. But when I considered more attentively the subjects which he treated, I discovered, that by dwelling, as it were, upon another thing, he wished to bring to light certain mysteries which had been agitated in the private assemblies and deliberations at Trent, and inasmuch as this part had been assigned him by the Tridentine fathers themselves, I think that the Papists have wished, after publishing their impious decrees, to give to the Christian world, also, an interpretation thereof." He therefore determined to avail himself of this opportunity, not so much to reply to Andradius, as to show from his statements, "how many artifices, and what various deceptions. were insidiously concealed in the Decrees of Trent, which the reader would scarcely suspect, were he to read in course the Decrees by themselves." "I have added," he continues, "in many places, grounds of explanation and refutation, so far as the plan of the *Examen*, as it was begun, would permit. But in this entire discussion, I have endeavored to present nothing new, but only to repeat the customary doctrine of our Churches, which, I do not doubt, is the Prophetic, Apostolic, and truly Catholic harmony." It is this latter feature of the work, which gives it especial value to us; for truth is constant and invariable. Accordingly, in 1565, the first part of the *Examen Concilii Tridentini* appeared, containing chapters upon Traditions, Original Sin, Concupiscence, the Word Sin, the Conception of the Virgin Mary, the Works of Unbelievers, the Free Will, Justification, Faith, and Good Works. The succeeding year he published the second part, treating of the Sacraments *in genere*, Baptism, Confirmation, the Holy Supper, the Communion under one kind, the Mass, Repentance, Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction, Extreme Unction, Ordination and Marriage. In January, 1573, the third part followed, on Chastity, Celibacy, Purgatory and the Invocation of Saints; and in August of the same year, he finished his work, with chapters on the Relics of the Saints, Images, Indulgences, Fasts, Choice of Food, and Festivals. The Frankfort edition of 1707, is regarded the best. A recent edition, edited by Preuss, has been published by Schlawitz of Berlin, in the same beautiful style, in which he has issued reprints of Gerhard's *Loci Theologici* and Baier's Compend. A Ger-

man translation was made by Nigrinus, pastor at Giessen, and published in 1576. Another article, we may devote to the consideration of the discussions of this great master-piece.

ARTICLE VII.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

The renowned and classical historian of the Jewish nation lived, during an eventful period of the world's history. His works have reached us from the first century of the Christian era. As to their historical importance there can be no difference of opinion. Of their value to the Christian scholar, numerous testimonials from the highest sources are recorded. Tertullian represents Josephus as an admirable expositor of Jewish antiquities. Ambrose says, he is an author not to be rejected. Origen frequently quotes him as a reliable historian. Eusebius acknowledges, that from him he derived much aid in the preparation of his ecclesiastical history. Jerome speaks of his extensive knowledge, especially of his large acquaintance with Grecian literature. The ablest critics and philologists of all ages have given him the highest endorsement. By scholars of more modern times, men of great learning and sound judgment, his productions have been regarded with the greatest favor. Grotius, Scaliger, Vossius, Rosenmüller, Michaelis, Neander, Porteus, Lardner, Tilloston and Tillemont, commend them, not only for their general accuracy, but for the elegance of their style. The utility of his writings to the Biblical student is obvius; their faithful examination cannot fail to assist in the elucidation of God's Word, and in the confirmation of the believer's faith. We propose, in the present article, to speak briefly of his Life and Writings.

Josephus, who, at a subsequent period, as a dependent on the imperial family, received the name of Flavius, was born in the city of Jerusalem, A. D., 37, four years after the Saviour's death, and in the first year of the reign of

Caligula Cæsar. He belonged to an illustrious family, and was of sacerdotal and royal extraction. His father, Matthias, officiated as priest in the first of the twenty-four courses, and his mother sprang from the Asamonean princes, the Maccabees, who were also priests. He seemed proud of his lineage, and often referred to it with evident satisfaction. His parents possessed character, wealth and position. The son was carefully educated, and, at an unusually early period, his natural powers were highly developed. His progress in study was rapid, and his attainments in Hebrew and Greek literature soon attracted to him public attention. At the age of fourteen, he was frequently consulted by the chief priests on abstruse questions of Jewish law; at sixteen he determined to make a thorough examination and trial of the leading sects of the times, and to ascertain for himself, the doctrines and practices of the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the Essenes. Although a Pharisee by birth and education, he seemed strongly inclined to adopt the views of the Essenes, and having learned that Banus, a prominent teacher of the sect, was living the life of a hermit, in the "wilderness of Judea," using no other raiment than that which the trees afforded, and no other food than the spontaneous fruits which the earth furnished, practicing cold ablutions by night and by day, and employing every means of mortification that his sanctity might be promoted, he went out, and joined him in his holy seclusion. But three years of this ascetic life was sufficient. He became weary of its exactions, abandoned the desert, and, at the age of nineteen, returned to Jerusalem. From this period he became identified with the sect of the Pharisees, to which the mass of the people belonged, and was ever afterward faithful to their principles.

A journey to Rome, which he made when he was twenty-six years old, had, no doubt, an important bearing on his whole future life. The object of this visit, was to intercede with Nero on behalf of some priests, whom Felix, the Governor of Judea, had imprisoned on a trifling pretext, and sent to Rome for trial. They were the warm personal friends of Josephus, and his interest in them was greatly increased, when he heard of their deep religious attachment to the Law, and that they persistently refused, when in prison, to partake of any food which their convictions of duty forbade, and subsisted on figs and nuts alone.

During the voyage he suffered shipwreck, and, for a time, his life was exposed to imminent peril. On his escape, and arrival at Dicæarchia (Puteoli,) in the south of Italy, he formed the acquaintance and secured the friendship of Aliturius, a famous actor of plays, who, in consequence of his profession, was a favorite of Poppæa, the wife of Nero. Through the kind efforts of the actor, and the earnest interposition of the empress, he not only procured the release of the prisoners, but was presented with many valuable gifts. The period of his detention at Rome was not unimproved by Josephus. He devoted his leisure hours to faithful study, especially to the thorough acquisition of the Greek; and so successful was he in the effort, that he learned not only to write, but to speak this noble language with fluency and elegance.

On his return to Judea, he found his countrymen in a high state of political excitement. They seemed determined to shake off the Roman yoke, and become a free and independent nation. They were preparing for revolutionary measures, a mad and desperate revolt, and they were very sanguine as to the result. Josephus, acquainted with the immense resources of the enemy, and fully realizing the folly of engaging in a conflict, which was nothing else than a defiance of the power of the civilized world, which must result in inevitable defeat, earnestly endeavored to dissuade the Jews from the hopeless, insane attempt, but the effort was useless, his entreaties vain. They would not listen to his suggestions, they rejected his counsels, and nothing remained to him, but to unite in the contest, and to share in the discomfiture and fall of his country.

In this last and fatal insurrection of the Jews against the Romans, to him was entrusted by the Sanhedrim the government and defence of Galilee. As a moderate, liberal and conciliatory man, his appointment was opposed by some of the more radical members, especially by the celebrated, but infamous, John of Gischala, a bitter and subtle enemy, who constantly plotted against him, and repeatedly sought his life. But Josephus defeated his designs, and triumphed over all his machinations. He entered upon the duties assigned him, and with so much prudence and skill did he administer the government of the province, that he secured the confidence of the people, and the approval of

his masters. He fortified the cities and villages, instructed the people in the military art, and successfully repulsed the enemy. But the victory was only temporary. The Romans speedily returned, and renewed the conflict. With Vespasian as their leader, reinforced and exasperated they everywhere in their march, carried desolation and carnage. Despairing of success, and deserted by the authorities at Jerusalem, Josephus still continues his valorous exertions. He occupies the strongly fortified town of Jotapata, built on a precipice, and urges the people to make a brave and determined resistance. The struggle was fierce and desperate. The greatest resolution and heroism was displayed by the Jewish General, and for nearly seven weeks he gallantly maintained his position, and successfully resisted Rome's disciplined and veteran troops. The fortress was, however, fiercely stormed, forty thousand men fell, and twelve hundred prisoners were taken, and those of the garrison, that had not perished in the siege, were put to death. Josephus, with several others, during the confusion of the massacre, fled to a cave, where, for several days, they lay concealed, whilst the enemy were prowling around them, but having been betrayed by a captured woman, he was dragged from his hiding place, and brought into the presence of Vespasian to receive sentence of condemnation. He begged, at this critical moment, for a private conference with the Roman General, when he related a dream, which he had had in the cave, and predicted that Vespasian and his son Titus would, at no very distant day, be elevated to the imperial dignity. "Send me not," he said, "to Nero; bind me still faster, and keep me in chains, for soon thou wilt be the sovereign lord of earth and sea, and of the whole human race." He appealed to the surviving inhabitants of Jotapata to say, whether he had not long before announced this result, the present calamities of his countrymen, and in vain urged them to avoid the conflict. "If it shall appear," he adds, turning to Vespasian, "that I have deceived you, let me then be put to death." Vespasian, overcome by his remarkable address, granted his request, and although detained as a prisoner for three years, and carefully guarded, he was treated with marked distinction, and received numerous presents, as evidences of the imperial regard and favor.

The death of Nero, soon after, was succeeded in Italy by civil dissensions and sanguinary wars. Different individu-

als by different interests were declared emperor; they were, however, murdered almost as soon as they were announced. But in the midst of these popular tumults and civil commotions, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor by the army in the East. On his acceptance of the imperial power conferred upon him by the soldiers, he remembered the prophecy of Josephus, and sending for the captive, not only restored him his freedom, but bestowed upon him various favors and special privileges. These things occurred, whilst Vespasian was at Alexandria, endeavoring to establish his authority and strengthen his position in that region. On his departure for Rome, he directed Titus to return to Palestine, and bring the war, which was still raging, to a conclusion. Titus prevailed upon Josephus to accompany him, so that he was present with the Roman army during the memorable siege, and, on the fall of the city, A. D., 70, was frequently of great service to his nation. During the progress of the siege, he was often sent by Titus to persuade his countrymen to capitulate, to submit to the Roman authority, and thus save the city and the cherished temple from inevitable destruction, but neither his importunities, nor the tears and sobs of the people, had the slightest effect. They were influenced by no entreaties; they would listen to no terms. Infatuated, abandoned by Heaven, they were not impressed by their perilous condition, they saw not the danger, to which they were exposed, they realized not the terrible fate that impended. Josephus was an eye-witness of the devastation and demolition of this beautiful city, of the horrors and miseries of this exterminating war. He beheld the destruction of the holy temple, the foundations of Zion plowed as a field, the final subjugation of his devoted country. He witnessed the remarkable fulfillment of the Saviour's predictions, in the terrible events, that were then transpiring.

On the capture of the city, and the termination of the war, Titus offered to grant Josephus any favor he might ask. He only requested that the sacred books might be spared, and that the life of his brother and of his personal friends, preserved. The request was granted. His wishes were gratified. The books were given to him, and nearly two hundred of his friends were liberated, and restored to their former condition. A valuable estate in Judea was also assigned him, which, however, he did not long retain,

for, when Titus departed for Rome, Josephus sailed with him. On his arrival in Italy, he was received by Vespasian with great kindness, and advanced to the highest honor. The privileges of Roman citizenship were conferred upon him, and an annual pension from the royal treasury was granted, and a home provided in the house, formerly occupied by the emperor. He continued to reside in Rome during the residue of his life, engaged in the prosecution of his studies, in literary and historical research. He enjoyed the protection and favor, not only of Vespasian, but of his successors, Titus and Domitian. The precise time of his death is uncertain. All that we positively know is, that he survived Agrippa II, who died, A. D., 97. It is probable, that he passed away, at the beginning of the second century.

Josephus was married three times. His first wife was a captive in Cæsarea, whom he married at the suggestion of Vespasian, while he was yet a prisoner, but whom he afterwards repudiated. His second wife was an Alexandrian woman, whom he also discarded, dissatisfied with her conduct. His third wife was a Cretan, but by birth a Jewess, of distinguished parentage, congenial in her disposition, and "whose character," he says, "was beyond that of most other women."

The character of Josephus may be briefly given. He was a religious man, and disposed to do what he considered right. His mind was deeply impressed with a sense of the Divine presence, and his personal obligations; to the goodness of God he repeatedly ascribes his numerous escapes and remarkable deliverances from danger, the favor and protection, which he enjoyed. He tried to be honest, but his vanity and love of popularity made him, sometimes, time-serving, and less faithful to the principles which he professed. He was ambitious, and, in his efforts to secure favor, sometimes sacrificed his convictions of duty. His conduct was not always in conformity with the teachings of Moses, whom he so much admired and so eloquently defended. But he was proud of his national history. His attachment to his countrymen was sincere and decided, his devotion to their institutions and interests enthusiastic, but thinking that the attempt to resist the Roman power was utterly hopeless, particularly after their repeated failures to sustain their interests, he withdrew his opposition as impracticable and useless, and acquiesced in the exist-

ing state of things. For this he has been the subject of severe criticism and undeserved animadversion. He adhered to the national cause so long as there was any prospect of success, and yielded his homage to the conqueror, only when the necessity was laid upon him. He always conducted himself with becoming dignity and freedom, never abandoning cherished sentiments, and ever availing himself of any opportunity afforded to benefit his race.

As a writer, Josephus possesses many excellencies. His style is clear, vigorous, and classical, resembling, in many respects, in its terseness and elegance, "Livy's pictured page." He has often been pronounced the Grecian Livy. The influence of Grecian culture is apparent in all his productions. He claims for himself, in his historical statements, the merit of accuracy and fidelity, but this claim must be received with allowance, sometimes even with mistrust. His narrative is often colored, and facts are disguised, when there is some prejudice to mislead him, or some selfish object to subserve. There seems a constant disposition manifested to avoid the giving of offence to his adopted friends. The Romans, on all occasions, must be conciliated, their wishes consulted, and their pride flattered. "In narrating the facts of the Old Testament," says Dr. Echard, "he sometimes gives them an artificial turn, and uses such disguising and mollifying strokes, as show that he does not follow the truth rigidly, but prefers to accommodate the most surprising passages to the humors and opinions of those, for whom he wrote." And yet whilst his statements are to be adopted with some measure of abatement, they may be regarded as entirely reliable and truthful when no motive to disguise the narrative existed. His writings are of great value to the Christian scholar. They occupy an important place in the study of God's Word. They furnish collateral evidence of the truths of Divine Revelation. They aid us in determining the canon of the Old Testament Scriptures, in vindicating their antiquity, and in establishing their authenticity. The number and description, for example, of the canonical books, which he gives, are found to correspond exactly with our own. "We have not," he writes, "an innumerable multitude of books, as the Greeks have, disagreeing from, and contradicting, one another; but we have only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times, which are justly believed to be divine. Of

these, five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. In this interval of time, from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets wrote down, what was done, in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life."* In the time of Josephus, the number of the sacred books had been reduced to twenty-two, so as to correspond with the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. To accomplish the reduction, several of the books, *e. g.* Judges and Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and his Lamentations, and the twelve minor prophets, were united into one book.† Although the author dwells chiefly on public and political affairs, the help, which he incidentally affords, in the interpretation of the Scriptures, is very important. He introduces facts which, without any design on his part, shed light on the sacred text, corroborate the inspired narrative, remove supposed difficulties, and reconcile apparent discrepancies. He, a learned and cotemporaneous Jew, although hostile to the Gospel scheme, bears, in an incidental way, the most valuable testimony to the correctness of the Scriptural narrative. In his statements there is frequently a perfect correspondence to the facts referred to in the Bible. There is sometimes a conformity in the expression, as well as in the sense. Paul‡ says: "After the most straitest sect of our religion, I lived a Pharisee." In Josephus,§ it is written: "The Pharisees are a certain sect of the Jews, that appear more religious than others, and to be the most exact and skilful in explaining the laws." In Mark,‖ it is said: "The Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders; and many other things there be, which they have received to hold." Josephus¶ tells us: "The Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses." In Acts,** we read: "And he, (Herod) went down from Judea to Cæsarea, and there abode. And upon a set day, Herod

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*Josephus against Apion. Liber 1.

†Horne's Introduction, p. 29.

‡Acts 26 : 5.

§De Bello. Lib. 1. c. 5.

‖7 : 3, 4.

¶Antiquities. Lib. 13, c. 10.

**12 : 19—23.

arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them: and the people gave a shout, saying: It is the voice of a God, and not of a man; and immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost." Josephus* says: "He came to the city of Cæsarea. Here he exhibited shows in honor of Cæsar. On the second day of the shows, early in the morning, he came into the theatre, dressed in a robe, wholly of silver of most curious workmanship. The rays of the rising sun, reflected from such a splendid garb, gave him a majestic and awful appearance. They called him a god; and entreated him to be propitious to them, saying: Hitherto we have reverenced you as a man, but henceforth we acknowledge you as superior to mortal nature. The king neither rebuked them, nor rejected the impious flattery. Immediately after this, he was seized with pain in his bowels, extremely violent at the very first. He was carried, therefore, with all haste to his palace. These pains continually tormenting him, he expired in five days' time." Similar coincidences, if necessary, might be greatly multiplied in illustration of the point. Josephus, also, speaks of Christ as a wise teacher, and having wrought miracles. In his Antiquities,† he says: "Now there was at that time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men, as have a veneration for the truth. He drew over to him, many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those, that loved him at the first, did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again on the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day."‡ He also refers to Joseph of Arithmathea, to Pilate and to the organization

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*Antiquities. Lib. 19, c. 8. †Antiquities, liber 18, c. 3.

‡Gieseler in his Church History, (Vol. I, p. 68,) says: This testimony is regarded with the greatest probability as genuine, but interpolated. The passage was first cited by Eusebius, and repeated without doubt, by succeeding writers. Hubert Gifanius was the first to express any doubt as to its authenticity.

of the Christian Church. He speaks of the murder of the apostle James, and thinks the destruction of Jerusalem was a judgment upon the Jews for their connection with the death of John the Baptist. "These miseries," he tells us, "befell the Jews by the anger of God, by way of revenge for James the Just, the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, because they had slain him, who was a most righteous person."* He also refers to the death of John the Baptist by Herod, that he might make room for Herodias. Herod had discarded his former wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, a king of the Petrean Arabians. To avenge the injury, Aretas made war upon Herod, subdued him, and destroyed his army. Josephus says, in reference to these events: "Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly as a punishment, for what he did against John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him who was a good man, and one that commanded the Jews to exercise virtue and piety."† He records the remarkable prophecy, uttered by the Saviour, in reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, and its literal fulfillment; he furnishes the most ample evidence, proof beyond all dispute, of Christ's divinity, and his mission to the world. From these considerations alone, it is easy to perceive, of how great value the works of Josephus are to the Biblical student.

The Writings of Josephus are embraced in the following list: "The History of the Jewish Wars," "The Antiquities of the Jews," "Flavius Josephus against Apion," and the "Autobiography."

"*The History of the Jewish Wars*," was written soon after the capture of Josephus and his departure for Rome. Whiston assigns its publication to A. D., 75. The work consists of seven books, and contains the history of the Jews from the destruction of the city by Antiochus Epiphanes, B. C., 170, until its subsequent and final overthrow by Titus, A. D., 70. It was originally written in the Syro-Chaldaic language, for the benefit of his own countrymen, especially for those beyond the Euphrates. It was subsequently translated into Greek, for the Western Jews and the Romans. Both king Agrippa and Titus expressed their confidence in the accuracy of the narrative. Titus, over his own signature, pronounced it an authentic manual

*Antiquities, Liber 20. †Antiquities, Liber 18, c. 5.

of the times, and ordered a copy to be placed in the public library.

"*The Antiquities of the Jews*," in twenty books, published, according to Whiston, eighteen years later, A. D., 93, commence with the creation of the world, and give the history of the Jews from the earliest period till the end of Nero's reign. Much of the material is derived from the Old Testament Scriptures, but many traditions are introduced into the narrative, for the purpose of elevating his countrymen in the estimation of the Romans, and repelling the calumnies, and reports, affecting their character and their history which were in circulation, and exciting contempt and prejudice against them.

"*The Books against Apion*," in two parts, are a reply to a proud and bitter adversary, an Alexandrian grammarian and teacher, residing at Rome, an avowed and inveterate enemy of the Jews, who had adopted the Egyptian prejudices and traditions concerning the nation. The work is chiefly valuable on account of the extracts from old historical sources.

"*The Autobiography*," which may be regarded as supplementary to the Antiquities, is more especially designed as an answer to the charges, preferred against him by his old assailant and rival, Justus of Tiberias, who had written in the Greek language, a History of the War. Dr. Hudson assigns its composition to A. D., 100, in the reign of Trajan.

The *Editio princeps* of Josephus appeared at Basel in 1544. Since that period the most important editions are those of Hudson, printed at Oxford, 1720, of Havercamp, in Greek and Latin, in two folio volumes, published at Amsterdam, 1726, of Oberthür, in four octavo volumes, at Leipsic, 1781—5, of Richter, at Leipsic, 1825—27, and of Dindorf, at Paris, 1845. The works of Josephus have been frequently translated. The best known versions in English, are by L'Estrange, issued in London, 1702, and by Professor Whiston, also published in London, 1737. The latter, with notes and illustrations, is the edition reprinted in this country, and in general use. A German edition, on the basis of Professor Cotta's translation, with a careful revision of the Greek text, and a large amount of annotation by Rev. Dr. Demme, of Philadelphia, was published in 1840.

ARTICLE VIII.

IN ESSENTIALS, UNITY.

By V. M. Zimmerman, Esq., Hillsboro', Ill.

These words, ascribed to Augustine, Melanchthon and others, refer to unity in doctrine, and, with their subsequents, form a sentiment honorable to the hearts and consciences of Christian men; but not even they, who adopt this motto, will deny that it is a step in advance of the popular mind of the Church.

Men usually make religion more a matter of conscience, than of intellect; but when conscience and intellect alike appear to waver capriciously in every breeze that ripples the current of thought, it is an almost certain sign, that something is not exactly right. In the court of conscience, the word convenience has no signification.

There is a certain inspiration in enthusiasm; but enthusiasm alone, when undirected by reason, generally proves to be a bad master. One can scarcely be an enthusiast on any subject, without having more vivid perceptions of the right and the wrong concerning it, than one whose head is clearer and judgment cooler. He who utters sentiments awakened in moments, when the finite mind is striving to commune with the infinite, must be expected to overleap the bounds, to which common men are capable of going. There are enthusiasts in secular, as well as in spiritual, matters; in those things which pertain to local and national politics, as well as in those which relate particularly to the spread of the doctrines of the true faith.

They who profess to make conscience their guide in all things, too often are only enthusiasts; and when this does happen, they are among the most stubborn of living men. And yet it can never be wrong to appeal to conscience. If men do things as opposite as the poles, claiming to act in accordance with the promptings of conscience, and thus leave others to doubt its correctness as a moral guide, it is because Interest and Intellect, the two greatest counselors at its bar, have united their powers to sway the judgment

of the court. Conscientious men often tread divergent paths. That is admitted; but their divergence is rather the divergence of those who follow meridian paths, which, at last, must converge and intersect at a common pole, than a divergence which would lead them in straight lines, out into the infinity of space. Such a divergence, in its very nature, can be only for a time. At last the journey will be finished, and these apparently diverse ways will end at a common point—central unity.

Such divisions usually lead to salutary results. The field of observation and action is thus enlarged. The good that can not be done by one party, will be accomplished by the other; and, if there is any affinity between their elements, each must labor for the accomplishment of the same end—ultimate unity. Christian men cannot always strive with each other, unless in seeking to excel in good works. Forty years ago, the Presbyterian denomination in this country was divided by an internal convulsion; and, when the scattered elements began to coalesce and advance in diverging columns, many good people feared they might never again unite, and yet during the last year their meridians intersected in the pole of Christian fellowship and brotherly unity, and the brethren, who were formerly arrayed against each other in ecclesiastical hostility, are now striving only to extend the boundaries of peace, by building the edifice of their faith, upon the sure and steadfast foundation of a risen Saviour's love.

The general tendency of the times is toward unity and harmony. This is not less true of the Church, than of the political world, and of society at large. The recent union of the great Presbyterian denomination is only an individual instance of this tendency. Other religious denominations, long divided and distracted by temporary differerences, are continually approaching nearer to Christian unity.

In the new day that is dawning upon us, Unity and Peace are to be the watch-words of the heroes of human progress. This is foreshadowed in the fact, that men everywhere are beginning to think and speak more kindly of each other, and are becoming more and more prompt to promote the welfare of humanity at large, instead of striving selfishly, as of old, each for his own personal aggrandizement. The politics of the period is being reduced more nearly to certain science; political systems are being

reformed; governments are becoming free, as well as safer and surer; and the inherent rights of humanity are now more sacredly regarded than ever. In the State, it was during the past year, that that magnificient measure of freedom, the *Fifteenth Amendment* to the National Constitution, became the law of the land. In the Church, the Methodist denomination made wonderful progress in permitting the laity to exercise a voice in moulding the ecclesiastical, as well as the secular policy of their churches. In society, the self-conceited celestial, after ages of seclusion, at last permitted the outside-barbarism to meet him on the level, without suffering even the slightest degree of contamination.

These are great gains. To him who loves his fellow-man, they are prognostic of happier things in the future. They show, that however stubborn and unyielding the human mind may appear, the great heart of humanity secretly throbs in sympathy with the principles of justice and truth. They are strides forward which show, that men are, at last, learning the great lessons of peace, that the world is finding out "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in peace and unity!"

In discussing the question of ecclesiastical unity, we cannot place too much stress upon the unity and greatness of the nation. The State is the great parent of us all. In it, we live and move, and have our continued being. If it is united, harmonious, prosperous, and powerful, the people will catch their inspiration from it, and emulate, in their own way, its deeds of honorable fame. Every other interest must be subordinate to the greatness and glory of the State; for, when the State is weak and insignificant, all the great time-telling schemes of Christian humanity must unavoidably languish and die.

In enumerating the achievements of last year, it is proper to mention that wonder of individual and national enterprise, which now binds the Atlantic to the Pacific in an indissoluble chain—the great Pacific Railway, which is second, in national importance, to no public work of the century. By the aid of electricity, the Atlantic and Pacific may converse together in the kindliest sympathy; whilst the steam engine has made the dweller upon the Atlantic slope, the Pacific slope, and the great Central Plain, not near neighbors merely, but members of the same great political family. These States geographically

are not one, but many. They are a plural unity; and, thus strengthened and extended, they are fast becoming one, in brotherly sympathy, one in material interests and prosperity, and one, in all the proud hopes of the future. Why should not other great interests, even those of the Church, which too often are dwarfed, by the unkindly interference of the State, catch new life and new inspiration from the national unity which is ours.

The nature of the human mind is such, that it is not possible for all men to agree in all things; but, in those which are of essential importance to their well-being, they may agree. The principles of peace are constantly growing more potent. Disturbers generally, but especially in political society, now, more than ever, in the history of this country, are confined to men of the lower grades of intelligence. Men, whose large minds and honest hearts go out in loving sympathy for their fellow-man, no longer regard it as reputable, to seek distinction by persistently clinging to hare-brained theories, worthy only of reckless and fiery youth. In moments of great political excitement and alarm, politicians were wont to play upon the fears of timid men by announcing, that in a certain undefined contingency, the Union, and with it all the hopes of the friends of free government, would be broken up and destroyed; that where now all is peace, prosperity, and national unity, hereafter would be only dissensions and disturbances, contentions and war. But we have now outgrown the times, when such announcements can alarm the peace of any one. The political aspect of the country is wholly changed. The people have arisen to new and higher views of the national unity. Once they would have sacrificed everything to preserve the union of the States, within which, it was thought, existed the only basis of a permanent free government; but now they seek first to establish liberty and justice, without which the Union cannot be maintained—without which it is not worth maintaining.

In the days that are past, our patriotism was modified by our fears, which sometimes clouded and obscured the judgment; but now our hopes and aspirations for the future have awakened our minds to clearer processes of reasoning, and our hearts to cooler methods of judgment.

The conclusion of all this is, that men in political life, are growing more reasonable and more just. Can less be said of the membership of Christian Churches?

When the Saviour gave his disciples their final instructions, before sending them out into the world to teach and preach, and work miracles in his name, he warned them, that He had come, not to send peace into the world, but a sword, using language which, though not to be taken literally, must not be understood as wholly figurative. The natural tendency of the advocacy of truth is to excite opposition. We say, in general terms, that truth is mighty and must prevail; but few of us realize, until they are upon us, through what tempests of human passion truth must pass, before its triumph is complete. Evil-minded men often attempted to stay the onward progress of Christianity, by interposing the ruthless arm of unjust war; but the real sword, that the coming Saviour sent into the world, was the sword of Truth, which must go on conquering, until all the nations bow beneath its resistless sway. Like the stone, cut out of the mountain without hands, it shall continue to smite, until error has crumbled into the dust at the feet of the followers of the Lamb.

In the beginning of the fourth century, Constantine made Christianity the rule, instead of the exception, of his widely-extended empire. Then a mighty stride forward was taken; but the edict of a Roman Emperor was not sufficient to establish the pure doctrines of Christ and Him crucified. The false doctrine, that crept into the Church, under this magnificent enlargement of the domains of truth, often almost neutralized the good effects which otherwise might have been potent in humanizing mankind. Even after the Reformation days, some of the nations, which were among the earliest to embrace Christianity, so far forgot the ways of truth, that all the glories of the past, and all the hopes of the future, were darkened by the mists of a present repudiation. The rationalistic periods in Germany, and the Revolutionary days in France, are instances, memorable for their forgetfulness of truth. But to day, the precepts of Christianity, are the basis alike of national and municipal legislation, in all lands in which the human mind has been enlightened by the cheerful beams of the Sun of Science. These are facts, that cannot fail to be encouraging to every true follower of the Saviour, as well as to every honest friend of humanity.

The outlook from the watch-tower of our Lutheran Zion is not altogether cheerful, though not so cheerless, as for many years past. The union of our Churches and Synods,

that lately acted together as a General Synod, was not an unmixed good; and the dissolution of that body, or rather its division into two ecclesiastical organizations, is not an unmixed evil. There were inherent reasons, why that formal union was incapable of accomplishing the objects it was intended to accomplish, but none suggests itself more promptly than this: It was a premature union. The time had not yet come, when the affinity between the elements that entered into its composition, was strong enough to overcome their heterogeneity.

Great advances in matters that concern the human intellect, a spark of that light divine, that beamed upon the earth, when it was said: "Let there be light and there was light," can be made only by striving through tempests of human passion, that saddest bequest of the original fall. This recent division in our ecclesiastical ranks, then, though most probably the prelude to potent changes, in itself, is a matter of very slight importance. We need not attempt to conceal the fact from the public view: there were reasons for complaint on both sides. Within the General Synod, were elements inharmonious and antagonistic. A portion of the members were advancing into views, verging upon the confines of rationalism and infidelity, while others still were rapidly retrograding into the dark avenues of formalism and bigotry, from which the world, through the instrumentality of the Reformers, had so recently been emancipated. He that careth for all the Churches, therefore, ordered it in wisdom, that these two great branches of our Lutheran Zion should be separated for a time, that they may discuss each other's short-comings, freely and unreservedly, though, it is to be hoped, in true Christian kindness. Iron sharpeneth iron, and in the hither and thither movements of the ecclesiastical pendulum these divine interests must reach, at last, the stationary point of central unity. Our Church is, indeed, divided; but, divided only to conquer, not to be cast down. Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad. We are not mad—only striving earnestly to know the truth.

It is a reflection, not very flattering to us, that ours, the oldest of the Reformed Churches, has not yet a well organized and well defined Church polity. There is a very wide diversity in the non-essential doctrines, held by those who accept, as essential, the same fundamental precepts, and bear the distinctive name of Lutheran. The life-giv-

ing tenets of Lutheranism, are everywhere the same. It is minor matters only, that will not let brethren of the same faith with Christ walk the wayside, but prompt them rather to seek out, each for himself, a new and splendid thoroughfare to things eternal, which fade not away.

From these facts, a general principle for our guidance may be deduced. It is this: In matters pertaining to churches, Church governments, and Christian doctrines, it is not a safe rule to be very radical, or very conservative, as these terms are commonly used. Radical for the right, would be a noble battle-cry, if there were a fixed standard of right, which all men alike would acknowledge; but, there is no such standard. Even the Holy Scriptures, which might reasonably be expected to furnish the basis of such a standard, are differently interpreted and understood by different men. Its great laws of truth and love are neither vague nor uncertain; and yet so wildly imperfect is the human reason, that men can not, or will not, see the same things in the same light; and, being unable to agree in all things, instead of uniting upon essentials, in which they can agree, waste the energies God has given them, by vainly attempting to harmonize inharmonious non-essentials. If men could agree to accept essential unity as a finality; if they would grant each other full liberty to act, as conscience may dictate, in all matters deemed unessential, or at least of minor importance, in the plan of salvation; if they were willing to allow Christian charity to cover up the multitude of minor differences, which, if not all strictly non-essential, at least are of subordinate importance to the great fundamental precepts, that all Christian people accept in common, then all would soon be well. The harmony, uttered by the sweet bells of Christian sympathy, would soon obliterate differences which can exist only in the midst of violent intellectual conflict, and then the day, when there shall be but one fold and one Shepherd, would speedily draw near.

There is a principle in the human heart, which prompts man to advocate views, with which he has long been identified, even after every one but himself has discarded them, as unreasonable and unjust. This selfish view of things, now stands in the way of true Christian union; and, wherever its influence is not overcome by the charity that vaunteth not itself, and is not puffed up, it must always be productive of results, unworthy of Christian men, and

baneful to the Church at large. In the new day, that is approaching, this principle will lose its prevalent power. Men will draw nearer to each other, as they draw nearer to a common Saviour. All will join in shouting the praises of God and the Lamb. Once the favorite watch-words of churchmen were, "The Confessions," "The Church," "Its numerical advancement;" but, in the new day that shall succeed the present period of stormy dissensions, a re-united and heaven-blest Church will be ready to sacrifice all things for the cause of a crucified Redeemer. Then, indeed, will the Gospel of Peace have free course, and be glorified!

ARTICLE IX.

TENNYSON.

By Professor E. Ferrier, A. M., of Pennsylvania College.

The secret of literary immortality has never been discovered. The caprice of popular taste in regard to books and authors, is altogether incomprehensible. Why one book survives the general wreck, why a thousand others go down under the condemnation of popular judgment, is a question which has never been fully and satisfactorily answered. The illustrations of this seemingly arbitrary decision are numerous, some of them of the most painful kind, and in no department of human effort, may we find more striking proofs of the utter vanity of all worldly glory.

In the last generation, it was a disgrace for any person of ordinary intelligence, not to have read the graceful papers of the Spectator and Tatler; now, not one in fifty, of even educated men, ever opens the volumes. As elements in our literature, though almost unequaled for polish of style, as well as for delicacy of sentiment, and accuracy of criticism, they are of no influence whatever. Miss Edgworth was the most popular author of her period, yet how

few, even in this novel reading age, have perused her tales. Her name is scarcely known by the rising generation. At the beginning of the present century, the name of Walter Scott, as poet and novelist, was almost a household word in Europe and America; yet, in spite of the cheap editions of his works, a careful inquiry leaves the impression, that many of his productions are already consigned to the forgetfulness of the upper shelf of the library. Ten years ago, Tupper was more popular than Tennyson, and scores of even discriminating men, declared the Proverbial Philosophy, a work for immortality. Ten years hence, judging from the present current of public sentiment, the name of Tupper will not be known, while Tennyson will be adjudged the worthy successor of Spenser, Milton and Wordsworth.

Since the opening of the nineteenth century, there have arisen two distinct and well-defined schools of English poetry. The representatives of the first school, are Byron, Shelley and Coleridge. In the early part of this century, Europe was agitated with the most fiery energies. Most of the nations were shaken with the new ideas, which found their unnatural expression in the French Revolution. For the first time, the great doctrine of human equality, with which we are familiar, was not simply taught and believed, but urged with great power, for immediate practical application. The poets felt these new influences more deeply than any other class; or rather, through the poets, these new ideas found their expression. Their poetic natures were stirred by the times in which they lived, and much of their poetry are their glowing and fervid utterances on the topics of the day. Hence, the poetry of the early part of the century is free, fresh, stirring and spontaneous. It is significant, that Wordsworth in his early years, embraced the ideas of the wildest champions of liberty in France. Coleridge formed a scheme for emigrating to this country, and founding, on the banks of the Susquehanna, a model republic, from which all selfishness was to be banished. He received warm support in this plan, from both Southey and Shelley, and the only reason why the Pantisocracy was never made an actual experiment, was want of funds. Byron devoted his influence and his life to the cause of Greek independence, and died at Missolonghi, in 1824, amid the lamentations of the Greek patriots. The hearts of the poets were deeply moved by these experi-

ments among the nations, and the scenes, amid which they lived, furnished them their most fitting themes.

But a new school has now risen. Since the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, many political events of a memorable character have taken place, but they have been useful and moderate, and not the outgrowth of any such theories as were the life of the French Revolution. Poets of this last school, have taken comparatively little interest in the scenes of politics. Tennyson is their great representative. Changes in the State furnish him with no inspiring theme. Of his three or four pieces, patriotic in their character, there is a marked difference between the freedom of Shelley, and the quiet stateliness of Tennyson. That oft-quoted stanza:

> "A land of settled government,
> A land of just and old renown,
> Where freedom slowly broadens down
> From precedent to precedent,"

is lofty and quiet, but how far removed from the fresh, and impetuous, and rousing verses of Scott, or Shelley. The only seeming exception in the case of Tennyson is, the "Ode on the Charge of the Light Brigade," which has remarkable vigor, yet rough, and wanting in that smooth flow of utterance, which characterizes the earlier school. Hence, we note the following characteristic of the poetry of Tennyson, and, in a great degree, of the whole school, of which Tennyson is the representative.

There is a want of passion. The earlier poets, as we have already intimated, address more specially the emotional part of our nature. There is a readiness and swiftness in the movement of their imaginations, to which we are strangers. The wonderful and startling events of their day, give them an impetus and a fiery energy, which could not be attained in a more common-place age. This spirit, is almost entirely wanting in Tennyson, and, if we go from the reading of the earlier, to the later poets of the century. we uniformly experience a feeling of disappointment. In Byron or Moore, we are carried along, as if on the bosom of a current, and the stream of passion, carries us on from point to point, almost against our own will. In comparison, Tennyson is cold, critical, and calculating. He crosses many of our cherished notions, as to the nature of poetry. We find nothing corresponding to the description of the

poet, given in Act V : 1, of "Midsummer-Night's Dream." "The poet's eye, in fine frenzy rolling, doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven."

The poets of this school are students. They are thoroughly reflective and self-conscious. Tennyson addresses the mind, rather than the heart. His analysis is of the most acute and critical kind, though he has a corresponding imagination, which converts these refined abstractions into pictures, or "makes them audible to the soul, through the most cunning combinations of sound." This is the special office of this faculty. "As imagination bodies forth the forms of things unknown, the poet's pen turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing, a local habitation and a name." If Tennyson had possessed the acuteness of the one, without the creative power of the other, he might have become eminent in science, or philosophy, but would have lacked the chief elements of the poet. Every part bears the impress of toil, and frequently he elaborates with a minuteness and pains-taking, which are scarcely tolerable. It is not proper to use the word inspiration, in connection with this school of poets, for they are not inspired; they are severe students, and work out their productions by patient skill. Much of their poetry is occupied with topics, which demand learning and abstract thought. Sometimes the allusions and illustrations are such, as imply a familiar acquaintance with science and history to appreciate.

> "Break thou deep vase of chilling tears,
> That grief hath shaken into frost."

Again:

> "All those sharp fancies, by down-lapsing thought,
> Streamed onward, lost their edges, and did creep,
> Rolled on each other, rounded, smoothed and brought
> Into the gulfs of sleep."

Reading the poetry of Tennyson quite disabuses us of the idea, that the study of poetry, is a sort of entertainment, a refined amusement, a kind of passive pleasure, rather than something which demands studious and strenuous energy.

All the great poets have drawn much of their freshness and power from communion with the outer world. Wise and genial intercourse with the influences of the material

world, is characteristic of the poetic spirit. It is this, which gives a joy and a gladness to the utterances of Chaucer, and passing from the poetry of the preceding age, to the literature of the fourteenth century, is like going from the oppressive and impure atmosphere of a close room, to the freedom and freshness of the open air. Many of Spenser's finest passages, are descriptions of natural scenery. Wordsworth found poetry everywhere in the outer world. Whittier says of him:

> He found
> In simple flower, and leaf and stone,
> The impulses of the sweetest lays,
> Our Saxon tongue has known;
> The Violet by its mossy stone,
> The Primrose by the river's brim,
> And chance, some Daffodils have found
> Immortal life through him."

Tennyson has a mind keenly alive to impressions from the material world. He sees beauty, where others have seen only ugliness, and he hears music, where a common ear would pass unheedingly by. The grand and majestic aspects of nature, have not been presented by him so vividly, as by the poets of the earlier school, but, it is characteristic of Tennyson, that he is a master of all the details in the landscapes, that meet us every day, of the sights and sounds of the country, or of the quiet sea-side. He views nature with microscopic eye, and in aspects which have been hitherto overlooked. In describing scenery, his eye and ear are marvelously delicate, and they are exercised in detecting the minutest relations, and the most evanescent melodies of surrounding objects. In fact, this love for description, as we shall soon see, is one defect of the Arthurian poems. When the poet has placed before our minds a great thought in morals, and his sole design, is its expression and application, we do not like to be detained on the way, by a detailed description of all the intervening or attendant objects.

Much of the force and beauty of style, depend on the judicious use of the attributive combinations, and there is scarcely any part, on which writers at first commit greater error, than in the use of epithets. If unmeaning, or unnecessary, they interrupt the progress, and weaken the force of the sentiment. Milton's epithets are pictures.

The epithets of Shakspeare are exceedingly suggestive. You cannot remove or change one, without injuring the sense, and affecting the harmony of expression. Coleridge says of Milton: "You can no more remove one of Milton's epithets, than you can push a brick from a wall with your fore finger." His adjectives are wedded to his nouns. In all the productions of Tennyson, there is an elaborate pains-taking for this class of words, which at once arrests our attention. His wonderful familiarity with the old English authors, has given him a great advantage in this feature. A reverent and admiring student of Chaucer and Spenser, he has rescued from the past, many an apt expression, which will be a treasure in the language. Decided progress has been made, not by borrowing from other tongues, but by bringing to light old forms, which loyalty to our English should never have suffered to become obsolete, and his influence on the revival of the study of the Elizabethan authors, has been marked.

The last of Mr. Tennyson's poems, entitled the Holy Grail, is one of a series of what may be called Arthurian poems. The first one, entitled "Morte d'Arthur," was published in 1843. They are nine in number, and may be regarded as nine books of a single narrative in verse. They are founded on the exploits of King Arthur, and the Knights of the Round Table. Arthur was a famous king of Britain, supposed to have flourished at the time of the Saxon invasion, and to have died in the year 542, from wounds received on the fatal battle-field of Camlan. His true history has been overlaid with so many absurd fictions by the monkish chroniclers, and mediaeval poets and romancers, that many have erroneously regarded him as a mythical personage. The Round Table was a huge circular marble table, according to the old romancers, at which king Arthur and his knights were accustomed to sit. Every knight had his seat, with his name inscribed on it in letters of gold. Since the days of Milton, the poets have conceived of epic poems founded on the stories of king Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. Even before Milton, Spenser took for the hero of the Faery Queen, this same character, "as most fitte for the excellange of his person, being made famous by many men's former workes, and also furthest from the daunger of envye and suspition of present time." The long roll of Spenser's melodious verse is full of the echo of the Ar-

thurian legends. Dryden projected a national epic, with Arthur for its hero, and the poet mournfully speaks of his poverty, as compelling him to waste, upon wretched task-work for the booksellers, time and genius, which he wished to bestow upon a sublime and lasting creation. But it has been reserved for Tennyson to execute what Milton gave up for Paradise Lost, though the glooms and glories of Milton's thunders would have grandly rung with the story of the perfect king and type of chivalry, what Dryden could not accomplish for want of leisure, and in which Spenser failed, because of his intricate and involved allegories. The name of Mr. Tennyson's last, and, perhaps, most popular work is the Holy Grail, or the Sacred Cup. The cup referred to is, that over which our Saviour pronounced the sacramental words: "This is my blood," and which was found, after the death of the Saviour, and the dispersion of the disciples, in a state of miraculous preservation, by Joseph of Arimathea. By him it was taken to England, and remained there many years, an object of pilgrimage and devotion. It at length disappeared, one of its keepers having violated the condition of strict virtue, in thought, word and deed, which was imposed upon those who had charge of it.

> "After the day of darkness, when the dead
> Went wandering over Moriah, the good saint,
> Arimathean Joseph, journeying, brought
> To Glastonbury, where the Winter thorn
> Blossoms at Christmas, mindful of our Lord,
> And there awhile it bode; and if a man
> Could touch or see it, he was healed at once,
> By faith, of all his ills; but then the times
> Grew to such evil, that the Holy Cup
> Was caught away to Heaven and disappeared."

From that time, it became the mission of the Knights of the Round Table, to recover the lost cup. In the first Canto of the Marmion of Sir Walter Scott, allusion is made to this search for the lost treasure:

> "A sinful man and unconfessed,
> He sought the Sangreal's holy quest,
> And, slumbering, saw the vision high,
> He might not view with waking eye."

In a note, Scott says: "One day, when Arthur was hold-

ing a high feast with his Knights of the Round Table, the Sangreal, or vessel, out of which the last Passover was eaten, a precious relic, which had long remained concealed from human eyes, because of the sins of the land, suddenly appeared to him and all his chivalry.

> "And o'er his head the holy vessel hung,
> Redder than any rose, a joy to me,
> For I knew the veil had been withdrawn.
> Then in a moment when they blazed again
> Opening, I saw the host of little stars
> Dawn on the waste, and straight beyond the star
> I saw the Spiritual city and all her spires
> And gateways in a glory like one pearl,
> No larger, tho' the goal of all the saints,
> Strike from the sea ; and from the star there shot
> A rose-red sparkle to the city, and there
> Dwelt, and I knew it was the Holy Grail,
> Which never eyes on earth again shall see."

The consequence of this vision was, that the knights took on them a solemn vow to seek the Sangreal.

If Tennyson designed that these nine Arthurian Idyls should constitute one whole, a connected Epic, the realization of what floated in the imagination of Milton, Dryden and Scott, he has signally failed. While we place him in the front rank of English poets, it is no disparagement of his genius to say, that he has not the qualifications to write a great Epic, like the Paradise Lost. The poetry of Tennyson is essentially lyric in its character. There is a want of comprehensiveness in his treatment of a subject. In Memoriam, one of his best and most characteristic poems, written in honor of Hallam, the son of the celebrated historian, worthy to rank as an elegy with the Lycidas of Milton, and the Adonais of Shelley, is wanting in unity. It is a series of fine lyrics, loosely connected.

The moral subject of the Holy Grail, is the struggle in the heart of man, after ideal nobleness of nature. The search for the lost cup, by the Knights of the Round Table, is made a type of that earnest seeking of our nature for something higher and nobler. It represents those aspirations which rise up in every human bosom, after attainments in truth and goodness. You will observe, the whole drift of the poem is moral; the poet is a preacher of righteousness; and one great defect of the poem is, the

author has obscured the moral lesson, by the energy which has been expended on the descriptions. When Mr Tennyson has a hero, through want of dramatic power, and success in individualizing character, we lose our interest in the man, and are lost in the enchanting descriptions. Listen to a selection of an adventure of Sir Lancelot, and then contrast it with the prose of Sir Thomas Mallory; Tennyson's rendering is:

> "Seven days I drove along the dreary deep,
> And with me drove the moon and all the stars;
> And the wind fell, and on the seventh night,
> I heard the shingle grinding in the surge,
> And felt the boat shock earth, and looking up,
> Behold, the enchanted towers of Carbonek;
> A castle like a rock upon a rock,
> With chasm-like portals open to the sea,
> And steps that met the breaker! there was none
> Stood near it, but a lion on each side
> That kept the entry, and the moon was full.
> Then from the boat I leapt, and up the stairs,
> There drew my sword. With sudden-flaring manes
> Those two great beasts rose upright like a man,
> Each gript a shoulder, and I stood between;
> And when I would have smitten them, heard a voice,
> "Doubt not, go forward; if thou doubt, the beasts
> Will tear thee piecemeal." Then with violence
> The sword was dashed from out my hand, and fell."

The rendering of the same in prose, by Sir Thomas Mallory, is decidedly superior to that of Tennyson: "And the wind arose, and drove Sir Lancelot more than a month throughout the sea, where he slept but little, and prayed unto God, that he might have a sight of the Holy Sangreal. So it befel upon a night, at midnight, that he arrived at a castle, which was rich and fair, and there was a postern that opened toward the sea, and was open without any keeping, save two lions kept the entry; and the moon shined clear. Anon, Sir Lancelot heard a voice that said: 'Lancelot, go out of this ship, and enter the castle, where thou shalt see a great part of thy desire.' Then he ran to his arms and armed him, and so he went unto the gate, and saw the two lions; then he set hands to his sword, and drew it. Then there came suddenly a dwarf, and

smote him on the arm so sore, that the sword fell out of his hand. Then he heard a voice, that said: 'O man of evil faith, and poor belief, wherefore believest thou more in thy harness, than in thy Maker? For He might more avail thee than thine armor, in whose service thou art set.'" In this comparison, the old compiler of the Romances of the Round Table, appears to better advantage than the poet. This is the first criticism we offer on this last piece of Tennyson. As designed to teach a great moral lesson, a lesson which commends itself to every earnest and conscientious man, we are led too far away from the main object, by occasional descriptions. The impression is lost through want of unity, directness and cogency, in the treatment.

Again, the spirit of the age is not favorable to the permanent influence of a work like the Holy Grail. The age is all alive to the moving present. It is not disposed to burrow among the ruins of dead mythologies, whether of Palestine, Hellas, Italy, or England. There are but few chords of sympathy between the present, so real, so materialistic, so full of work, and that period, when brave knights daily sallied forth in quest of adventures, and life seemed a dull, useless thing, without the excitements of chivalrous enterprise. That sorrowful saying of Sir Bedivere is true, as he saw the mystic barge, tended by the three queens, bearing from the shore the wounded body of Lord Arthur:

> "For now I see the true old times are dead,
> When every morning brought a noble chance,
> And every chance brought out a noble knight."

Those old knights would find but little employment in this bustling, toiling age, and so far from asking for chances and adventures, they would put the question: "What shall I eat, and what shall I drink." Thomas Carlyle says: "Onr great epic must now begin, not 'Arms and the man,' but 'Tools and the man.'" For this reason, the Holy Grail will not be read with any unusual interest, by those who are ignorant of the great features of that dreamy, romantic age which has passed away forever. And, for the same reason, it will not make the same deep impression, nor be such a power in the language, as many of his former productions. In a few years, while the Holy Grail will be read and admired, by those who have a love for

the age of romance, and the exploits of knight errantry, and who have, by reading, made themselves familiar with scenes, which belonged to a peculiar period of the history of the world, it will not in coming years, occupy the place of power in our literature, which we assign to Maud, In Memoriam, Enoch Arden, or his almost incomparable lyrics.

The style of Tennyson, in some respects, is not fitted for setting forth the exploits of knighthood. Its careful, almost painful elaboration, its extreme simplicity, do not accord with the freedom, boldness and dash, of the age of chivalry. Its dress is too simple for

> "The feats of Arthur and his knightly peers;
> Of Arthur, who, to upper light restored,
> With that teriffic sword
> Which yet he wields in subterranean war;
> Shall lift his country's fame above the polar star."

While we make these reflections on the Holy Grail, and by no means place it among the best of Tennyson's productions, we do not make them in the spirit of disparagement. The Arthurian Idyls will, doubtless, add to the reputation and influence of the Poet Laureate of England.

There is an elaborate finish of workmanship, a perfection of rhythm, a loftiness and moral elevation, which will make them a legacy of inestimable value to all coming generations.

We detect in them, as in his other productions, a creative force, and exaltation and intensity of thought, which gives health and consolation, as well as excitement, a splendor of idea and combination, a depth of serene, imaginative insight, the "vision divine," which make their author the worthy successor of Dryden, Southey, and Wordsworth, who have successively occupied the conspicuous position of poet laureate.

ARTICLE X.

EIGHT YEARS AMONG THE HINDOOS.

By Rev. W. McMillan, A. M., Gettysburg, Pa.

For ages past, the country of India has filled the minds

of men with the idea of wealth. The riches of India have been a common-place word; a word that has fired the soul of more than one ambitious man to conquer it; so that many a poor soldier has left his bones to bleach on India's burning plains. And truly it has been, and is still, in a great measure, a land of wealth.

India is an old country, known to have been inhabited forty centuries ago. The first class of men that passed over the mountains, which form its northern boundary, and poured down into the fertile valleys of the rivers Indus, the Ganges, and their tributaries, seemed to have belonged to the Turanian race. They undoubtedly had become a great and mighty people, before the next tide of immigration crossed those same mountains, and flooded those same fertile valleys, from the Aryan race. This we may learn from the remnant of the Turanian race, still existing upon the hills, on the the southern peninsula of India, and on the island of Ceylon, where they have given their language, the Tamil and the Telegoo, to the conquering Aryan race; and from their architectural and monumental remains, which still exist, to show their ancient splendor and renown. Through the southern part of India, among the Tamil people, are many wonderful structures of architecture, different from that of the Hindoos, the descendants of the Aryan race, sufficient to prove, that they were reared by the old Turanian race; and, that they were a people far advanced in civilization. Those old temples, standing in their massiveness and beauty, with their solid granite pillars and columns, on which are carved images of men and beasts as large as life, to which the natives sometimes pointed, saying, "The gods reared those buildings, for you see we could not now do it," attest, that not only are they as old as the pyramids of Egypt, but the greatness of an ancient age, of which there are no written records. And scattered over the plains, and upon the hill tops, are the druidical, or circular stone monuments; similar to those found in England and Scotland, where, in all probability, rests the dust of the sleeping dead of some of the old noble Turanian race. And upon the hills are large flat blocks of granite, twelve feet in length, by five feet in breadth, resting on similar slabs set up edgewise, forming an open space within, which the natives now call, "The dwellings of the old giants." Scattered over the same plains and hills are numerous remains of old earthen

fortifications, which mark the struggle for supremacy between the two races, concerning which the present inhabitants can tell nothing.

In the "Rig-Vedäs," the oldest of their sacred writings, though the Hindoos, in the one thousand hymns of which it is composed, give no account of their origin or history, there are passages which render it very evident, that about the time of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, one of the Aryan tribes, which dwelt on the mountains of Persia, moved south-east, crossed the northern mountain boundary of India, and settled along the Indus. For, in these sacred hymns, we hear them sighing on those burning plains, for the coolness of the northern clime, for the frost and snows, and life-giving breezes of their own native mountain home. They lament, that the warm southern sun was tinging their fair complexion, and marring their native beauty; and in this, their sad distress, they sent up this prayer to the god of rain for relief: "Sindhu, renowned bestower of wealth, hear us, and bring water to our broad fields." One thousand years later than this, the poets and historians of Greece sang and wrote concerning the Sindhus of the far off east, and from which we have the modern word Hindoo.

While the Hindoos were thus sighing on these scorched plains of India, they dwelt in tents; but they found there a people dwelling in substantial houses, amidst palm and cocoa-nut groves. They had herds of cattle, humped oxen, horses and camels; they lived in villages, they had artificers in iron, in copper, and in gold; they had chariots of war, and tame elephants, with which to fight their battles. Their women, besides doing their household work, could spin and weave, and were styled, "The light of the dwelling." Neither were they denied the privilege of acquiring knowledge. The baneful influence of caste was then unknown, and the Brahmins were but one of several orders of priests. They then had but thirty-three gods, who were thus invoked: "Gods who are eleven in heaven, eleven in earth, and who are eleven dwelling in glory, in mid-air, may you be pleased with our sacrifice!"

The other writings of the Vedäs were composed at a later period; one of which, "The Institutes of Menu," is supposed to have been written, some five or six hundred years before Christ, about, or near the time, when the Jews were sighing in their Babylonian captivity. It was

during the period which elapsed from the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, until their captivity in Babylon, a space of about seven hundred years; as we learn by comparing the Vedäs with the Bible, that the Hindoos have only grown to be a nation, occupying the northern half of India. For south of this, the inhabitants are described as Barbarians, living in forests, and speaking an unknown language. It was about this period, that the Brahmins set themselves up as a holy, supreme priesthood, adopted a system of caste, and impressed it upon the people. As first originated, there were but four castes, of which the Brahmin stood at the head of the system, and the Pariah at the foot. But these four original castes have, at the present time, branched out into an innumerable number of sub-divisions. It is an inhuman system, that prevents all acts of Samaritan kindness between the members of the different castes. And there is no change from a lower to a higher caste, in time or in eternity, except by a ceremony so costly, that few, if they desired it, could afford the expense, and then it is at the option of the Brahmins.

Thus, the Brahmins, having obtained the complete ascendency in the Hindoo nation, then occupying the northern part of India, were not long in pressing this Brahminical religion upon all the different inhabitants of that sunny land. For the Aryan race imbued with this religion, as they increased in numbers, spread southward, where they found the Tamulians, far advanced in civilization, with a written language, pronounced by Brace, to be the most flexible of the Turanian race, with a religious system of their own, with their sacred buildings of massive architecture. In their march southward, the feeble tribes of the aborigines, overcome on the plains, fled to the hills, where for the time they may have held out against the conquerors, only at last to succumb; and, where to this day, they are still found, to tell that the oppressor's heel has been upon them for ages. The Tamulians at last, willingly or unwillingly submitted; but the Brahmins wisely conciliated them, in engrafting upon their religion the Brahminical, received their gods into their worship, and Minarchy still remained the tutelar goddess of Madura city; yet, they rigidly enforced upon them, the order of caste. From that time to this, the Brahminical religion has held complete sway over all India, except for a short period, when Buddhism was triumphant. India has suffered from inter-

nal feuds, and from foreign invasions, by Semiramis, by Alexander, by the Moguls, by the Portuguese, by the Dutch, by the French, and by the English, all, except the English, thirsting for gold, and showing little respect for their religion, or sacred temples; their sacred shrines were ravaged and plundered of their untold wealth; for ages, battle after battle has been fought, until millions of human beings have been slaughtered, millions swept away by famine and pestilence, so that the dust of these destroyed millions is mingled with every foot of India's soil.

Poor, bleeding India! What has she not suffered from her enticing wealth, her fertile plains, and her wicked system of religion? She is as old as the Babylonian empire. She has passed through scenes of turmoil, that have swept Nineveh and Babylon from the earth, that have made Egypt "the basest of all kingdoms," that have scattered the Jews over the earth, made Jerusalem desolate, and her children weeping wanderers. But, there she still is, rich in her glorious wealth, in her noble ancestry, looking back to a period in time, in which they were a great and civilized people, when the ancestors of those, who now compose the great ruling nations of the earth, were wandering, naked savages. They were a great nation when the pyramids were built, when the temple at Jerusalem was reared; but the once mighty Copts, as a nation, have long since passed away, the temple twice destroyed; but there they still remain, with their grand old sacred shrines, some of them as old as the pyramids, under one rule still, destined, as we trust, to become a great nation under the English government, rising, phenix-like, from the ashes of their former greatness, baptised into the blessed and ever living spirit of Christianity, when they shall again become one great and mighty nation, as they were under the great, yet cruel Mogul Prince Aurengzebe, but not, like that oppressive fabric, to crumble away.

Though the British rule presses hard upon the people, in the form of taxes, yet it is far better than any they have had for ages before. They are protected in their civil and religious rights, in their person and property. And since the government of the East India Company has been supplanted by that of the Queen and Parliament, they are placed under much more favorable circumstances. The East India Company was a close corporation, despotic and

powerful, seeking their own interests, supported by the arms of England; but the grinding power has passed away. The Queen of England is their sovereign, and Parliament, the supreme authority. This authority in Parliament is lodged in the hands of the Governor-General of India, and his six counselors. But in this, the Hindoos have no voice; taxes are imposed, tariffs are made, and laws promulgated, without even the wishes of the people being consulted, and often contrary to their wishes. The Governor-General has a salary of $125,000 per annum, with an additional $50,000 for the entertainment of guests. His six counselors receive each $40,000 per annum. And the Lieut.-Governor $50,000, and several secretaries each $24,000 per annum. The Governors of the several Presidencies; as that of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, the Punjab, and the north-western Provinces, receive each $50,000 per annum. All this amount, and more, is drawn out of the poor natives, falling most heavily upon the Ryots. So that the receipts of the governments are $220,000,000 and the expenses about the same. Of this large amount of receipts, only $3,370,000 are spent in education, in a population of 180,000,000. Yet, small as this sum is, it is nevertheless doing good; that, together with the railroad system, (for there are now about 6000 miles of railroad completed in India,) is breaking up their system of caste, which for ages has been an incubus to all proper conception of the improvement of life; they begin to see that the world does move. The learned Brahmins, however, instead of embracing the truth as it is in Jesus, are fast drifting into the dreary, chilling shades of infidelity in all its modern phases.

Let us briefly examine their religious system, as it once lay in the shell, as it burst forth, and increased to its present dimensions of 330,000,000 of gods. The great eternal is called Brahm; to him are assigned all the attributes which the Bible ascribes to Jehovah. Yet their ideas of him are vague and unsatisfying, chilling to a soul, which desires a being on whom to rest, and feels that there is a sympathetic cord of beating love, of controlling care, and earnest interest between them. He is now, so far as man is concerned, a cold abstraction, a speculative theory, indifferent to all affairs; man, his creature, a part of himself, may suffer, but he sympathizes not with him; he may be in distress, but he does not assist him, he neither

blesses, nor prospers the well-doing, nor inflicts punishment upon the wicked. The wheels of nature may all go wrong, but he seems to know it not. It is related, that at one time, in the midst of his ages of listless sleep, he awoke to consciousness, and feeling a desire, said, "Let us make money;" hence, he is then represented, as a spider sitting in the centre, spinning his threads from himself, fastening them right and left in this great shell of Hindooism, a perfect system of Pantheism. All that was to come into existence was contained in this shell, in the form of an egg, under the care of a supreme, in the person of Brahma. 300,000,000 of years this egg was floating, as a bubble, on the mighty chaos, before it came to perfection. When this time arrived, it burst, and Brahma sprang forth, terrible in appearance; and another being came forth from the matter of which all was made; then Brahma disappeared from the scene of action, sank back again to his unconscious sleep; a blessed sleep, to which it is the bliss of a good Hindoo to aspire, to be absorbed back into Brahma; and thus this great eternal Brahma will sleep until the time of the dissolution, when he will again be active. Hence, to his name no temple will be reared, no sacrifice offered, no worship given; he is now the great sleeping unknown. His power is only seen and felt through the great Hindoo Triad, Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer. Herbert Spencer, in his Philosophy, has a triad somewhat similar to this, and certainly not any more consistent than this. He says: "Matter which is eternal and indestructable, motion which is continued, and force which is persistent, are the modes of working, by which all things, of which we are conscious, were evolved by the unknowable. Persistent force, the great ultimatum of all things thus evolved, will continue until they reach an equilibrium, then they will decline to a dissolution, to be again evolved into a new series." Of these two somewhat speculative systems in accounting for all things, the Hindoo seems the most consistent; Mr. Spencer has not improved upon it.

From this great Brahm egg came forth the matter of which three worlds were formed; the uppermost, that of the gods; the middle, that of men; the undermost, that of demons. The earth is arranged as that of a flat surface, in the form of a water lily, 400,000,000 of miles in

circumference, in seven islands, each surrounded by a sea. The first, by a sea of salt water; the second, by a sea of the juice of sugar cane; the third, by a sea of spiritual liquors; the fourth, by a sea of clarified butter; the fifth, by a sea of sour milk; the sixth, by a sea of sweet milk; the seventh, by a sea of sweet water; and, beyond all this, there is a fine land of gold, inaccessible to man; and far beyond it, the land of darkness, or hell. This earth, thus formed, rests beautifully on a snake with a hundred heads, and this snake is nicely coiled on the back of a tortoise. In the center of the earth, at the north is a mountain 200,000 miles high, around which the sun revolves, producing day and night, with a golden summit, the residence of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; at the foot of this mountain, are three smaller ones; also a Mango tree, spreading out in extent two thousand miles, bearing delicious fruit, full of nectar, some of them one hundred feet in diameter. There, delightful fragrance from the rose, the lily and other flowers, perfumes the air. All these things are manifestations of Brahma, he is in everything.

This, in brief, is the great ground work of Hindooism; upon this, they have philosophised and built, until from one eternal god Brahm, they obtained, as emanations three gods, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; these branched out, as we have seen in that tribe of the Aryan race, shortly after their settlement upon the plains of India, into thirty-three gods, and from this, finally from the different tribes of the Turanian race, and from other sources, as it suited them, they have added, until their present number is the sum of 330,000,000. They truly have gods many, and lords many; every manifestation of nature, animate and inanimate, is the eternal, and why not a god to worship?

When stripped of all its specious philosophy, and presented in its naked aspect, it is purely Pantheistic and Materialistic, for all is to return at last to the great Brahm, now unconscious; and to be absorbed back again soon in him, is a bliss for which man is to labor, for which their devotees strive, to have a repose that neither knows, nor feels. What is it but a materialistic extinction?

Hindoostan is a country of larger extent than is generally supposed; from the mountains on the north, to Cape Comorin on the south, it is one thousand eight hundred miles; and from the Bay of Bengal on the east, to the Indian Ocean on the west, it is one thousand five hundred

miles; and contains a dense population of 180,000,000. That part lying contiguous to the Himalaya mountains on the north, is rugged and hilly, among which are some lovely and beautiful valleys, such as Bootan and Cashmere. A range of mountains also extends along the western coast, commencing not far from Cape Comorin in the south, and extending northward several hundred miles, rising in some places to the height of ten thousand feet. The remainder of India is generally a level plain, sometimes sandy and arid, between which are spread rich and fertile vales, especially along, and near the rivers, a loam soil from one to six feet deep. These plains, at least in the southern part, are generally destitute of timber, except here and there a jungle; and then interspersed over the clear and cultivated fields, to break the lone monotony, are beautiful groves of palm, cocoanut, mango, and tamarind trees, where beautiful birds of different colors sing, parrots chatter, crows caw, monkeys play their antic tricks, and from the decayed roots of some Banyan tree, or cactus hedge, the Cobra lifts its hooded head, and shakes its forked tongue. These groves are beautiful in appearance, the supposed dwelling places of the gods; here are their temples, their idols, their altars, garden plots, where flowers are cultivated, which, entwined in garlands, adorn their grim, oil-blackened images. They are lovely spots, where a weary traveler can rest, protected from the burning heat of a tropical sun, quench his thirst, and wash the dust from his feet in a tank of water in their midst; yet he must be on his guard from the venomous reptiles, that love these beautiful haunts. Also, to break the monotony of these level plains, here and there, as if from some former mighty internal convulsion, when the great Brahma shook himself, huge rocks were forced up, rearing their tops from fifty to two hundred feet above the level ground; upon the same, is often a fort, a temple sacred to some god; under their shadow a cooling shade, the weary pilgrim, if not disturbed by the flapping wings of numberless large bats, which have found a home in the projecting clefts, can lie down and rest, and experience the delight of the Psalmist, "The shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

The climate of the southern part of India is exceedingly hot; during the most of the year there is no winter, spring or autumn. It is divided into the hot and rainy seasons. For six months in the year, the wind blows steadily from

the southeast; for the next six months, from the southwest. The changing of these winds, is what is called the setting in of the monsoon; and it is sometimes a grand, but terrible sight, when the southeastern monsoon bursts upon the plains of India, lying upon the western shores of the Bay of Bengal. The elements often wage a mighty, and sometimes a destructive war; the lightnings flash, the thunders roll, the wind, rising from a gale to a tempest, howls through the swaying, tossing tops of the tall palm and cocoanut trees, and sometimes rises to a tornado, demolishing the frail houses of the natives, prostrating the beautiful groves, leaving nothing behind it, but ruin and desolation; while the rain pours down in torrents, only as it can, in a tropical clime, raising the mountain streams to overflood the plains, and filling the numerous tanks. There is not, as a general thing, one continued rain, but a succession of heavy showers, with alternate sunshine. Parched nature then lifts her thirsty, drooping head, and sends her pæan of praise to the rain-giving Supreme. It is a glad season, when the rain falls in abundance, when the rivers overflow their banks, and the tanks are all full; for then the husbandman has the prospect of a bountiful harvest season. The rains on the eastern coast are generally over in November, and then for three months there is delightful weather, a cloudless sky and refreshing breezes. But after that, the hot season commences, no rain has fallen for months, vegetation on the uncultivated plains is becoming burned up, all that is now green, are the western hills, the groves, the scattered trees, the irrigated fields and gardens; the winds begin to sweep the plain with a withering, scorching blast, as if it came from the mouth of a burning oven; then we droop by day in our houses, with grass tatties up at the doors and windows wet with water, the thermometer within, one hundred and ten degrees, and the night still warm. Sometimes in May and June there are refreshing showers, after the wind has shifted around to the southwest.

Dindegul, where I spent eight years of my life, is a village of about six thousand inhabitants, and takes its name from a large rock one hundred feet high, upon which is a fort, garrisoned by native soldiers, commanded by an English officer. Dinde, is *large*, gul, a *rock*, hence, the name Dindegul, *a large rock.* Under my care here, was a boarding school of boys, about forty in number, with a teacher,

who was a Hindoo-Britain. Every morning they came on my veranda for family prayers, in the Tamil language, and once a week for examination. The territory, that was within my diocese, lay partly upon the hills, fourteen miles west of Dindegul, and partly on the plains, at the base of these hills, extending south, down the valley ninety miles. Over this territory I itinerated, preached, and talked with the natives, under the shade of the trees about their villages. I studied their character, their customs, their habits, sympathized with them in their trials; they always treated me with respect, and I felt safe among them, sleeping in tents, and bungalows. The Hindoos are a mild, inoffensive race, exceedingly indolent, superstitious, licentious, and prone to lying and thieving. Yet, they are susceptible of good impressions from the Gospel, for, on leaving India, I left some five hundred under Christian instruction, and a church with eighty-three members, mostly gathered by my humble efforts. The Moosmen are savage, revengeful, bigoted, and gladly would they wield that same power, which they once exercised; but the sceptre of their authority in southern India departed from them, when the English arms defeated Tipoo Siab, the son of Hydra Alla. And the only mementoes of their past greatness at Dindegul, are the ruins of the old palace, and a neat, chaste looking mosque, in a beautiful garden of palm, cocoanut, guava trees, over the remains of Hydra Alla's sister.

Do you desire to learn something of a Hindoo's home, his household furniture, his domestic habits, his food, his manner of eating? Come with me to yonder village, at the edge of that cocoanut grove. As we approach the village, just at the entrance, is a large olive tree, with its beautiful dark green foliage; around its venerable trunk is a raised platform of large stones, filled in with earth; here the men of the village congregate to lounge and to chat; here the headmen of the village decide disputes; here the missionary, after singing a hymn in Tamil, can obtain an audience, to whom, for twenty minutes, he can talk about Jesus. Passing that, without making a salaam to the huge stone idol close by, let us enter the best looking house in the village; its walls are made of mud, now almost as hard as stone, eight feet high; its roof is tiles, burned clay, or more commonly, the palm leaves, or thatched with grass; its length is about twenty feet, its width about ten

feet, with one low door, and one small window; the roof projects in front, forming a narrow veranda, a little elevated from the ground; here they will sit by day, and sleep by night, but oftener, when the weather is dry and hot, they will sleep out in the street, in the front of the house, wrapped in their white clothes, like corpses laid out for burial, as I have frequently seen them, in passing through their villages on a bright moonlight night. There by the door, as you enter, are two round flat stones, that is the family mill, which two women grind, after Scripture fashion; close by is another large flat stone, with a stone roller upon it, designed to grind the curry for a sauce to put upon their rice, such as black and red pepper, coriander seed, cumin, garlic, tamarind; these are put into the gravy of broiled chicken, mutton, or in boiled vegetables, with the meat scraped out from the cocoanut, together with butter, and poured on their rice. This composes a Hindoo's best dish. But stooping, let us enter the door; along one side is a elevated platform, a foot high, three feet in breadth, made of mud; on this platform perhaps, is a grass mat or two, upon which they sit, or lie; to the right of the door, is the cooking place, with the cooking utensils; it is made of mud, with a round hole in the top, in which to set earthen pots over the fire, burning within as an oven, with no chimney for the smoke, it must find its way out as best it can; there stand a half dozen of different sized pots, some on the fire, rice boiling in one, the fowl in another; there is also a large earthen pot with water, which the housewife has brought, perhaps, a half mile distant from the tank, on her head; and there she stands in her native dress, preparing her husband's dinner, who is sitting on the veranda, chatting with a friend; notice the room; it is destitute of furniture; in the wall there are a few little niches, in one is a lamp, an earthen vessel, or half a cocoanut shell, to give light at night; in another, a little brass idol, a household god; in the next room, there are different kinds of grain, to be ground into flour, also rice, and there hangs a bunch of bananas, and a roll of banana leaves, the plates from which they eat their rice and curry; this embraces all that is in a Hindoo's house. Dinner is ready; the husband and his sons are at the door; the wife and mother may be seen pouring water on their hands to wash them, after which, they sit down on the floor; in front of each is a banana leaf, upon which the wife, from a chotty off the fire, with a half cocoanut shell, with a

handle attached to it, is dipping the rice; then she brings the chotty containing the curry; the wife and daughters step back, while her husband and sons, with their fingers, roll the rice with the curry, into small balls, and with a quick motion of their right hand, throw them into their mouths; by them stands a small vessel containing water; when they desire to drink, taking the vessel in their hands, throwing back their head, opening their mouth, they pour it straight down their throat, never spilling a drop; it is considered impolite to touch the vessel with the lips. Their dinner ended, they arise and step out, when the obedient wife again pours water upon their hands; and then with her daughters she sits down, and they take their meal from what remains. They never eat together, they are strangers to the society and enjoyments of a family meal.

Dindegul is delightfully situated on a beautiful elevated plain, surrounded with groves and gardens, somewhat cooler than the low plain, upon which Madura city, forty miles south, stands. West of it, is the range of mountains, which rise up abruptly from the plain, three thousand feet high; and thirty miles further south they tower up seven thousand feet. As this mountain range lay in my field of labor, I often ascended and traveled over it. To reach the top of the lower range was not very difficult; but the ascent of the higher range was not so easy. Yet the splendid scenery and delightful climate amply repaid the toil of ascent. Starting in the evening with an ox carriage, I reached the foot of the mountain thirty miles distant, early next morning. The morning dawn revealed its frowning top close at hand, as if desirous of catching the first rays of the morning sun; a little further through brush, over rocks and stones, brought me close to its foot, in a deep gorge of the mountain that reaches its summit. Here, embowered beneath the foliage of gigantic trees, the teak, the rosewood, and the mango, enlivened by various songsters, engaged in their morning matins, I partook of a morning meal I had brought with me. This finished, I prepared for the ascent; mounting a small, but sure-footed pack horse, I threaded my way along a narrow path, crossing and recrossing several times a mountain stream, that lashed its waters into foam over its rocky bed, passing under large mango trees, the bending, feathery tops of clumps of bamboos, here and there starting up a partridge, or a jungle fowl; and as I began to ascend the mountain, I

looked down into the deep valley gorge, where the stream rumbles along, where not only the scream of the pea-fowl could be heard, but where it could be seen expanding its beautiful plumage in the morning sun. The heat began to be intense, but the tall, wide-spreading trees, shielded me from the sun's burning rays. The higher I ascended, the more steep and difficult it became, until nearly half way up, I could trust my pony no longer; sending him back, I traveled on foot the remainder of the way, the air becoming more cool and bracing, I did not feel so fatigued. When about five thousand feet up, the tall timber had dwarfed to stunted trees, with here and there a lonely date, only a few feet high; over all of which I could look down upon the burning plain, presenting its varied tints of green, yellow, red and purple. A short distance further and a sublime sight burst into view; far away up in that deep mountain gorge, where the rocks reared their bold clefts, more than one thousand feet high, over which hung the tall bending grass, the long waving ratan in graceful festoons, with the feathery fern growing in the crevices, started from the very mountain top that stream we had so often crossed; down it leaped a fearful cataract of nearly two thousand feet, thundering and roaring in that mountain gorge, casting up its spray in many beautiful rainbows. It was a sublime spectacle, and long did I gaze upon it; the whole scene around was grand; just across that deep gorge, away out on the points of those rocks, which tower like castles, was nestled a little village. Before me I now looked, but where was the path of ascent? Rocks towered up, seeming to say, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further." While thus in a quandry as to where the upward path lay, winding round a huge rock just before me, were some cattle coming down, ladened with wheat, ginger, and garlic, for the plains, driven by the hardy mountaineers; passing round that same rock, I wound my zig-zag course up; no trees, scarcely a shrub was to be seen, nothing but towering rocks. When I reached almost the top of those rocks, I passed a terrific precipice, rocks towered on the left, leaving a path of a few feet in width, from a depth below on the right into another mountain gorge, from the one the stream described, into which it requires a steady head to look. It was frightful to gaze thousands of feet into a dense jungle; cattle with their loads sometimes pitch off there, and that

is the last of them; their drivers never go to search for them, or their loads, they make a feast for the tiger, the spotted cheetah, the bear, and the jackal, that glory in that lofty home, that dense jungle, far away below my feet, where, perhaps, the foot of man has never trodden. But a little further, and I reached the mountain's grassy summit, and inhaled the bracing breeze; before me lay a beautiful rolling prairie, clothed with grass; here and there, in shadowed nooks, were small groves of trees, with huge vines intertwining among them; around the outer borders were the Rhododendron, with their clusters of beautiful, showy flowers, of a pale-red color; there the large black monkeys hold their jubilee of freedom; there the fierce tiger finds his home for a season, to prey on numerous wild cattle, elk and deer, that graze on that lovely prairie land. It is a charming place, the climate so bracing, and well worth a trip of five miles up that mountain to enjoy. The frost is never so severe as to destroy vegetation, yet the air is cool enough to build a blazing fire upon the hearth in the house, and for a covering of thick clothing. Here the peach, the pear, the apple, the strawberry, the raspberry, and the blackberry, come to perfection; the fruits of the tropic and temperate zones are growing at a distance of five miles from each other; and, here too, is the cooling water from the bubbling springs, which we have not on the sandy plain.

Here is a brow of the mountain, called by the missionaries, "Mount Nebo," and the plain extending from that mountain's base to the Bay of Bengal. Along this mountain is a lovely valley, for forty miles, fed by numerous mountain streams; with a winding, silvery, increasing flow, is the river Viga; just down there is the spot, where the noble young missionary, Scudder, was drowned, in attempting to cross it in a flood; it makes a short turn, instead of flowing further north, it changes it course southeast, winding its way slowly along the plain, until it enters the Bay of Bengal, or in the hot season, is lost in the sand. Its banks on each side for miles are skirted with groves of different kind of trees, fields of grain, watered by its numerous canals and tanks, villages every few miles distant, embowered in groves of palm and cocoanut trees, as far as the eye can catch a glimpse of the earth's surface. Forty miles distant lies Madura city, with her many pagodas

and minarets, containing fifty thousand inhabitants. In the fields men, women and children are busy, some gathering the grain, others threshing it out, some winnowing it, by tossing it up in the air; others drawing water, by treading on the lower end of a slanting beam, to irrigate their fields, while others are lounging in the shade of banyan and fig trees, or moving hither or thither. There to the right is a massive temple, its pagoda towering above the green trees, which surround it; there is a little spec on the surrounding sandy plain; it moves; it is a naked devotee rolling himself around that temple, a distance of more than a mile, with the blood oozing from his cut and lacerated wounds. To the left, almost at the foot of the hill, is another temple in the midst of tulip trees; there is a group of young men wreathed with flowers, three small iron rods thrust through the flesh on each side; to the music of the tom-tom, the flageolet, or the cymbal, they are dancing around that temple, fulfilling a vow, made in sickness to that goddess, who has given them health again. In front of that same temple, numerous fine fat cattle are led up to the altar, where a man with a cleaver, besmeared with blood, severs the head from the body, as they are brought up, others throw them in a deep hole, dug near by, where their bodies are covered over and left to rot, an offering to the cruel, blood-thirsty Kali.

There also is another temple, massive in its structure, at which there is an annual festival; there assembled is a vast crowd of Hindoos; there is the car, rising up in the form of an inverted pagoda, to the height of twenty feet; under it are wheels; to the axle of the fore wheels are attached long ropes; flowers, in fantastic wreaths and festoons, drop down from the gorgeous, and often obscene, carvings on the body of the car; its covering is in pagoda form, glittering in gold tinsel and waving flags; beneath this covering, on a magnificent throne, sits the idol god, dressed in rich apparel, holding in his hand the emblem of his authority; eyes has he, but he sees not, ears has he, but he hears not, a mouth has he, but he speaks not, yet that senseless crowd tremble before him, as they draw him along with these ropes. Beneath your eye lie loveliness and cruelty, sublimity and heart-sickening scenes; loveliness and sublimity, for there is nature in all her grandeur, a splendid panorama of grove, of cultivated field, of hill, of rock, of tank, where the beautiful lotus and water lillies

bloom. But there, beneath those trees, on those towering rocks, along the banks of that beautiful river, are performed cruel rites, dark, disgusting deeds, which make the ear tingle and the heart faint. Ponder the history of a great, civilized people, without the Bible. Consider what the Bible has done for us, whose ancestors only a few hundred years ago, were wandering savages. Say to the infidel, the sceptic, the speculative philosopher, destroy what you will, but do not attempt to destroy the confidence of the people in that blessed book. It is the great charter of our life, the ark of our safety, for this life and the life which is to come.

ARTICLE XI.

THE MUSIC AND SONG OF THE AGES.

By T. H. Robinson, D. D., Harrisburg, Pa.

"Where wast thou when I laid the foundation of the earth, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?" Earth's history began in song. So shall it end: in the song of that great multitude, that no man can number. Who shall stand by the sea of glass mingled with fire, wearing the priestly robes of festival, and victors' crowns, and with the harps of God in their hands, lifting up the undying chorus of a finished redemption?

We purpose to follow the track of song and melody, from that fountain-head of song in Eden, along through the ages, down to our own day. The field is, however, so extensive, that we are compelled to limit our investigations. Music and Song take on three prominent types: 1. of love, and home, and social life; 2. of war; 3. of religion. We must confine ourselves mainly to the last.

The accents of the first singers have not reached us. Of the modes of worship in the old patriarchal times, we know but little. But music and song were there. It was surely not in the city of Cain, that the voice of singing

was heard. Our first father lived long enough to hear his ingenious sons piping, on harp and horn, their ante-diluvian melodies. Jubal was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ. But, if the tents of sin resounded with unhallowed music and mirth, surely, the abodes of the righteous were not wholly silent.

After the universal hymn of Eden was broken, and the joyous song of creation fell into a mournful minor, the wail of human sin and sorrow running across all its harmonies, the first golden wave of promise, that struck on the desolate heart of man, must have re-awakened the echoes of the angels' song. Yet we are left to conjecture. A long silence reigns in the hymn-book of the first centuries. There are records of violence and judgment, of the flood and the ark, of patriarchal tent and Egyptian bondage, but the only song of that earliest age, that has floated down to us, is the wail of the murderer Lamech, to his wives Adah and Zillah. We read of altar and sacrifice, of meditations in the field at eventide, of visions and prayers, and accepted intercessions, and we feel confident that they, who walked like Enoch and Abraham with God, must have had their hearts kindled into music. The tents of the wicked were full of dancing, and mirth, and song. But not these alone. The groves were God's first temples, and up through those leafy cathedrals, rose the simple lays of early faith, breathing amid the gray old trunks, that high in heaven mingled their mossy boughs, their hopes of forgiveness and peace. From the green earth, rising out of the flood, from the ark lifted upon the waters, from the shadow of the great oak of Mamre, from the fountains, and valleys, and hill-side pastures, where the tents of the patriarchs rose white amidst their flocks, from the garrisons and palaces of Egypt, doubtless, the song arose, though our ears listen in vain for the echo of it.

The first recorded hymn of the Bible, is the national thanksgiving anthem, which was sung on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. As the waves of the sea rolled back to their ancient tide-mark, burying under them the hosts of the enemies of God and of Israel, above the ripple and the roar of the clashing waters, Miriam and the stately maids of Judah, leading the voices, and the cymbals, and the harps of the millions of Israel, sang the requiem of Pharaoh and his Memphian chivalry. It was a song of

victory. It was a song of redemption. It was sung to the Lord. It was thus a type of all succeeding Psalms. It was the first hymn of the Church visible, and the notes of that great chant of victory echoed along that crystal sea, over the silent buried dead, out into the stillness of the desert around, down along the track of time, across all the centuries to us, and have gone sounding and echoing on beyond, far beyond us into the depths of eternity. "Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the gods: who is like Thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?"

From time to time, throughout the Old Testament, we catch fresh notes of the song. There is the sublime chant of Deborah the prophetess, and the hymn of Hannah. There is the war chant of Jehoshaphat and his army, a hymn of victory, sung in faith before the battle, sung with harp and psalters, and trumpet. There is the song of Hezekiah, sung when he recovered from his sickness, and the psalm of Jonah, sounding up from the depths of the sea. There is the mystical song of songs. The winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, and the time of singing is come.

There was mournful music by the rivers of Babylon, when the taunting oppressors said to the captive of Judah, Sing us one of the songs of Zion, and there also was the song of liberated Israel, when the walls of Jerusalem again arose, when the singers sang aloud, and they all rejoiced, so that the joy of Jerusalem was heard afar off. And, there too, in that Book which God has caused to be written for us, are the songs of the sweet singers of Israel, the inspired liturgy for all time. Like all other true hymns of the Church militant, these psalms of David rise out of tumultous depths and soar into the calm light of heaven. They are not soft literary effusions of a sentimental religion; they are battle songs, penned and sung on the battle-field, they are the outbursts of a struggling, fainting, hoping heart, they are sighs of penitence rising heavenward, they are the very words, on which the griefs of repenting sinners, and the joys of exulting believers, have taken wing to God for more than three thousand years. Thus passed the Old Dispensation. Opening with the song of the morning stars, changing too speedily into the wail of sorrow and penitence, yet, everywhere flows the stream of melody, gushing out of loving hearts. Whether in the temple, or

on the battle-field, amid flocks and green pastures, and still waters, or hunted as a stag upon the mountains, the true Church ceased not to sing unto God. And just as the birth day of the first creation was ushered in by the songs of the angels, so the joy of the second and greater birth day, awoke the earth with music, as the song of a great multitude of the heavenly hosts broke on the shepherds keeping watch over their flocks by night. They came to teach the Church once again, the almost forgotten strains of the first hymn: Glory to God in the highest.

The first recorded Jewish hymn was chanted by the great Lawgiver and by Miriam, with a nation for the chorus. The first Christian hymn was sung by Mary the mother of Jesus, with no audience but her cousin, the faithful Elizabeth. Yet the thanksgiving of Moses and the magnificat of the Virgin are both alike, strains in the one great song of redemption.

As we follow the stream of inspired melody in the New Testament, we have the natal hymn of the Baptist, when the seal was taken from the lips of Zacharias, and his heart was borne away in gladness over the child of his old age. Then, once again, in that temple, where for centuries no fire from heaven had touched the sacrifice, and no gush of inspiration warmed the icy and formal routine of the services, once again inspired song arose, not from a choir of priestly singers, but from the lips of an old man, who held the infant Saviour in his arms. These hymns of Mary, of Zacharias, and of Simeon, were the matin songs of Christianity, all hymns of triumph. Then as we pass along, we catch notes, now of children singing in the temple, now of the great multitude with the palm branches, anon, a mournful strain from the hymn of the night of trial, then, after the ascension of our Lord, we have a choral burst of praise from the whole assembled Church, as Peter and John came back from their night in prison. Then, from the dungeon in Philippi, we hear Paul and Silas singing praises to God. After this we hear no more, and reverently close the sacred volume, as the songs of heaven are falling from the heights of apocalyptic vision, upon the ear and into the heart of the beloved disciple in Patmos. And that new song, within the gates of pearl, what is it still, but the song of redemption, which Moses and David, and Mary and Simeon, and the early Church sang, the song

that every repenting sinner, and every happy believer still sings, the song of the New Creation.

We pass to the second stage, the psalmody and music of the ancient Christian Church. The Saviour sang with his disciples, and the olive trees heard the murmured notes. The holy example thus set, was not forgotten. Sacred song continued to be a delightful part of social and public worship. From the celebrated letter of Pliny to the emperor Trajan, less than ten years after the death of the apostle John, we learn that the Christians, of that time, were accustomed to meet before day break, to sing hymns to Christ as God. A Christian hymn book existed from the beginning. Two or three hymns of that remote antiquity have come down to us. The *Ter Sanctus*, or Thrice Holy, the *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, and the *Te Deum Laudamus*, with some modifications, are preserved in Lutheran, Episcopal and Roman Catholic Liturgies, and are undoubtedly very ancient. The strictest research, cannot find conclusively, the time of their production. There exists a tradition, that the *Te Deum*, which is one of the noblest and grandest of human compositions, gushed forth in alternate responses from the lips of two fathers, Ambrose and Augustine, while the former was baptizing the latter. Another evening hymn is considered by many to be the most ancient Christian hymn extant. We give it in a translation. It should be remembered, that poetry in rhyme is of quite modern date. The ancient hymns were sentences, much like our modern chants and anthems.

Let us imagine a little band of persecuted Christians, whom no danger of enemies could deprive of the joys of meeting, gathered at eventide by the side of that river, where the blessed apostle Paul met the first converts of Greece. The sun is setting. The brief twilight is fast fading. The glow of the golden southern day is passing rapidly away, and night, with its silence, dews and stars, is coming on. From that little band, faintly, like the chimes of evening bells, rises on the evening air this sweet song:

Jesus Christ, joyful light of the Holy,
Glory of the immortal, heavenly, blessed Father,
We, coming at the setting of the sun,
Beholding the evening light,
Praise Thee, Father, Son,
And Holy Spirit, God.

Thee, it is meet,
At all hours to praise
With sacred voices, O Son of God,
Who giveth life.
Wherefore the universe glorifieth Thee.

The prevailing mode of singing, for the first three centuries, was congregational. All united their voices in the songs of praise, in strains suited to their ability. The music was, of necessity, rude, simple and inartificial. It appears to have been but a recitative or chant, sung in symphony or unison. The harmony lay not in the blending of different parts, as treble, tenor, alto and bass, but the blending of different voices of men, women and children. Nor should it be forgotten, how God has made the whole human race a vast choir, where the deep bass of a manly voice, the tenderness of woman's and the varying tones of the maiden and the child all blend in sweetest harmony. The early fathers are full and eloquent in praise of the moral power of their psalmody. "Nothing," says Chrysostom, "so lifteth up, and as it were, wingeth the sonl, so freeth it from earth, and looseth it from the chains of the flesh, so leadeth it into wisdom, and a contempt for all earthly things, as the choral symphony of a sacred hymn, set in harmonious measure." Augustine also gives an account of the power of music over him, on the occasion of his baptism: "I was transported by the voices of the congregation sweetly singing. The melody of their voices filled my ear, and divine truth was poured into my heart. The sacred flames of devotion burned in my soul, and gushing tears flowed from my eyes. The *Te Deum*, which was very early sung, was at once a hymn, a creed, and a prayer. It is a creed taking wings and soaring heavenward. It is a cloud of incense rising up, and reflecting back on the earth, the radiance of the skies. The burden of the primitive songs and hymns was Christ, the only begotten of the Father. This sacred theme inspired the earliest anthems, was the subject of the sweetest melodies and loftiest strains. They were sung before the devotions of the Church had turned from Christ to Mary. They are full of faith in a personal listening Saviour, as a living, gracious, mighty and beloved Friend. In public devotions, in social circles, around their domestic altars they worshiped Christ, in happy sacred song. In their

daily occupations, they relieved their toils and refreshed their spirits, by renewing the favorite songs of Zion. Persecuted, afflicted, in solitary cells, exiled to foreign lands, shut up in dismal mines, hiding away in caves, led to the martyr's stake, they still sang the Lord's Song. Some of these hymns are so true and tender, so sublime in their simplicity, so full of the sweet repose of faith, and of lowly, happy adoration, that we love to think of them as hymns, to which Paul and John may have listened, may have sung.

We pass on down the stream of time. We have already said the earliest Church music was simple and inartificial, congregational singing in symphony. About this time, the third century, some heretical sects arose along side of the Church, that, in order to draw the people after them, paid great attention to music and hymnology. To supplant the popular hymns of the heretics, and to provide singing that should rival theirs, many orthodox hymns were written, and the office of Cantores, or Psaltai, *i. e.*, conductors of the service of praise, was instituted, and choirs gradually came into vogue. The practice of alternate, or responsive singing was common. The Church began to put off its early simplicity, and develop into a hierarchy. The clergy, thus early, were rising into a despotism in the Church, and they sought to exclude the people from all participation in the services of worship. Congregational singing was banished, the clergy and the choir taking the singing into their own hands. Great attention began to be paid to the requirements of art, and the common people were bidden to be silent. The character of the music rapidly changed. Secular and theatrical melodies were introduced into the churches. As yet, the use of instrumental accompaniments, was tenaciously resisted, and the singing in different parts was not allowed. As early as the year 330, a school for the training of professional church musicians, was opened in Rome. In the heat of the great Arian controversy of the fourth century, bands of orthodox and Arian choristers were formed to perambulate the streets of Constantinople, singing hymns upon the rival doctrines, in imitation of the processional singing of the pagans. This was done to indoctrinate the people. It was at this period, that Ambrose, of Milan, arose in western Europe, and introduced a new kind of

Psalmody, the *Cantus Ambrosianus*, or Ambrosian Chant. For modulation, aptness and beauty, it far surpassed anything that had yet been known. It is very difficult at this day, perhaps, wholly impossible to reproduce anything in the exact style of one of those ancient chants.

If we turn from the music to the hymns of that age, we begin to discover some sad changes, creeping silently and stealthily in. The fervent, tender, childlike hymns of the first three centuries, that only spoke of Jesus, the Saviour, the Friend, the Master, the merciful, loving, holy Sufferer for us, begin already to be displaced by hymns commemorative of martyrs and just men; hymns that speak of the Virgin mother, hymns for feast days and fast days. As yet, indeed, the name of Jesus is above every name; as yet, the martyrs and saints of heaven seem to be sitting on the steps only of his glorious throne, but the whole order of the Church begins to turn its face from Christ, towards his creatures. The trust in the Lamb of God alone, dies silently out of them, giving way to invocations of Mary.

We now approach the middle ages, the ages of chivalry and the crusades, of massive Gothic architecture and the feudal system. But just before we reach that strange and wonderful age of everything romantic, of heroes and heroines, we pass through a border-land, filled with troubadours and love songs, knights errant and tournaments, of rich wild border minstrelsy—a land full of legends, the heroic age of a false Christianity, as the age of Hector and Priam was the heroic age of Troy and Greece. The heroes of the age are canonized saints, and they are an army counted and memoralized by tens of thousands. Passing across the stage before our eyes as we look back on the age, we behold the motliest group of all the centuries, emperors and kings, popes and cardinals, prefects and dukes, monks and nuns, consuls and counts, peers and paladins, caliphs and empresses, troubadours and rhetoricians, the demon Minerva and the saint Rhadegunda, with other demons and other saints innumerable, moving about amongst each other, with all that easy familiarity, with which the strangest beings are mingled in our wildest dreams. These were the golden days of legend, yet they were days of disorder and wretchedness extreme. Wild Gothic hosts were plundering Lombardy and Gaul. Northern pirates were invading and desolating England, and all the shores of Europe. A fierce torrent of Vandal and Saracen swelled up from the

south. The wretched population were tossed helplessly to and fro. Rival popes and rival bishops sought each other with very carnal weapons, and fulminated at each other terrible bulls. The imperial institutions of Rome had crushed out the old national republican life, and now, these in their turn, were crumbling into dust. Many thoughtful men, during these centuries, from the seventh to the eleventh, believed they were the last days. In the beginning of the seventh century, Gregory the Great, the Pope of Rome, introduced into the churches a new style of Church music. Already processions, in which the Gospels, costly crucifixes and banners, torches and burning candles, relics, bits of the true cross, pictures and bones of the saints, were carried about and hymns sung, had become a regular ceremony, occurring at stated times. The litanies consisted of invocations of saints and angels, to which the people made response, *Ora pro nobis*, which was the extent of their singing. Gregory undertook to reform the music of the Church, which had degenerated into a style too lively, and theatrical and sentimental for Church music. He introduced what has been known from his day to the present, as the Gregorian Chant, or the *Cantus Romanus*. The music was symphonous, slow, solemn, and measured, yet without rythm or time. He devised a special kind of notation to indicate the tones, a curious compound of points and strokes, and little hooks. It had little of the liveliness and the freshness of the music then in vogue, but from its more solemn and dignified character, was better adapted for worship. It was sung by trained choirs. Singing schools were established, to introduce the new chanting and fit choirs, and the Pope, Gregory himself, taught in them. Instrumental accompaniments were introduced, especially the organ, which was transferred from the theatre to the church. It was, however, quite a serious objection to the Gregorian music, that on account of its complicated character, a good proficient in music could scarcely master it by diligence and skill, in less than ten years. But a few professional singers could bear part in it. The common people were utterly excluded. It was enough for them to listen. An ecclesiastical ban lay upon them. The *Anti-phonarium*, or hymn book, was taken wholly out of their hands, and retained by the priests and choristers. A hymn book is a dangerous weapon to priestcraft and absolutism, when put in the hands of the people.

"Let me write the songs of a nation," some one has said, "and I care not, who make their laws." An unsinging and unmusical and unpoetic people, are fit only to be the slaves of civil and hierarchical despotism.

The Gregorian style of music could not maintain itself. It was too difficult. Trained and competent singers were too few. The hymn books were too expensive. The slow chant in unison, began gradually to give way to more rapidly moving duets. Definite rules of harmony, of chords and intervals, were framed. The organ came generally into use. The first one brought to France, was a present from the emperor of Turkey to king Pepin. The second, was a present to Charlemagne the great. The first organs were very imperfect. They had only ten or twelve notes, and the keys required to be struck with the fist.

As we leave the times of Charlemagne, Bernard and the venerable Bede, and walk forward into the denser darkness of the middle age, the character of music and hymns changes still further. The music becomes more and more dramatic. The cathedral is transformed into a theatre, in which priests and monks and nuns are the actors, and the people, the astonished, captivated audience. Dramas were acted on Sundays and holy days, in which noble men and beautiful women, saints and holy virgins, were represented as in conflict with power, cruelty and fate. And, whereas, the modern drama usually ends with a marriage of the hero and the heroine, the religious dramas of the mediæval age lauded the hero in some monkery, and the heroine in some nunnery, as if that were the earthly end of human existence. Thus, the Christian Church became both the theatre and the temple of the people. These religious dramas were acted out with all the scenic preparation of the stage, and became a powerful rival for any regular and professedly worldly entertainments. When, at length, in order to increase their power and popularity, the actors appealed to the passions, degenerated the tragedy into comedy, and mingled with the most sacred subjects coarse buffoonery and unrestrained fun, indignant and insulted religion could bear it no longer, and with a whip of cords drove it out, as Christ, the buyers and sellers of the ancient temple.

Let us introduce you into one of the cathedrals of those ages, and to the worship of the gathered assembly. The immense and glorious building is itself a solemn sounding

psalm. As one enters the massive archway of the door, and looks forward, a solemn awe falls upon him. The building recedes away in long narrow avenues, and rises in its roof to a majestic height. Its almost interminable length vanishes away in most graceful prospective, as if leading the worshiper onward into some Holy of Holies. Stately divisions, with countless chapels, successions of concentric arches, crossing and intermingling, the avenues lined with symmetrical pillars, the heavy massive walls expanding into large, mullioned and stained windows, or concealed by paintings of the masters, the niches crowded with statues of worshipful saints, and array, above all rising as if into the very heavens, the vaulted roof formed of most simple, yet intricate ribs. The entire structure is arranged to inspire awe and reverence. And when the music of the *Te Deum*, on some grand and massive organ is struck, it soars upward, pervades the whole building, echoes and re-echoes, infinitely multiplying itself, as it dies and rises again to the fretted and lofty roof, and the incense curling up into the unmeasurable height, mingled with the echoing music, might well give to the enthusiastic beholder the notion of clouds of adoration finding their way to heaven. In such a temple what space for endless variety, for change of scene, for stage effect! How effective the light and shade even by daylight, how much more so heightened at night by an infinity of lamps, and torches and tapers, now pouring their full effulgence on some one object—the Christ on the cross—or a painting of angels on the walls, and now sending their feeble glimmering into the deep gloom of the recesses, arches and roof. In such a place a vast congregation is assembled. They are ignorant, superstitious, impressible. The drama for this Sabbath is "The Massacre of the Innocents." Amid the deep reverberating tones of the organ, a procession of innocents, children clothed in white robes, march in long lines, through the long cloister of the monastery, chanting as they go: How glorious is Thy Kingdom! Send down, O God, Thy Lamb! The Lamb immediately appears, a man with a banner, bearing in his arms a lamb, takes his place at their head, leading up and down the aisles in long gleaming procession. Herod, clad in all the splendors of barbaric and oriental attire, is seen seated on a throne near by. A squire appears and hands him his sceptre, chanting: "On the throne of David." In the meantime an angel, in the person of

one of the monks, alights upon the manger singing, Joseph, Joseph, Joseph, thou son of David, take thou the child, and flee into Egypt. Weep not, O Egypt! Herod's armor bearer steps forward and informs him of the departure of the wise men, whereat he bursts into a great wrath. While he is raging, the children, representing the Innocents of Bethlehem, are still following the steps of the lamb, and sweetly chanting: "Oh Lamb, who by thy holy death for us, glory of the Father, glory of the Virgin." Herod delivers the fatal sword into the hands of the armor bearer. The lamb is silently withdrawn. The children remain in their fearless and happy innocence, singing, "Hail Lamb of God, O hail!" The cry of mothers is now heard, imploring mercy. The children are slain and fall in the aisles. While they are dying, and while they lie dead, another angel descends, chanting, "Ye who dwell in the dust, awake and cry aloud." The dead innocents respond as if from the tomb: "Why, O God, dost not thou defend us from bloodshed!" The angels chant in response: "Wait but a little time, till your number is full." Then enters Rachel, weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted. The musical dialogue between her and her attending women, is simple, wild and pathetic: "Alas, alas, alas, how shall I rejoice, while I behold these slain? *Noli, Virgo Rachel, noli, dulcissima mater*—Restrain, O Rachel, sweet mother, thy tears of grief from the necks of these little ones." As they lead off the sad mother, an angel hovering above, sings the antiphone, or response: Suffer little children to come unto me. At this voice the children rise from the tombs, the aisles, enter the choir, and take up the triumphant song of Heaven. Herod disappears. Archelaus takes the throne. The angel is heard summoning Joseph from Egypt. Joseph comes forward, chanting a hymn to the Virgin mother. The cantor of the Church intones the *Te Deum*, the massive organ sends its pealing, trembling, thundering tones through aisles, and recesses, and arches, up to the vaulted roof, and the whole vast cathedral rings with the harmony, and as it ceases, the awe-struck, profoundly agitated hearers retire silently from the scene.

It will easily be seen from this brief episode, with what spirit and wonderful effect sacred repesentations were given in the Middle ages. There was no event of sacred history, however solemn, that was not in this manner wrought

into action for the purpose of impressing the ignorant people and tightening the chains of spiritual despotism.

As we pass to consider the characteristics of the hymns of those ages, one painfully impressive fact meets us at the outset, that a full, swelling tide of Mariolatry flows through them. They worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator. There are a few hymns to God the Father, a few to Christ, but the general mass are invocations to Mary and the saints. The worship of Mary was the grand characteristic worship, and it had gathered to itself the warmest affections of the heart. In the earliest hymns a trace of this is visible. It stole insensibly into the Church. Her first lustre was natural. As mother of Jesus she must stand chief among women. Out of this gradually grew the loftier title, Mother of God, with which she was early honored. Then another, wide-spread and pernicious practice contributed to swell the tide of Mariolatry, and the adoration of Mary, the Mother of God, was absorbed in that of St. Mary the virgin. Gradually, one title after another was lavished upon her. Tradition dressed her earthly life in a false history, wove a gorgeous robe around her that hid the lowly and feminine life of the true Mary, and, instead of the meek and humble form and quiet spirit that meets us in the Gospel, there stands before us in the Mediæval hymns, a queen; arrayed in vulgar gold and earthly jewels, a glittering, tinselled goddess, as magnificent as any Venus or Minerva of old. The piety and religion of the age lived, luxuriated in these hymns. Mary usurped the place of her divine Son, nor his alone, but of the whole Trinity. The love of God the Father was forgotten in the tenderness of Mary, Mother, Queen of heaven. The Redeeming sorrows of Christ, the Son, were eclipsed by the sympathetic sorrows of the pierced heart of Mary. The consolations of the Comforter were cold beside the pity of Mary, sweet virgin, star of the sea. The relations of the three persons of the Godhead, were transferred to her. She was Mother, Intercessor and Comforter—a trinity in unity for the Church. The first lispings of the child, the morning and evening hymn, the cry of the distressed, and the thanksgiving of the rescued, were all for Mary. Century after century added stones to the altar of her superstitious worship, until she who was once known only as a joyful mother, with the infant Jesus in her arms, stood on the facade of all the churches, and in the hearts

of all the worshipers a crowned queen, her hands outstretched to bless, concentrating upon her person, all the glory of the Trinity above, and all the adoration of humanity below! Yet, out of the chaos, and darkness, and superstition of the middle ages, and their religion, there are occasional gleams of light. As to the old voyager, in the vast interminable ocean, if he beheld on some dreary mass of rock, a batch of living green, a tuft of graceful trees, a cool and musical rush of waters, it became at once a paradise, and is described as one of the elysian fields, so does one feel, who, traversing the dreary wastes of the mediæval age, so full of legends, of spiritual and sentimental love songs, of Mariolatry and priest-craft, of comedies on sacred things, hears suddenly, he scarcely knows whence, a single voice, rising low and trembling, so soft and low, that it is scarcely heard at first, yet gathering clear, and deep, and sonorous, till it echoes down the arches as an organ, and rolls, vibrating the whole heart of Christendom with the solemn and magnificent chant of the great Mediæval hymn, the *Dies Irae*—a lyric that lifts one up, as on mighty wings.

Our next stage brings us into the great Reformation, the richest field of all the past in music and song. One of the first symptoms of that great awakening was the revival of a taste and a demand for religious songs in the vernacular tongue. Heretofore the singing had been confined to the clergy and the choir and the Latin language. It was in the fifteenth century and during the Hussite movement that useful popular hymns were for the first time introduced into the service of the Church. Their introduction was facilitated by two strange instruments, first by the minne-singers, or love-singers, who perambulating the country, and singing their love ditties, gave the people a thirst for singing: and secondly, by a body of fanatics, called flagelants, who in long trains, with faces covered, wandered from country to country, amid weeping and lamentations, and the chant of penitential hymns, continually applying, as they marched, the scourge to their naked backs. They grew in numbers like an avalanche, and passed through a large part of Europe. Their strange, wild hymns, in the native tongue, seized the hearts of the people, and paved a way for the psalm of the Reformation. Huss insisted on the people taking part in the service of song, and himself composed a number of excellent hymns.

At first, so difficult was it to abandon the Latin, we find a number of hymns, half Latin and half German. Congregational singing was again revived. The ancient Ambrosian psalmody, in a purer and richer form, was given to the people. The choir of priests was dissolved. Instead of solo monotonous singing in uniform loud notes of equal value, a copious rythm with lively modulations was substituted, and about the close of the fifteenth century, singing in parts, took the place of singing in unison. The air was sung by the congregation, and the singers in the choir accompanied the congregation in the several parts. The air, however, was set in tenor, which was the leading part of music. The tunes were obtained by modifying old tunes, by appropriating national airs of the middle ages, and using, without reserve, the rich treasure of song-tunes in popular use. Many of the hymns were parodies of secular songs, the love songs of the minne-singers. Thus, the popular ditty, sung by wandering apprentices, which commenced: *Inspruck*, I must leave thee, and go my lonely way, far hence, to foreign lands," was transformed into : "O world, I must leave thee, and go my lonely way, unto my Father's Home." When Luther composed his melodies, the people were taught them by traveling musicians, singing processions of school boys and city cornetteers. The Papal Church sought to prevent the singing. But, wherever the spirit of the Reformation went, there flowed the torrent of song. The demand for hymns and music was sudden, and the result of no visible design. It almost preceded the labors of the Reformers, and did more than preaching to inculcate religious truth. Europe, almost in an instant, was full of songs and singing, as if an epidemic had broken out. The rise of the phenomenon in the Reformed Churches was remarkable. Clement Marot, a valet of the bed chamber of king Francis the first, and the favorite poet of France, tired of the vanities of the reigning poetry, and tinctured slightly with Protestantism, applied to his friend Theodore Beza, for assistance in rendering David's Psalms into French rhymes. This was in 1540. The amorous ditties of Marot had been the delight of the French Court. He dedicated his version of the Psalms to the ladies of France, and apologized for presenting such an offering to their taste. It seems with him to have been a mere freak of poetic license,

an experiment. But the most sanguine Reformer could not have indulged anticipations equal to the reality. His previous contributions to the polite literature of the day were forgotten in the enthusiasm, with which the court of France received these versions from the Hebrew Psalter. The press was burdened to meet the demand. All classes were eager to purchase. In the festive and splendid court of France, of a sudden, nothing was heard but the Psalms of Clement Marot. They were the accompaniment of the fiddle, if not of the dance. The members of the royal family, high-born ladies and lords, would each select a psalm, and fit it to the ballad which each liked best. They were the fashion, the rage, and did not seem at all to interfere with the humor and gaiety of the Court. It was a strange sight, the Psalms of David turned into ballads, and sung in gay and royal assemblies, in the place of love songs. But the Providence of God was in it. Just at this time, Luther in Germany, and Calvin in Geneva, were looking about for poets to translate the whole of the Psalms of David into the common tongue, that Christian people might have something to sing. Calvin, at once availed himself of Marot's gallantry to the ladies of France, and introduced the poet's versions from the Psalter, into the Reformed Church of Geneva. On any particular Sunday of 1540, might have been heard the noble lords and ladies of his most Catholic majesty Francis I, and the humble congregation of the great heretic John Calvin, singing the same words out of the new psalm book of Clement Marot. The fashion of the court was short-lived. Not so the singing of the people. They had never before been allowed to sing. The Scriptures had been shut up in a dead language. Now they were released. The effect was electric. Hymns and music were both received with unbounded enthusiasm. France and Germany were infatuated with a love of psalm-singing. Nowhere did the new mania take such a hold of the national mind, as in Germany. The miner's son, Martin, who, in his school days, had caroled for bread, before the doors of the burghers of Eisenach, remembered the old melodies, and when the people asked him for the Bread of Life, he gave forth out of his treasure-house, things new and old. The great Reformer of the German Church, was also, her first great singer. Luther gave the German people their Hymn Book, as well as their Bible. His enthusiasm is well known. He gath-

ered up the best of the old hymns, had them transferred to the tongue of the people, wrote new hymns, and composed the music to some of them. So popular were his hymns, that spurious collections were hawked about Germany under his name. The hymn was the great power of the Reformation upon the masses of the people. In Augsburg, in 1551, three or four thousand people, singing together at a time, was but a trifle. Poets arose everywhere. One Hans Sachs was the author of no less than six thousand hymns, and their poets are numbered by hundreds. A hymn had scarcely gushed from the heart of a poet, until it spread everywhere, penetrated families and churches, was sung before every door, in work shops, market places, streets and fields, and with a single stroke of a popular hymn, whole cities were won to the Evangelical faith. The youth of the day sang them in place of the ribald songs. Mothers sang them beside the cradle, servants in the kitchen, market men in the streets, and farmers in the fields. The Papacy was terrified by the religious singing mania. Psalm-singing and heresy became synonymous terms. All good Catholics were forbidden, under penalties, to try their voices on the heretic psalms.

The new system passed over into England, and here, too, the people became jubilant. The Refugees, whom Mary had driven to the continent, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, came back trained and enthusiastic psalm-singers. The enemy characterized the eagerness of the people, as an infectious frenzy. The singing began in a little church of London, but soon after at St. Paul's Cross, six thousand persons of all ages, might be heard singing the new songs, "which," said Bishop Jewel, "was sadly annoying to the mass priests and the devil." Puritanism, then in its infancy, throbbed with the popular exhilaration. The use of Psalmody became the badge and test of sympathy with the Reformation. As psalm-singing and heresy were synonymous on the continent, so psalm-singing and Puritanism were in England. The Psalms in the vulgar tongue were stigmatized as "Geneva Jiggs," and "Beza's Ballets," but they soon became, in fact, the ballads and war songs of the nation. The proclamation against the queen of Scots, in London, 1586, was received with the ringing of bells, making of bonfires, and singing of psalms, in every one of the streets and lanes of the city. The forces of the Parliament, in Marston Cornfield, fell to singing psalms,

and after the battle of Dunbar, the republican soldiers and their General Lambert halted near Haddington, and sang the 117th Psalm. Cromwell's soldiers were nick-named the Psalm singers. A comedy of the times represents the Roundheads as being used to sing a Psalm and then *fall on.*

As in the morning of some bright summer day, the choristers of field and grove make earth and air, and all things tremulous with their melody, so when the glorious morning of the Reformation dawned, there poured almost instantaneously from the lips and hearts of a great chorus of song, such as the age had never heard. Out of the walls of the cloister, out of the work-shop, the harvest field, the home, came they; hymns for family joys and sorrows, hymns for toil and struggle, hymns for the sick bed and the wayside, and hymns for battle, ringing with the inspiring step of martial music; songs to march to, songs to fight, blasts from the trumpet, before which the strongholds of the enemy fell.

A quaint old writer of the seventeenth century gives us his idea of the singing in England, in that day. He was in York, at the time of the famous siege of eleven weeks. He tells us: "Every Sunday the Old Minster was even cramming and squeezing full, and sometimes a cannon bullet, not a one hundred and eighty pounder of our day, has come in at the windows, and bounced about from pillar to pillar, even like some furious fiend, or evil spirit. But now you must take notice, that they had then a custom in that church, which I hear not in any other cathedral, which was, that always before the sermon, the whole congregation, with the choir and organ, sang a psalm, and you must know, that there was a most excellent, large, plump, lusty, full-speaking organ, which cost, I am credibly informed, a thousand pounds. This organ, I say when the Psalm was sung before the sermon, being let out into all the fulness of stops, together with the choir began the Psalm. But when that vast concording unity of the whole congregational chorus came, as I may say, thundering in, even so as it made the very ground shake under us, Oh! the unutterable and ravishing soul's delight, in which I was transported and wrapt up in high contemplation, so that there was no room left in body, soul, and spirit, for anything below divine and heavenly raptures."

We have been listening to the murmurs of the great

stream of song, as it has flowed on from age to age, sometimes nearly buried in the sands of time, and now again bursting the barriers of centuries in a rush, a torrent of music, and then again flowing on calmly in a broad, deep current, yet never utterly dried up, or silent. The deepest, purest life of man, the inmost piety of the Church, has flowed on in hymns. He who knows the way, hymns and music have flowed, can trace the veins and arteries, in which the blood of piety has flowed. We have caught echoes from the ancient sanctuary, from Miriam's peal of victory, from the hymns that the early Christians sang to Christ before day-break, hymns of burial, sung in the crypts of the Catacombs, where young men and maidens, old men and children, were laid away to rest. We have had hymns of the martyrs, sung by hunted worshipers, at midnight, in dens and caves of the earth, amidst armed men, in ambush, by prisoners in dungeons and in flames. We have caught notes from the hymns of St. Ambrose, and many others, that rose up like birds in the early centuries, and have come flying and singing all the way down to us, and still with voices as strong and sweet as they were a thousand years ago. We have heard the battle songs of the Church, Crusaders' hymns, that rolled forth their truths upon the Oriental air, while a thousand horses' hoofs kept time below, and ten thousand palm leaves whispered and kept time above, hymns of the Huguenots, of the Covenanters and Puritans, hymns, that, as with the pinions of eagles, have borne up to the bosom of God the sorrows, the desires, and the aspirations of his poor and oppressed children on earth, hymns that have gushed out of pressed and broken hearts, as fountains out of cleft rocks.

The great battle song of the Lutheran Church, Luther's *Eine feste Burg*—a Tower of Safety is our God—is said to have come into the heart of the Reformer on his way to the Diet of Worms. Both it, and the battle song of Gustavus Adolphus, the lofty Christian hero of his age, were consecrated for all time by a memorable incident, worthy of all honor.

On the morning of his last battle, when the armies of Gustavus and Wallenstein were drawn up, waiting for the morning mist to clear away, ere they sounded the charge, the king commanded Luther's grand hymn to be sung, then his own, accompanied with the trumpets and drums of the whole army. As they ceased singing, the mist

broke away, and the sunshine burst on the two armies. For a moment, Gustavus knelt beside his horse, in the face of his soldiers, and repeated his battle-prayer: "O Lord Jesus Christ, bless our arms, and this day's battle, for the glory of thy holy name." Then, passing along the lines with a few brief words of encouragement, he gave the battle cry, "*God with us*," with which he had conquered at Leipzig, and rushed on the foe. In the thickest of the fight he was found, bleeding with a death wound, but from the dying lips of the martyr, fell these noble, Christian words: "I seal with my blood the liberty and the religion of the German nation." Thus, have the hymns of the past been embalmed for us. We cannot gather up all the precious names of men, out of whose hearts the dear Cross pressed the living songs of the Church; St. Ephrem, Ambrose and Gregory, Luther, Gerhardt and Tersteegen, gentle George Herbert, borne to his grave with cathedral chants, blind John Milton, singing on in his blindness, Richard Baxter, so basely brow-beaten by the infamous Jeffries, Bishop Ken, the non-juror; Watts and Doddridge the two great non-conformist hymn writers, the brothers Wesley pelted, threatened, mocked, yet distilling out of their hearts sweet songs, that go chiming everywhere like silvery bells, cheering death beds, giving courage to brave men, and patience to suffering women; the gentle tortured spirit of Cowper, pouring out, in the intervals of his terrible malady, his trembling, but immortal song, and many others, not to mention those great masters of music, whose chorals have a deathless life. The treasury of all the past is ours, and much of the best of it has come down to us in Christian song.

As in the early autumn, the birds begin to look from the north southward, and springing up from the shrubs, the reeds, and the waters, begin their flight, and as they wind their way out of every tree and copse, from orchard and garden come forth new singers, increasing in number at every furlong, until, at length, coming down from their high pathways, they cover provinces, and fill forests, and are heard caroling and triumphing through all the unfrosted orchards, amid all the groves, and the vines, the olives, the palms, and the oranges of the tropics, with their wonderous bursts of song. So, like these birds, these sacred hymns of the past, whose nests have been found in every age, from the very gray and twilight of creation,

seem to have risen up, spread, and plumed their wings, and flown down to our day, and into the pleasant gardens and vineyards God has given to his Church, and their sweet and heavenly music, as they flit from branch to branch, filleth the Church with melody, comforting and cheering, as in old time, the hearts of God's people, as if once again, the advent was renewed, and God's angels were in the air.

ARTICLE XII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by Rev. John McClintock, D. D., and James Strong, S. T. D. Vol. III. New York: Harper and Brothers. We have already spoken of this important contribution to our religious literature. When finished, it will be the most thorough, compact and satisfactory work of the kind yet published. The present volume exhausts the letter G, and three additional volumes, it is supposed, will complete the work. The lamented death of the senior editor will occasion no delay in the enterprise. Its labors will be carried on by Dr. Strong, with the assistance of scholars connected with different denominations, and brought to a speedy conclusion.

A Manual of Church History. By H. E. F. Guericke, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Halle. Translated from the German. By W. G. T. Shedd, D. D., Baldwin Professor in Union Theological Seminary. Andover: W. F. Draper. This volume embraces Mediæval Church History, from A. D., 590 to 1030, when Hildebrand, under the name of Gregory VII, ascended the Papal chair. Among other topics, it discusses the diffusion of Christianity among the Gothic, Scandinavian and Sclavic races; the controversies in reference to the two Wills in Christ, Image Worship and the Lord's Supper, and the schism between the East and the West. In connection with a former volume, which appeared in 1857, this edition gives an interesting history of the Church, during the first ten centuries.

The Elements of the Hebrew Language. By Rev. A. D. Jones. A. M. Andover: W. F. Draper. This is a work, which eorresponds, in its general arrangements, with many of the elementary text books in common use, and is designed to facilitate the study of the Hebrew in our classical schools. The language is divested of many of its peculiarities and difficulties, and its study, by a simple and progressive series of exercises, is rendered comparatively easy and pleasant.

The Close of the Ministry. By Rev. William Hanna, D. D., LL.D. *The Passion Week.* By Rev. William Hanna, D. D., LL.D. New

York: Robert Carter & Bros. These are the third and fourth volumes in this excellent series. They are, like their predecessors, written in a popular, intelligible style, and are free from everything like formal criticism, but, at the same time, the best results of modern criticism and mature biblical study are presented. The author has shown great skill in grouping the leading events of the Saviour's life, and exhibits throughout a devout, evangelical and elevated spirit.

Our Father in Heaven: The Lord's Prayer explained and illustrated. A Book for the Young. By Rev. J. H. Wilson, M. A., Barclay Church, Edinburgh. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This book, prepared originally for the young, is full of illustrations and incidents of rich scriptural truth, derived from this beautiful and inexhaustible prayer, upon which so much has been written.

Christ in Song. Hymns of Immanuel: Selected from all Ages, with Notes. By Philip Schaff, D. D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. To those who are interested in sacred poetry, it will be a satisfaction to learn, that this is the fourth edition of this beautiful book, and that it is made to meet the increasing demand for a cheaper issue. It contains, as already stated, the richest gems of Grecian and Roman hymns, as well as the finest specimens of German and English song, in the Church. The taste and judgment, displayed in the arrangement and classification of the material, are such as the erudition and practical skill of Dr. Schaff might lead us to expect.

Music Hall Sermons. By William H. H. Murray, Pastor of Park Street Church. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. These discourses, originally delivered before large audiences in the Music Hall, are now given in the more permanent book-form. Although not remarkable for original or profound thought, they are graphic, and have all the freshness of speech, and bear evidences of careful composition. They contain passages of great beauty, illustrations drawn from pure nature, marked by simplicity, directness and earnestness. Our criticism as to the matter is, that whilst the author presents most clearly some of the great and distinctive doctrines of the Gospel, there are utterances, which seem to us unguarded and latitudinarian. Some of the most instructive truths of the Bible, are often kept too much in the background, or entirely ignored.

Sermons Preached in St James' Chapel, York Street, London. By Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, M. A. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. Although these discourses are unequal in merit, they are unusually interesting, and their perusal will not disappoint the individual, who has been interested in the author's Memoirs of Rev. F. W. Robertson. They are marked by originality and force of thought, and by freshness and clearness of expression.

Sermons Preached at Trinity Chapel, Brighton. By Rev. Frederick W. Robertson. In two volumes. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. These volumes are among the ablest contributions to this department of literature, that these latter days, so prolific in productions of this kind, have produced. If the author is not a creator, he is certainly a clear and successful interpreter, of thought. If the discourses are not distinguished by the originality of their ideas, they are pre-eminent in their representations of these ideas. Their richness of thought and practical direction, their philosophic tone and elegance, their earnestness and power, fully sustain the high reputation, which the author, as a pulpit orator, enjoyed.

Life and Letters of Frederick W. Robertson, A. M. Incumbent of Trinity Chapel, Brighton. Edited by Stopford A. Brooke, late Chaplain to the Embassy at Berlin. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. This volume cannot fail to exert an influence on all who are interested in spiritual questions, and in Christian experience. Those, who have read the sermons of the subject, will be glad to follow him in his beautiful life, brief as his career was, to learn his modes of thought, the source and progress of his views, and in his letters, to observe his love for the race, his great tenderness of heart, his delicacy of feeling, his tried and suggestive experience. The friends, with whom he lived, were warmly attached to him, especially his congregation, and the workingmen at Brighton, where his name is still a tower of strength, and the effect of his ministry will long be felt.

Life of James Hamilton, D. D. By William Arnot, Edinburgh. Second edition. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is one of the most interesting and fascinating biographies ever given to the public, both in the character of its subject, and the skill of the biographer. The wonderful industry of Dr. Hamilton, his ardor, earnestness and thoroughness in study, the extent and accuracy of his knowledge, the diversity of his gifts, and his devotion to the work to which he had dedicated his life. render his biography very attractive. His life, too, extending over a long period, from 1814 to 1867, brings the reader in contact with a large number of eminent names still fresh and fragrant. Dr. Arnot, whose recent visit to this country has awakened so deep an interest, is an earnest and vigorous writer and, in the work before us shows a living appreciation of his theme.

Memoir of W. C. Burns, M. A. Missionary to China, from the English Presbyterian Church. By Rev. Islay Burns, D. D., Professor of Theology at Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is an exceedingly interesting Memoir of an energetic, Pauline missionary of the cross. The narrative traces the subject from his youth, through the successive stages of life, gives a graphic account of the power that attended his preaching at Kiloyth, Dundee, St. Andrews, Edinboro', of his successful labors in Dublin and Canada, and finally, his career in the holy work, to which he was consecrated, as a missionary in the Chinese field. The Appendix contains much valuable information in relation to China.

Memoir of Rev. John Scudder, M. D. By Rev. J. B. Waterbury, D. D. New York: Harper & Bros. The subject of this Memoir, was for thirty-six years missionary in India. He was distinguished for his many Christian qualities. His simplicity of character, singleness of heart, his great skill and unflinching courage in proclaiming the Gospel, his absolute self-consecration to the work, in which he was engaged, inspired the reverence, and won the admiration of all, who were brought into any relation with him.

Life of Rufus Choate. By Samuel Gilman Brown, D. D., President of Hamilton College. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. This is the second edition of this exceedingly interesting memoir, which was originally published in connection with Dr. Choate's Works. It has been, for some years, out of print, and, although in the present reproduction, it is in the main unchanged there are numerous additions, in the form of letters, reminiscences, and selections from his writings. It is a charming biography, most skilfully presented, of a gifted and brilliant man.

Life of Bismarck, Private and Political, with Descriptive Notices of his Ancestry. By J. G. L. Hesekiel. Translated and edited with Introduction, Explanatory Notes, and Appendix. By Rev. K. R. H. Mackenzie, F. S. A. With upwards of one hundred illustrations by Diez, Grimm, Pietsch, and others. New York: Harper & Bros. This is neither a panegyric of the great Prussian statesman, nor a dry narrative of his character, but a clear and harmonious view of his life, telling the reader what he is, and what he has done, describing him in every position of life, his boyhood and college days, his preparation for business, the eventful and thrilling scenes, in which he participated, and the power, which as Minister-President and Court he exercised, written by an enthusiastic admirer. No one can read the book without receiving a very distinct and full impression of the character of this remarkable man, and of the events, with which his name is so indelibly linked.

A Treatise on the Christian Doctrine of Marriage. By Hugh Davey Evans, LL. D. New York: Hurd & Houghton. This is an elaborate discussion of the whole subject of Marriage, in the light of reason, history and Scripture, one of the most complete in the English language, and is designed to correct the low tone of public opinion, that exists on marriage and divorce. The author was a distinguished jurist, and, although a layman, had a high reputation as a theologian. The volume contains a biographical sketch of Dr. Evans, also Bishop Andrewes' Discourse against Second Marriage, now published for the first time in this country.

Scenes and Incidents in the Life of the Apostle Paul, viewed as illustrating the nature and influence of the Christian Religion. By Albert Barnes. Philadelphia: Zeigler, McCurdy & Co. The title sufficiently indicates the character of the work. Its design is to illustrate the doctrines and duties of Christianity, its influence in its first contact with the world, from the example of a most illustrious disciple, employed in its propagation. On every page the author's rich and varied abilities, his rare and practical learning, his clear and mature views of divine truth, are apparent. The volume, which contains a most accurate, faithful engraved portrait of the author, ought to find a place in every household in the land.

Our Father's House, or the Unwritten Word. By Daniel March, D. D. Philadelphia: Zeigler, McCurdy & Co. This is a popular treatise on Natural Theology, and presents to the reader God, as revealed in the material universe. The work is evangelical, practical and able. Dr. March's productions are all distinguished for their variety of thought, grandeur of description, and affluence of expression. They abound in rich, practical religious instruction. This volume is embellished with twelve beautiful steel engravings.

Hedged In. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. A fallen girl of sixteen with her child, brought into the world under circumstances of infamy, runs from vicious associations, to seek refuge among the pure and good. Her rejection by many professing to be influenced by the spirit of Christ, her introduction into a pious household, her trials and triumphs, her restoration to a life of honor and usefulness, her Christian death, are the materials of this most interesting and well written story. It inculcates Scriptural sentiments, and condemns that false delicacy which would turn away from objects claiming Christian sympathy and Christian effort.

In this work are to be found the thought, vigor, and suggestiveness, which characterize "The Gates Ajar."

In the midst of the North Sea. From the German of Marie Roskowska, by J. F. Smith. *Anton, the Fisherman.* By Franz Hoffman. Translated by Mrs. M. A. Manderson. *Rene, the Little Savoyard.* By Franz Hoffman. Translated by J. F. Smith. *Fritz: or Filial Love.* By Franz Hoffman. Translated from the German by Mrs. M. A. Manderson. *Geyer Walty:* or Fidelity Rewarded. By Franz Hoffman. Translated from the German by Mrs. M. A. Manderson. Philadelphia: Lutheran Board of Publication. These are all very interesting and useful stories embraced in the "Fatherland Series," written with dramatic power, from an evangelical stand-point, and pervaded with Christian sentiments, full of faith, simplicity and pathos. They are well translated, so natural and idiomatic in style, that no one could imagine they were of German origin. This is a very attractive series of books for the young, and is deserving of the kind consideration of all who are interested in a pure literature for the Sunday School and the family. Let the Church give a generous support to all its publications, and strengthen the hands of those, who are laboring for its elevation.

An Alphabetical Index to the New Testament. Common Version. Suitable to any edition, and useful to all ministers, teachers and Bible readers. *A Year in the Sunday School,* from the Journal of an Old Teacher. *Out of the Orphan Asylum:* or Sketches in a Country Parish. *Christiana Hatherley's Childhood. Mistress Margery.* A Tale of the Lollards. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. We recommend these books with great confidence, as we feel certain that they will be valued by every one interested in the work of Sunday School instruction. The "Alphabetical Index," by Dr. Allibone, we have already described in terms of high commendation. "A Year in the Sunday School," is a guide-book to the teacher, in the form of an interesting and instructive narrative. "Out of the Orphan Asylum," is a book full of incidents, written in a simple and forcible style, elevated in its tone, and abounding in useful lessons. "Christiana Hatherley's Childhood," and "Mistress Margery," are also books, that may be read by the young with interest and profit. We desire, in this connection, to direct attention to the "Large Colored Diagrams," published by the Union, and designed for Popular Lectures to Sunday Schools. These illustrations are printed on strong cloth and appropriately painted; they may be distinctly seen at a great distance, and may be used for exhibition in the day time, or at night. The "American Sunday School Union" is a most valuable Institution. Evangelical in its character, catholic in its spirit, and liberal in its principles, it is worthy of the encouragement and support of Christians of every name.

Violet's Idol. By Joanna H. Matthews. *Lilly's Lesson.* By Joanna H. Matthews. *Busy Bees:* or Winter Evenings in Margaret Russel's School. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. These volumes are illustrations of the activity, with which these enterprising publishers are adding to their list of juveniles. The high religious tone of these publications in this department are well known.

The Golden Cap and other Stories. By Rev. J. De Liefde. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is a beautiful legend connected with the early history of Holland, based upon the persecutions of Fostedina, who was compelled to wear a crown of thorns, because she

aided the escape of some Christian captives. The other stories in the volume possess merit, and the illustrations are such as to interest children.

Bessie on her Travels. By Joanna H. Matthews. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is a most fascinating book for the young, uniting the useful and the pleasing, in such a way, as to commend it strongly to the attention of those, in whose interests it has been written. This is the sixth of the series, all written by the accomplished daughter of the late Dr. Matthews, who was so highly esteemed as a scholar and a Christian.

A Braid of Cords. By A. L. O. E. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is a series of stories, designed to illustrate the cords of Sin, of Love, of Affliction, the cords of Friendship, and of Life, beautifully wrought out, abounding in that strong sense and meaning for which the writer is distinguished.

History of the American Civil War. By J. W. Draper, M. D., LL. D. In three volumes. Vol. III. New York: Harper & Bros. This is the concluding volume of Prof. Draper's elaborate contribution to the literature of our late Civil War, and contains the events from the proclamation of the emancipation of the slaves to the end of the great conflict. It is by an able writer and profound thinker, and discusses the subject from a philosophical point of view, in a calm, dispassionate, impartial spirit, and with great clearness and vigor. His sources of information are varied and reliable, and many facts, new and of the deepest interest, are here psesented to the public. The story of the struggle is well told, and the work, we are sure, will be extensively read, and with instruction and advantage.

A Constitutional View of the late War between the States; its causes, character, conduct and results. Presented in a Series of Colloquies at Liberty Hall. By Alexander H. Stephens. In two Volumes. Vol. II. Philadelphia: National Publishing House. We have already spoken with favor of this work, in a notice of the first volume, and although as a narrative of events, and of the antagonism of ideas, wrought into our civil life, it is by no means, equal to many other works on the subject which have appeared, it is yet a work of real interest, as showing the political philosophy of one, whose views exercised great influence in moulding the opinions, and developing the spirit, that led to the terrible conflict. The literature of the Civil War would not be complete without this contribution to its history.

The Romance of Spanish History. By John S. C. Abbott. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. This volume is filled with the most wonderful narrative, connected with important events in Spanish History, incidents interesting and instructive, stranger than fiction has ever produced. Among the subjects presented, are the "Moorish Invasion," "Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella," "Christopher Columbus," "Charles V," "Philip II," "Charles IV and Maria Louisa," and the "Revolution." The interest of the work would be heightened, if it were more philosophical and less romantic.

In Spain and a Visit to Portugal. By Hans Christian Andersen. New York: Hurd & Houghton. This is a book of travels, written in an attractive style, and concerning a country, recently brought so prominently to the attention of the whole civilized world, in the condition of which, and the character of its people there is, at the present time, a special interest felt.

Hadyn and other Poems. By the author of "Life Below." New York: Hurd & Houghton. The author of this volume is no novice in poetical composition. He possesses the elements of the genuine poet. His verses are musical, with passages of rare beauty.

Warp and Woof. A Book of Verse. By Samuel W. Duffield. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. The author of this work is Pastor of a Presbyterian Church, and is known by his successful translations of some of the old Latin Hymns. The idea of weaving is maintained through the volume, which is divided into pieces woven from old threads, woven in war time, woven from Church patterns, woven at odd hours, woven on quiet days, and shreds and tags, all giving evidence of poetic taste and ability.

The Laws of Discursive Thought: Being a Text-Book of Formal Logic. By James McCosh, LL. D., President of New Jersey College, Princeton. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. This is the work of one who is master of the subject, and thoroughly acquainted with the systems of those, who have preceded him in this department of science. The philosophical studies of the author, added to his long and successful experience as a teacher of Logic and Mental Philosophy, give to his productions great weight and value. The work is a condensed but exhaustive exhibition of the principles of the science, presented with great clearness, freshness and compactness, and is admirably adapted to the object intended.

The Science of Government as connected with American Institutions. By Joseph Alden, D. D., LL. D. *Citizen's Manual.* A Text-Book on Government, for Common Schools. By Joseph Alden, D. D., LL. D. New York: Sheldon & Co. The study of the Institutions of our country has strong claims upon the attention of American youth, and in the volumes on our table, the subject is presented in a clear and thorough discussion, adapted to the comprehension of those, who are in a process of education for the active duties of life, by one whose whole life has been devoted to the instruction of the young.

Annual of Scientific Discovery: or Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1869. Edited by Samuel Kneeland, M. D., Secretary of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. The object of this valuable serial is to exhibit the most important discoveries and improvements in Mechanics, the useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Botany, Geology, Zoology, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, etc., together with notes on the progress of science during the last year, a list of scientific publications, obituaries of scientific men. We have found this work very useful for reference. The present volume contains a portrait of Prof. Dana, of Yale College.

The Principles of Latin Grammar, comprising the substance of the most approved Grammars extant, with an Appendix and complete Index. By Peter Bullions, D. D. Revised by Charles D. Morris. New York: Sheldon & Co. We have been for many years interested in all Dr. Bullions' Text-books, who, from his long experience and marked success in the work of teaching, understood the wants of the pupil. Whilst the principles of all Grammars are the same, we think no teacher can make a mistake in adopting the one before us, in which some important additions and changes have been made by Professor Morris.

Grammar of the Latin Language for the use of Schools. With Exercises and Vocabularies. By William Bingham, A. M. *Latin*

Reader, adapted to Bingham's Latin Grammar. With Notes and a Vocabulary. By William Bingham, A. M. *Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War.* With a Vocabulary and Notes. By William Bingham, A. M. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. These are all good Text-books, and worthy of a place in any of our elementary schools.

A Greek Grammar for Beginners. By William H. Waddell. New York: Harper & Brothers. Everything is here excluded that is not absolutely necessary to the pupil, commencing the study of the language. It is just the book that is needed, and for a beginner is more satisfactory than a larger and more comprehensive treatise.

Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War: With Explanatory Notes, a Copious Dictionary, and a Map of Gaul. By Albert Harkness, LL. D. *First Greek Book:* comprising an outline of the Forms and Inflections of the Language: a complete Analytical Syntax, and an Introductory Reader. With Notes and Vocabularies. By Albert Harkness, LL. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. These are admirable text-books, by an experienced and successful teacher, and worthy of the high commendation they have received.

First Book of *Botany.* Designed to cultivate the observing powers of children. By E. A. Youmans. New York: D. Appleton & Co. The object of this manual, is to introduce the young pupil to a knowledge of Botany, by the direct observation of vegetable forms, so that the habit of correctly analyzing the plant with the view of ascertaining its qualities, at the very beginning, may be formed.

American Edition of *Dr. William Smith's Dictionary* of *the Bible.* Revised and Edited by Professor H. B. Hackett, D. D. With the cooperation of Ezra Abbott, LL. D. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Parts XXVI, and XXVII, of this treasure-house of Biblical literature are on our table, and close with an article on *Siddim.* This is a work, which no scholar's library can afford to be without. The American Edition is a great improvement upon the Dictionary as originally published in England.

Questions on the Gospels for the Church Year. By Rev. E. Greenwald, D. D., Pastor of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Lancaster. Vol. II. Lancaster, Pa. Published by the School Association of the Church of the Holy Trinity. John Baer's Sons.

Christian Benevolence. A sermon preached in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, Lancaster, Pa., August 1st, 1869. By the Pastor, Rev. E. Greenwald, D. D.

The Old Paths. Penny Tracts, I. Lutheran Book Store, Vine st.

Why are you not a member of *the Church?* By Joseph Few Smith, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee.

A Sermon delivered before the Society for the promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education, at the West, November 9th, 1869. By J. Few Smith, D. D. Newark, N. J.

We have received from Henry C. Bowen, Publisher of "*The Independent,*" New York, the beautiful steel engravings of President Grant, Vice-President Colfax, and Edward M. Stanton. The first two are engraved by A. H. Ritchie, the last by Murray, each one is an admirable likeness. The first two are most liberally offered to every subscriber of *The Independent* who sends one new name with the money ($2 50,) also to each subscriber whose name is thus sent. The picture of Stanton is likewise presented to every old subscriber of *The Independent,* who forwards a new name, not on the books the previous year.

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NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

The *Evangelical Quarterly Review* for July has appeared with its accustomed promptness, and contains a number of truly valuable articles. The translation of Schmid's Dogmatic we welcome most cordially, and the historical articles of the present number are interesting and profitable reading.—*The Lutheran Standard.*

The *Evangelical Quarterly Review* for July is rich with valuable articles. It continues its translation of Schmid's Dogmatic Theology by Dr. Hay; and its Reminiscences of Lutheran Ministers; translates, from the original narrative, a valuable account of Luther at the Diet of Worms; discusses Mission Work in the Lutheran Church in this Country; gives the results of eight years among the Hindoos by Rev. H. McMillan.—*The Congregationalist & Recorder.*

The July number of this *Quarterly* has made its appearance with its usual promptness. Its contents are various and must possess considerable attraction, particularly for those in whose interest the work is more especially issued. —*Reformed Church Messenger.*

The *Evangelical Quarterly Review* is steadily gaining in variety, vigor and merit. The number for July has eleven articles, besides its numerous and discriminating book notices. Some of the papers are of the best, and there are none but deserve an attentive reading. It is published at Gettysburg, Pa.—*The Morning Star.*

The *Evangelical Quarterly Review* represents Evangelical Lutheranism, and presents well written and learned articles on Schmid's Dogmatic Theology; Luther at the Diet of Worms; The Divine Government; Flavius Josephus; Music and Song of the Ages.—*The Advance.*

The *Evangelical Quarterly Review* for July has an unusual and interesting variety of articles in the department of theology, history, biography and literary criticism, and is edited with ability and skill.—*New York Observer.*

This *Review* maintains a high literary standard, and from some of its articles we hope to make extracts for our columns.—*The New York Evangelist.*

THE

EVANGELICAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. LXXXIV.

OCTOBER, 1870.

ARTICLE I.

THE CULTIVATION OF THE RELIGIOUS SENSIBILITY.

The Psalmist was a man who, more than any of his fellows, stands as the representative of the various phases of an enlarged Christian experience. His will had been brought into subjection to the Divine Law. His intellect had been expanded by glorious revelations of the Divine character. His sensibility was tenderly alive to every fact and truth of religion. His chequered life fitted him to sweep his hand across all the chords of human emotion. A shepherd boy watching at night the glowing stars, a soldier at twenty, a refugee hunted like a partridge on the mountains, a king at thirty, tarnishing the virtue of many years while on the throne, sowing in one day the seeds of a rank harvest of blood and bitterness, yet, out of his very errors, followed, as they were, by burning shame, prostrate humiliation and the penitential giving to the world some of the richest lessons and rarest fruits.

Irving has called this book one of the divinest books of all the Scriptures, the records of the most wonderful dispensations of God's providence to his Church, containing pathetic dirges, sung over her deepest calamities, jubilees over her mightiest deliverances, songs of sadness for her captivity, and songs of mirth for her prosperity, prophetic announcements of her increase to the end of time, and splendid anticipations of her ultimate glory.

There seems to be not a single aspect of his relations to God or man, or to the works of creation, providence and grace, which does not at once, and powerfully awaken, within the soul of the Psalmist, the appropriate emotion. To his pious soul, nature is the temple of the uncreated God. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork." When he remembers all the goodness of God, and the multitude of his tender mercies, he cries out: "O come, let us sing unto the Lord, let us make a joyful noise unto the God of our salvation." "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name." When he thinks of the beauty of the supreme mind, of the infinite fulness there for the supply of all his wants, of the joys of worshiping so great and glorious a being, his bosom burns with love and strong desire. "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts. My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord: my heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God." The happy condition of the righteous in having Jehovah for their friend, and immortal happiness for their portion, compels him to exclaim: "Let the righteous be glad! Let them rejoice before God, yea, let them exceedingly rejoice!" When he beholds the multitude of the wicked transgressing God's law, and pressing on to eternal death, his heart melts with tenderest compassion for them. "Rivers of water run down my eyes, because they keep not thy law." When he recalls his own deep sinfulness in the sight of ineffable purity, he pours forth his feelings of sorrow and humiliation in the mournful strains of that Psalm, to which all broken hearted penitents flee: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness."

No one can make himself familiar with these refreshing, abundant and beautiful outpourings of the Psalmist, without a deep conviction, that the religion of the writer was one of deep emotions. His religious affections were keenly

alive to all their appropriate objects, and powerfully moved by them.

In the discussion of the subject, the following three-fold division will meet all present purposes: I. *The place and importance of the religious emotions;* II. *Some objections to their cultivation;* III. *The Divine arrangement for their cultivation.*

It is the vice of some forms of thinking, to represent man as a being, who may be divided into several distinct departments, a being whose faculties may be dissevered from each other, and assigned to positions of diverse importance. Scripture and consciousness teach, that the soul is a unit, that its activity is one life; that it is the one rational soul that apprehends, feels and determines. It is an evil or false psychology that would dissever the human faculties from each other, determine their relative value, and thus lay a foundation for unduly exalting, or degrading them. From the very nature of the emotional element in man, you cannot eliminate the intellectual from it. You cannot separate the thinking, the feeling, and the willing by themselves, as departments that may stand alone, that are not dependent on each, or that possess, any one of them, an inferior importance. The soul is one percipient, feeling, and willing agent. From its individuality and unity it follows, that each one of the three great divisions, made by metaphysicians in the soul of man, possesses an importance commensurate with that of the soul itself. The emotional nature of man cannot be neglected and degraded, without deep and lasting injury to the intellectual —to the entire man. The intellect cannot be wisely developed, without a harmonious cultivation of the feelings. The intellect, the heart, and the will, are not distinct faculties to be separately educated, or neglected. If they are thrust into any independence of each other, or any antagonism with each other, or if either one of them is thrust down to a lower place, the whole soul feels the wrong. If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it. There must be perfect harmony between the feelings, the intellect, and the will. What is good for the one must be good for the rest. What is true to the intellect must be true to the feelings. The cultivation of the one enlarges and improves the other.

In that Divine operation, by which man is regenerated, the whole soul is the subject. The understanding is en-

lightened, the feelings are transformed, the will is subdued. The depravity which is to be eradicated adheres, inheres in each. The holiness, that is bestowed, moulds each. The truth, by which man is transformed, is not confined in its power to the intellect alone. It is intended to excite the emotions, to influence the will. Growth in grace, is not a growth in knowledge alone, but also a growth in holy emotions, and in true obedience. The cultivation of man, if it be normal, must be a cultivation of his whole nature. The education of the intellect, of the sensibility, and of the will, must proceed *pari passu*, with equal step. They who commend a religion of the intellect alone, and they who commend one of the feelings, wander equally wide from the true. It cannot be a pious act that underrates, or neglects any of those powers which are given by him, who made the soul in his own image. The religious emotions which are but blind, excited feelings, and not the product of well-apprehended and true doctrine, are no more an index of spiritual life, than the motions of a dead body under the action of galvanism, are of physical life. In like manner, the correct apprehension of doctrine by the intellect, while it is not embraced by the heart, has no more of true religion in it, than has the belief of a theory in astronomy, or a demonstration in mathematics. It is the tendency of mere pietism to undervalue the human intellect, for the sake of exalting the affections, and waking the inward feelings to the standards of truth. But the true Christian life is nourished on truth. It grows and develops in proportion, as it apprehends and receives the truth. Christian life is neither a mere series of emotions, feelings and desires, nor of intellectual apprehensions and acts of the understanding. It embraces both these. It is essential that men should understand and believe the right things, and, that they should be adequately and appropriately moved by them. Ignorance is not the mother of true devotion. Truth is essential; right feeling is essential to human salvation. There can be none of the latter without an apprehension of the former. If the light within us is not co-ordinate with the light in the Scriptures, the religious feelings within will not take on those forms of repentance, faith, love, reverence, and gratitude, which enter into true religion. If, on the other hand, the emotions are not tenderly alive to the facts and truths of religion that are revealed to the intellect, and never powerfully

awakened by the sublime revelation of the divine character and of human destiny, then such a man's religion is vain, he is yet in his sins.

The relation, which the emotional element in our nature sustains to the truth that saves, is equally important with that sustained by the intellect, that apprehends the truth. In fact, spiritual truth is not discerned by the intellect alone. With the heart, man believeth unto salvation. There is no such thing as a purely intellectual cognition of a moral truth. It of necessity involves feeling in a greater or less degree. To separate the knowledge of spiritual truth from the feeling of it is impossible, to put them in collision with each other is contradictory.

The importance of the religious affections is evident, not only from the sphere they occupy in the nature of man, but from other considerations:

I. It is right and suitable that the strength of a man's emotions, in view of any object, should be in proportion to the importance of the object. We are so constituted, that our feelings will naturally be regulated by their law, unless some disturbing cause interfere with their healthy and legitimate action. We make a vast and a proper distinction between the emotions excited by worthy and by unworthy objects, the tears that are shed by the sentimental readers of fiction, and the tears that fall on the grave of youth and beauty.

In comparison with the concerns of the soul, with the magnitude of those eternal interests, which are at hazard in the case of every immortal being, all other interests are of no account whatever. If it is proper to feel deeply in view of mere worldly considerations, how fit it is that we should be moved by the things that take hold on eternity. If, at the announcement of temporal good fortune, the heart beats high, the pulse quickens, congratulations are offered, how suitable, when glad tidings of good things are announced from heaven, and the things are revealed which God hath prepared for them that love Him, that the soul should exult with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

If earthly benefactors demand emotions of lively gratitude, what raptures of thanksgiving should the redeemed feel toward Him, who gave himself to die for them! Those eminent servants of God, to whom He has granted the largest spiritual experience, and the most abundant revelation of his grace, have manifested a glowing enthusiasm, their

hearts have swelled with inexpressible rapture, their tongues have been loosened with a heavenly eloquence, a living spirit of goodness and beauty has pervaded their lives, and their writings. And who shall condemn them? Why should not he be joyful, and exult with a holy enthusiasm, into whose heart God has poured the life-tide of immortality, who has been permitted to enjoy foretastes of the happiness of the blessed, and has caught, in beatific vision, a glimpse of the splendors of the upper sanctuary. We pronounce him soulless and void of all sensibility, who can gaze upon a master-piece of art, or upon the grand aspect of some earthly scenery, without being stirred to deep emotion. Why should not he be filled with holy and irrepressible feeling, who by faith beholds the future inheritance of the saints—the goodly lands, whose fields stands dressed in living green—the city whose maker and builder is God, the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. If it be appropriate to read, with tearful eyes and quivering lips, some tale of temporal misfortune, to hear of the woes of war, the sorrows of ten thousands of families, what emotion can adequately meet the great demand, when we behold millions of immortal souls breaking away from all moral attractions, and hastening on to destruction and eternal death? There is no sphere of thought, of life, that makes a demand on us, for the deepest and strongest emotions of our being, at all to be compared to that where lie the great spiritual realities which concern the immortal welfare of our souls.

Strong religious emotions are highly important as safeguards against temptation. Dangers from temptation beset the paths of the saints while here below. No amount of temptation can indeed force a man to wear the yoke of sin. No child of God will ever be placed in a situation of trial, from which he will not be able to escape, if he avail himself of proffered grace and strength. But it is equally true that believers, even they who have enjoyed close fellowship with God, are in constant danger of yielding to sinful inclinations, and they may be placed in circumstances, where it may safely be predicted, that they will certainly yield. There is so great danger that even Christians will be overcome by temptation, that the Bible is filled with the most solemn warnings on the subject. We are told with fearful emphasis, that even the righteous are scarcely saved. We are taught to pray, "Lead us not

into temptation." No man can wisely trust to his own firmness and resolution, as sufficient safeguards. A wise and good man will rather fortify himself at every avenue, will withdraw from every influence to evil, and will open his heart to those agencies which will confirm him in a virtuous and holy life. Of all the methods to gain this, no one is more promising and effectual, when pursued in humble reliance on the blessing of God, than a studious cultivation of the holy affections. Temptations gain access to us through our emotional nature, through the feelings. No object, however alluring, is the least temptation to a man, unless it takes effect first upon his sensibility and induces there a state of feeling more or less inclined to it. It would evidently be impossible for the world, the flesh, and the devil, even by the most artful enticements, to tempt a man in the slightest degree, unless they shall be able to make some impression on the feelings, the desires, the sensitive nature first. Gold is a temptation to the miser, the intoxicating cup to the drunkard, posts of honor to the ambitious, because these objects produce within the tempted peculiar states of emotion, of desire, of thirsting for them. Sin is committed by the sinner, only because for the time being, a sinful course is pleasant and agreeable to him. He rolls sin as a sweet morsel under his tongue. Revenge becomes sweet. Vice allures. The most painful and consuming of the passions gratify him who yields to them. A course of sin and disobedience is more attractive to the heart of the sinner, than a course of holy obedience, therefore, he pursues it. The feelings are the avenues by which the three great tempters of man enter and take possession of him. The town of Mansoul is entered by the gates of the senses. How now shall their avenue and these gates be closed, and the soul be rendered inaccessible to evil influences?

We reply, by throwing open the sensibility to all good influences, and by the vigorous cultivation of all holy affections. As one develops a love for nature by dwelling upon her grand and beautiful scenery, and filling the soul with impressions from them, so let the mind be filled with the overflowing importance of divine things, let the awful and glorious character of God possess the thoughts, let all the sublime facts, that centre around the destiny of the soul, abide with us, and have their appropriate place and power, and the world will either lose its hold upon the

affections, or influence the feelings, so slightly, as not to disturb the harmony of Christian character. Gather all these great elements of spiritual power and bring them into the soul, let burning love for God be regulated by holy reverence, let glorious exultation over our Christian birth-right be attempered by a godly fear, let joyous confidence in the Redeemer, and a lively hope of salvation be chastened by a humble self-distrust, true penitence for sin, and a deep sense of our own unworthiness and weakness; let a holy jealously for the honor of an insulted Saviour, be regulated by a melting pity, and pure self-denial for the sinner's salvation, let these, with all the other elements of power in the religious emotions take possession of the soul, establish their empire and throne there, and reign in their divinely appointed harmony, and they become a powerful safeguard against all the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil.

Strong religious emotions derive an importance from their bearing on our own personal and highest happiness. It is from no affectation, or mere sentiment of disgust with the world that men in all ages, both in prose and verse, have described this world as a vale of tears, and bewailed their lamentable condition in it. It is the language of inspiration. It is literally and bitterly true, that earth's highest pleasures are transient and unsatisfactory. The hopes of men are blasted in innumerable ways, and their hearts filled with sorrow. Disappointments environ us from the cradle to the grave. To this state of ours, God has precisely and beautifully adapted our religious affections, and given them great and permanent objects. By them, He opens perennial fountains of joy in the wilderness. He lifteth the affections from low and unsatisfying things, and fastens them upon everlasting and unchangeable objects, that can never expose us to disappointment. These fill the soul with a strong and holy enthusiasm, lift it above the trials of earth, and cast down earthly objects to their real unimportance. They smooth the brow of care, they gladden the heart of the poor, they wipe away the tears of the mourner, they make light the rod of the oppressor, they abate the fires of martyrdom and pluck the sting from death. They enable the child of God to exclaim: "I reckon that the sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us." He whose religious emotions are dead, or

but seldom excited, by the grand facts of Redemption, misses the joys unspeakable of the Christian life.

Closely connected with this value of the religious affections stands another, their relation to our highest usefulness. The affections are the propelling power of the soul. Reason may guide its forces, but it is the heart that gives them momentum. Strong feeling is a necessary condition in order to bring all the faculties of mind and body into active and vigorous exercise. A holy sensibility is the spring of our greatest efficiency for good, the great mover and exciter of the soul to benevolent action and achievement. The cold heart is accompanied by a weak hand, and a feeble blow. Joy of heart is nerve; it is moving energy; it is what keeps the mind going cheerfully forward in adventure and effort, bears it up and on, without faintings or weariness, to a successful issue of its struggles and conflicts. In every department of human activity a warm enthusiasm is the measure of his success. Scarcely has there been a splendid achievement, a great triumph, or any noble and good thing done anywhere, but the heart did it. No man ever became a great poet, without the eye in a fine frenzy rolling, or a great orator, without a heart on fire with the importance of his theme, or a great painter or sculptor, without genuine enthusiasm for the fine arts. The sons of the muses, the toilers in deep investigations, artists, jurists, statesmen, generals have been successful, as they have felt enthusiasm in their work, and been hurried along by some mighty inner impulse, a genuine joy in their toil. It is this which makes the spirits of man erect, resolute, patient, hopeful, persevering, indefatigable. This braces all the nerves of the soul. No man especially ever accomplished great things for God, without strong and deep feeling. The field of religious effort is the least favorable of all, for a frozen state of the affections. Everything here depends upon a warm and glowing heart. The difference between him who engages in Christian labors under a mere sense of duty, and him who labors out of an exceeding love and joy, is the difference between the toil of a slave, and of a freeman. The former slavishly groans under an intolerable burden. His strongest emotions are those of dislike to the wearying round of duties. The latter has the stimulus of hope, the propelling power of joy and love, and is mighty through God. He has life, spirit, courage, efficiency. The former

droops and is despondent. All that he does and says, is distinguished by one characteristic, and that is feebleness. His powers of body and mind, his thoughts, his prayers, his exhortations, his labors, seem smitten with paralysis. Half-heartedness palsies every effort. He halts in every performance. His soul is weak and irresolute, and where energy and decision are most requisite, he fears, doubts and hesitates. He is not the man for great emergencies. He will fail in the time of trial. The mere sense of duty is not enough. He is not the man for a contest, which requires quick and dexterous blows from a strong hand. The enemy laugh when they hear the feeble voice of such a soldier of the Cross, amid the din of battle.

In striking contrast to this one, behold him who overflows with holy and powerful emotions. His mind is bright and alert. Action is easy. He runs and is not weary, he walks and faints not. He has his faculties at command, can use them with facility, and with intensity of application. Every power he possesses is stimulated and strengthened by the feeling heart. His thoughts flow quicker, perception becomes acute, the judgment is enlarged, the memory is sharpened, the will moves freely, gladly, strongly, putting forth its highest energies. How often has a sudden awakening of the religious emotions clothed one, whose powers of mind have been regarded as very ordinary, with a surprising energy and efficiency. The Psalmist has sung the praises of holy joy. And if the joy of home lightens the heavy feet of the traveler, and the joy of harvest sweetens the toil of the husbandman, and the joy of beauty animates the sculptor, the painter, and the poet, how much more shall the joy of truth, and the joy of the Lord, wing the feet of the saints and send a spirit of triumphing into the hearts of all his people!

Without highly cultivated religious emotions, no Christian laborer will be able to act with the vigor and efficiency, that would otherwise characterize him. This will be especially manifest, when we take into view a series of years. By mere strength of will a man may, with some degree of vigor, devote himself to a course of Christian labor. But he will eventually lose his energy of purpose, and relax his efforts. The heart must sustain the will on its tides of feeling. These are fatiguing and exhausting toils in the Master's vineyard, in pursuing which the

Christian toiler will need the refreshing and invigorating power of holy affections. God has graciously provided for fainting laborers, bending under the burden and heat of the day, oppressed with the immense work that is to be done in saving the race, a high and holy refreshment. When the spirit and flesh grow faint, and the heart sickens with toil, and persecution and disappointment, and the tired soldier turns aside to rest, or to die, then God pours into the soul the sweet consolations of the Gospel, and refreshes it with holy emotions. Love, and joy, and hope once again animate the heart, fill it with enthusiasm, and springing to his feet, he girds himself anew for the battle, and his courageous shout of assault rings along the line of the elect. There is no fact of science or history better established than this, that strong religious emotions exert a sustaining and invigorating influence upon one, who is engaged in severe Christian labors which can be derived from no other source. The thirsty, faint, and toil-worn traveler, in an African desert, is not more revived and strengthened, when he suddenly comes upon a spot adorned with flowers, fragrant with the scent of cooling waters and delicious fruits, than is the child of God, when in his weary pilgrimage, God eclipses for him the whole world of sense, by quickening his being, and exciting the deep sensibility of his being with the joys of pardon, and glimpses of glories invisible to the natural eye. Some zealous ministers of the Gospel have performed prodigies of labors, almost without parallel in the history of the race. A distinguished reviewer says of Whitefield, one of the most notable cases in point: "Never was a mortal man gifted with such incapacity of fatiguing and of being fatigued. If the time spent in traveling from place to place and some brief intervals of repose be subtracted, his whole life may be said to have been consumed in one continuous, or scarcely interrupted, sermon. Combine this with the fervor with which he spoke, the want of all aids to the voice in the fields, and the thoroughfares which he frequented, and the toil of becoming distinctly audible to thousands and tens of thousands, and considered merely as a physical phenomenon, the result is one of the most curious of all well-authenticated facts. When, in addition to this, we remember that Whitefield was not naturally endowed with a very strong physical frame, that he often preached several hours in succession, at the end of which,

he vomited large quantities of blood, or sank down insensible in fits, which made his friends weep and dread lest he should never speak again, we are astonished that his body should so long have endured such terrific labors." The mystery is solved, by a reference to his biography. We are told beyond almost any man that ever lived, his heart constantly overflowed with the most joyous Christian affections. Sometimes, when he had become so wearied with a powerful effort, that he could no longer stand without support, the singing of a single hymn, would fill his soul with such joy, and love, and melting tenderness, that he would feel his strength renewed within him,and with gushing tears, would walk forth on the platform, and commence preaching again. "This day," says he, in one of his letters, "Jesus has enabled me to preach seven times, twice at the Girls' Hospital, once in the Park, once at the Old People's Hospital, and afterwards, twice at a private house, notwithstanding, I am now as fresh as when I rose in the morning. They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount on wings as eagles." Thus, when Whitefield seemed about to be sinking into the grave, God was opening in his soul, fountains of holy emotion, waters of life, that flowed in healing and refreshing tides, over all the provinces of his being. His case, is but one of a multitude, that might be presented in illustration of the sustaining power of strong emotions, in the midst of severe and protracted religious efforts. It is the testimony of one of the most distinguised of modern preachers, that pulpit labors are never so exhausting, as when they become a cold and lifeless performance to lifeless auditors, and are never less wearisome, than in seasons of divine refreshing, when in amount they may be many times multiplied. The ministry are worn out, not in times of revivals, but in times of dearth and heartlessness.

The case of Whitefield illustrates another great value in the religious emotions, when deeply excited—their power to move others. Without highly cultivated Christian affections, the minister of the Word will fail to convince others. He will never be truly eloquent in the highest sense of the word. If the old canon of criticism be a true and just one, that he who would make others weep, must first weep himself, how powerless will fall upon the ear, the verbiage of stagnant emotions. A man's intellect may be strong, his knowledge extensive; he may

clearly and tersely state the most important of truths, his thoughts may be arranged with precision, and the chain of reasoning be connected by the shining links of resistless logic, and the whole be clothed with language of great beauty and finish, still if the fervor of a warm heart be not breathed into the whole, its cold glitter will produce far less true feeling than one earnest fire-tipt, living word, leaping warm from the most untutored lips. It is the heart that speaks to the heart. Soul answers to soul, emotion to emotion. Strange as was the bodily and mental energy of Whitefield, still stranger was the power he possessed of fascinating the attention of hearers, of every rank of life, and every variety of understanding. Not only were the loom and the plough, the forge, the collieries and the workshops deserted at his approach, but the spell was acknowledged by Hume and Franklin, by Pulteney, Bolingbroke and Chesterfield, by maids of honor, and lords of the bed chamber. Such indeed was its force, that when the scandal could be concealed behind a well-adjusted curtain, even mitred auditors would nod the head. "Neither English reserve, nor the theological discriminations of the Scotch, nor the stately self-possession of her aborigines, could resist the enchantment." We love earnestness and deep feeling for their own sake. It is a comfort in a world of mere polish, frivolity and common place, to catch the tremulous and moving tones of a thoroughly earnest man. We pause to listen to such a voice. We confess its power.

We might make any appeal to the Divine Word, and show how everywhere, the Scriptures insist upon holy affections, as one of the noblest elements of Christian character and power. The entire book of Psalms is but the outgushing of religious emotions, and its great object—its mission as an inspired book, seems to be, to create, in the breasts of the saints of all ages, the like religious feelings. If we glance at the history of the Church, if we look upon the line of prophets and apostles, and men who have been most eminent for their piety and zeal in the cause of the Redeemer, we shall find they were all distinguished for the strength of their religious affections. Angels, in their sublime flights of mercy and tireless benefaction, have no more to project and sustain them. The life of our blessed Lord constantly and beautifully illustrated the same state of a holy and powerful sensibility. He is represented as

grieved at the hardness of men's hearts, as filled with pity and compassion for the sinner, as sympathizing with every mourner, as being eaten up with zeal, as offering up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears. God himself, is everywhere represented as a being of emotion, infinitely strong. He seems to delight in revealing himself to his creatures, by a constant reference to those holy affections, which are the glory of the divine character. The mighty arm of the divine power is girded, and the Son of his love is hastened down to the cross, because the yearnings of infinite compassion are stirred, and the ocean of God's benevolence heaves in pity for the mortal race.

We will answer briefly some popular objections to a Cultivation of the Religious Emotions. It is said by those who are opposed to any unusual manifestation of religious enthusiasm, that there is *no religion in mere feeling.* It will be readily granted, that the religious sensibility in some of its forms, is strongly excited, even in the impenitent. The great facts and truths of religion have such a thrilling interest, that constituted as we are, it is well-nigh impossible to contemplate them for any length of time without being deeply moved. Who has not seen the sinner filled with an awful dread of the anger of God, and a deep loathing of his own vileness? Who has not beheld him weep, as the loving kindness, the sufferings and death of the Redeemer were portrayed? Many a time, even to the persistent sinner, the divine character has been presented in a light so amiable, as to awaken in his bosom, something like a transitory affection. The beauty and grandeur of the great outlines of the Christian system, appeal powerfully to cultivated minds, and excite a kind of religious enthusiasm. Many, under the fervid appeals of Whitefield, or Massilon, has trembled with fear, melted into tenderness, swelled into rapturous love and praise in view of the majestic loveliness of God, without exercising one particle of genuine repentance, faith or love. Profligates, seared by sins, have glowed with something like praise, while listening to a sublime Oratorio of Handel. All classes of people, infidels as well as believers, the vilest and most frivolous devotees of fashion, as well as the most conscientious friends of religion, vied with each other in their enthusiasm, while listening to Dr. Chalmer's Discourse on Modern Astronomy.

Strong excitement on the subject of religion is perfectly

consistent with a sinful life. Among Christians also, the degree of religious emotion, is far from being a reliable test of the degree of advancement in piety. Some men are constitutionally cold and phlegmatic in temperament. Others are highly suceptible of deep feeling. The health often exerts a marked influence upon the state of the emotions. Some men restrain their feelings through fear of delusion and fanaticism. It is far from being certain, that he who feels most strongly, has therefore the largest Christian experience.

Granting thus much, we may still affirm, that deep feeling is a natural result of a holy life, and communion with truth; and that, other things being equal, he who enjoys closest fellowship with God, will be most strongly moved by the facts and truths of religion. We may also affirm, that while the presence of strong emotion is not always conclusive evidence of holiness. the entire absence of it is conclusive evidence of the want of holiness. It is impossible that a real Christian should not at times feel deeply. No matter what a man's natural temperament may be, nor what may have been his early training, if he has really been converted, if his eyes have been open to his guilt and danger, if he has really been led to accept God, as his Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, as his Saviour, he has felt deeply. His soul has been dissolved in tenderness. Heaven, hell, immortality, Jesus, God! It is impossible for any man under that power of the Holy Spirit which regenerates, to so seriously dwell upon these topics, as to make them available for his salvation, without having the fountain in him broken up. A disciple of Jesus, without a tender heart; a disciple of Jesus, who never felt the glow of holy affections; a disciple of Jesus, who never bathed his precious feet with tears, and who never with his Saviour melted with pity over a lost race; a disciple of Jesus, who, when others are crying unto God night and day, for the salvation of souls, or who are triumphing over the ingathering of a great harvest, stands coldly and self-complacently apart, and tells, his religion is a religion of principle, and not a religion of feeling! As if there could be the one without the other; as if the mighty God would come into the soul of man, enlighten the intellect, subdue the will, transform the whole nature, planting his own image there, without kindling the affections! To such a disciple we would say: Instead of congratulating yourself

on the calm and philosophical character of your religion, instead of pluming yourself on their supposed superiority to others, who, in their weakness, are carried away by mere feelings, it would be wiser for you to tremble for the safety of your soul, wiser to press the searching question, whether you have really passed from death unto life, wiser to look anew, and with deepest seriousness, to the foundation on which you have built your extravagant hopes. There are many, especially in the higher walks of life, with whom a religion without emotion is much in fashion. With such, it is vulgar to feel deeply. There are, among men of intellectual character and pursuits, those, who deem themselves happy in having a piety, which is of a rational and dignified stamp: a piety free from all extravagance, and different from the ignorant and common classes of mankind. They attribute it to their superior intelligence, self-command, and elevation of mind. They feel no sympathy at the sight of an illiterate man, weeping aloud, as he thinks of the Saviour's love, or joyously pouring forth his rude and uncultivated songs of praise to God. "There is no religion in mere feeling." Certainly not, but there is much strong feeling in religion. There are sobs of sorrow and songs of joy, tears and smiles, valleys of humiliation, and enchanted lands, houses, beautiful arbors of rest, and mountains of vision along the Christian's path, and he who meets them not, is hardly in the way.

There is a class of persons, who go a step further and contend, that strong religious emotions are positively injurious. They point us to the history of fanatical relgious movements. The Religious Sensibility is a mighty power, and when aroused, becomes unmanageable. It has been the cause of direst evils. The wild delusions which have rent the bosom of the Church, have originated here. The affections need to be zealously watched, vigorously suppressed, and kept aloof from all exciting causes. There is is some trnth, doubtless, in objections from this quarter. If the sensibility is set on fire, while the intellect is unenlightened, and the reason and the judgment are asleep, it will be strong in the elements of death; it will be like a war horse, without a rider, careering madly over the field of battle. No doubt Christians who are stimulated, without being instructed, will fall into a state of spiritual delirium and intoxication. Religious emotions may produce most disastrous results, for want of systematic develop-

ment. If those truths of the Divine Word, which are calculated to excite emotions of joy, hope, and confidence, be exclusively dwelt upon, or those which appeal to emotions of the opposite kind, fear, sorrow, self-distrust; in each case there will be a monstrous development of the sensibility. We may rise to a rash self-confidence, and an unsufferable pride, or fall into a paralyzing despondency, and be overwhelmed by despair. Our merciful heavenly Father has taken the greatest pains to save us from both these evils, and to secure a harmonious development of the affections. He has arrayed both classes of motives before us, and given them exceeding power. He has provided objects to occupy every power and capacity of our being, objects to excite a godly fear and self-distrust, objects to excite a holy confidence and courage. He has provided for the enlightening of the understanding, the warming of the heart, the activity of the will, equally and harmoniously. His Word contains both promises and terrors, precepts and entreaties, the glories of a world of light, the terror of his power. But if men will embrace one portion of its truths, and overlook the others, they cannot escape a dangerous bias of the emotions. They will live in despondency and morbid dread, under a sky perpetually overspread with clouds, through which the smile of a Father seldom or never breaks, or they will rush to the opposite extreme of self-confidence, boasting of their spiritual attainments, and speaking with utmost positiveness of their spiritual condition. These opposite emotional tendencies sometimes characterize whole denominations of Christians. The creed, the peculiarities of doctrine, the manner of presenting the truth, the exhortations and the general influence of one denomination may wear a sombre, severe and gloomy hue, while another will be exhilarating, joyous, hopeful; another still deprecating all excitement of feeling, and all religious enthusiasm, may be cold, formal and stately in character. The remedy in each case, is one and the same; an enlightening of the intellect with all the great truths of Revelation, a corresponding submission of the will, and giving to each truth that power over the emotions, that its importance demands.

We were to offer some hints upon the Cultivation of the Religious Affections, especially the Divine arrangements

for it. God has not created man with such capacities in his emotional nature, without providing objects that are completely adapted to fill and satisfy them. He opens to his friends, the sublime truths of religion. He has opened the fields of human science, alike for the exploration of his friends and his enemies. But He has reserved a princely domain, a royal field, from which He excludes all but his friends. Into the boundless region of spiritual truth He leads his child, giving him an eye to see, an ear to hear, and a heart to comprehend that which the natural man neither sees, nor hears, nor understands. He arches over him a heaven, set with suns and stars, besides whose magnificence these heavens that declare his glory pale into obscurity. Divine truths are the unsetting stars of that sky, and brighter and purer by far is their shining, than all the stars in this firmament, which is his handiwork. The Lord God is a Sun. As it is written: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for them that love him." But God has revealed them unto us. How boundless the vast system of knowledge, into which God introduces us, how moving and powerful their truths. If we look at but man alone, apparently so insignificant, he grows into stately proportions, when we remember his destiny. If we turn to Providence, to the earthly fortunes, to the eternal destinies of the Church, to the wonders of redemption, to the yet concealed mysteries of angelic history, to the revelations already given of him, who was the Godhead bodily, and beyond these all, turn to think and learn of him who filleth all in all, O, what sublime preparations God hath made for enlarging and filling the sanctified emotions of man! He has not only provided pure, grand and everlasting objects, to excite the affections, but He himself comes to us, to bring these objects in their sanctifying power to our hearts. The Father of our spirits knoweth perfectly our frame. He knows how to touch every chord of the soul, and tune it into harmony with whatever is beautiful and good. He knows how to awaken all holy emotions, and fill the soul with joy unspeakable and full of glory. By his omnipotent Spirit, He can pour upon the intellect such overwhelming views of his own character, and such a sense of his excellence upon the heart, as shall break asunder the chains of sin, wean the affections from the world, and fill them with heavenly purity and

power. To many Christians, indeed, the doctrine of the spirit may be practically little better than a beautiful theory. It was better than this to the apostles. It was more than this to the early Christians, who carried the Gospel to the ends of the earth. It was something better than this to the holy martyrs when burning at the stake. It has been something better than this in every age, to all those eminent servants of God, who have made greatest progress in the spiritual life. Let us repeat again, that early and true word of the Church: "I believe in the Holy Ghost." Let us meet the world with it, and saints as lovely as any that are written of in Scripture, preachers as a power to set forth Christ, as any whose names illuminate the records of the Church, Christians as full of zeal and spiritual power, will rise up to fill all the ways of Zion with gladness.

He who would bring his affections to their proper relations to the truths of the Gospel, must intelligently and perseveringly coöperate with the Holy Spirit in this noble work. He must keep the great facts and truths of religion before the intellect. He must ponder them, give them their place and power, bring his will in subjection to them, and seeking, in holy prayer, converse with infinite purity, every holy and noble affection will be developed in true power and symmetry. We greatly need a baptism of the affections. It is indispensable to any great spiritual achievements. Holy emotions speed the angels. Infinite affections possess the divine nature. Let but the Spirit of God be poured generally and powerfully upon the hearts of his people, till the will moves gladly and swiftly in obedience, and the intellect is bathed in sublime and precious truths, and the whole sensibility glows with love, and pants with holy desire, and is filled with that joy, which God himself describes, as unspeakable and full of joy, and who can estimate the amount of spiritual power the Church would bring to bear upon the world? The prisoners in the dungeons of sin would hear the songs of God's happy people, and long to break their chains. Sorrow, and despondency, and spiritual gloom, the enfeebling foes of the Church, would vanish as spectres of the night. The mountain of the Lord's house, would stand upon the tops of the mountains; every battlement and pinnacle be illuminated with an irresistible joy, and a lustre outshining the sun. The darkened and sorrowing nations would

see it from the remotest ends of the earth, and would flee unto it. We need more than firm conviction, more than a perfect orthodoxy, more than an educated ministry, and well instructed Church. We need the subduing, enlivening, controlling power of the Holy Spirit in our hearts, enfeebled, darkened and sick, by reason of our sin. Let him establish there, the immutable empire of holy affections, love, joy, peace, and their glorious attendants, and the Church will be filled with characters, that are the noblest possible on earth, and the glory and delight of Heaven.

ARTICLE II.

AIDS TO SERMONIZING. TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. A. ROGGE.

By Rev. A. R. Rude, Columbia, S. C.

Preaching cometh by the Word of God, but it is not at all indifferent how it comes. The sermon may pour down like rain and snow from the sky, or fall feebly like the slender stream from a water-pot. Water is taken from the fountain in the hollow of the hand to quench thirst, but powerful machines are employed, when great effects are to be produced. There are mighty powers in the water of life, which is the Word of God, for the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. But preaching is appointed to communicate this power of God to the hearts, and to work faith in all, who hear the Word preached. Grand problems can only be solved by the employment of grand means and great efforts, and much labor beside.

I hold, that the homiletic material, which we now possess, is the principal means by which the treasures of the Divine Word are to be made available in preaching. A preacher must study sermons, and such study should also bring forth fruit. He must employ, consciously or not, that which he reads. We are all agreed on this point; it

is, therefore, not necessary to discuss it. But we agree, when we define the theme given us, and ask: *Is a preacher permitted to use homiletic aids in preparing his sermons? How, and to what extent may he make use of them?*

Let us suppose we are at church. We hear a sermon, which evidently edifies the congregation, it has also made a deep impression on us. But, unfortunately, a well-read individual who was present, remarks in our hearing: "The sermon was good, but it was one of Ahlfeld's." This observation lessens undeniably the impression made. A preacher, therefore, must not be a plagiarist.

Let us next transfer ourselves to a ministerial colloquium. The text for the approaching Sunday is discussed. Some one proposes to read a sermon on it, when a brother objects, saying: "Do not read, you banish my ideas." I believe it would be both suitable and just to answer: "A preacher has no business to aspire after originality."

Practice points out the wrong course, but only the Word of God gives us the true answer to the questions proposed. It is not necessary that I state, that I do not intend to place the holy men of God, whose speeches are contained in the Bible, on a level with even the most gifted preachers of our own time. Neither do I unconditionally deny the proposition of Stier, in his Keryosik:* "*There is a great chain, a holy order of God's witnesses and interpreters on earth from Enoch, Noah, and Abraham, to Peter, John, Paul, and from them on to Luther, and down to every preacher of God's Word, at the present day.*" I think this chain not single, but double. The witnesses in the Word form the upper links, the witnesses in the Church, the lower. The latter must continually look up to the former. The ways of God in the Word and in the Church are analogous. It is not at all difficult to prove, that the preachers presented to us in the Scriptures, among other things, qualified themselves for the office of preaching, by availing themselves of the labors of their predecessors. The spirit of Moses rests upon the Seventy Elders of Israel. Samuel's school of the prophets preserves, increases, and transmits the existing homiletic material. Its scholars labor together, and improve themselves by mutual intercourse. The Word, which they proclaim *extempore*, awakens not only in themselves, but also in Saul, the gift

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* §24

of preaching. The spirit of Elijah is inherited by Elisha. Nitzsch, is therefore right, when he says:* "Prophets have imitated prophets, apostles have imitated apostles. The one has kindled the sparks in the soul of the other."

It may be interesting and instructive to illustrate this view by a few examples. Habakkuk, is one of the most original of all the prophets. He rushes in his grand address like a whirlwind, onward to the heart of God. He places so vividly before us the scenes he describes, that it does not at first enter into our minds, to trace the elements of his address. Like a torrent from out of the overflowing heart, rolls the deep, turbulent stream before our amazed sight. At his cry of woe, the desolation of his people passes by us, in terror-inspiring images, and we hear the thunder of the voice of God. At his call, the horses of the Chaldeans flit past, with spirit-like swiftness. The echo of their hoof-falls has hardly died out in our deeply excited hearts, before the prophet paints other and more impressive pictures of the rejoicings of the victorious enemy, and the misery of his people. He next carries us to a deep sea. The Chaldeans, the pitiless fishers of men are there, they take up all of them with the angle, catch them in their net, gather them in their drag, they rejoice over it, and are glad. Again soars, as on eagles' wings, the prophet's speech; it conveys us irresistibly to a high watch tower. The prophet and his every word form pictures in our minds. A noisy carnival carouses beneath our feet, the giddy revellers quaff to intoxication the giddy cup of pride, they reel, they are about to fall, and the flames of hell leap forth. A new vision appears; unclean phantoms rise up suddenly, throw themselves on the Chaldeans, and bite and tear them. Again, it is a high rock, crowned with an eagle's nest, the tempest hurls it to the ground, shrieking woe to them that build their nest on high. The prophet then rebuilds the city before our eyes. Its stones are cemented with blood. We hear the stones and the timbers converse together. We are carried to Lebanon, whose cedars, cut down by the Chaldeans, proclaim the calamity of the land. The prophet closes the mighty oration, with a still mightier hymn. God in all his glory appears unto us. The prophet makes him approach from Teman and Paran. Pesti-

* Pract. Theol. §98.

lence precedes Him. Consuming fire accompanies Him. The mountains are scattered, the hills bow, tents are prostrated, curtains tremble, the earth is rent, rivers of water overflow it, the heathen are threshed in anger, and the prophet rejoices because it is the Lord who threshes them in his strength.

This brief sketch probably suffices, to show the great natural gifts of this prophet. What great events are crowded together, in his four short chapters. No Dante can describe with greater plasticity; and the drastic eloquence of a Spurgeon dissolves before such fulness of spirit and of life, which, however, would hardly be tolerated in any pulpit in our day. Many, unquestionably, admire the originality of this prophet, whose fiery eloquence seems to burst from his soul's inmost depths; and yet, this very prophet has almost nothing that can be called his own. His *spiritus* was the wisdom from above; his *ingenium*, the untiring diligence with which he appropriated every word of God, spoken by human lips. There is scarcely a single verse found in Habakkuk, which does not re-echo words spoken before his day, wherefore those expounders, who thought that their task was only to analyze him, pronounced him a compiler, forgetting that everything becomes new which he utters. It does not destroy edification, that his address reminds us of the Psalter, that the current of his thoughts follow that of the tenth Psalm, that its form is patterned after Isaias, and that the figures and expressions are those of Moses and other prophets. The living faith of this prophet united the different parts of his address so completely together, that not a joint can be discovered.

Want of time, forbids giving additional examples. A Simeon, a John the Baptist, nay, our Lord himself, either quoted, or made in their addresses a more or less free use of the homiletic materials in the Old Testament. Exegesis has long ago shown, that Paul and Peter employ, in a striking manner, the same forms of expression, and there is scarcely a single preacher in the Word of God, who does not, at times, stand on the shoulders of his predecessors.

The hints found in the Divine Word correspond with these facts. It is self evident, that we must not look for a dry formula, for the composition of sermons in the Word of God; but, it contains general rules, which are applicable to this all-important department of our official and

spiritual life. The numerous admonitions, To hear, met with in the Scriptures, are especially addressed to us preachers. The admonition of St. James, 1 : 19 : "Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speech," includes, among other things, also the homiletic rule : "*Open your own ears to your sermon, before you open your lips to preach it to others.*" He who hastily speaks from his text, without having heard much concerning it, will assuredly soon preach himself empty, and he who despises the sermons of others, will hardly obtain respect for his own. We ministers are unfortunately but rarely permitted to hear, in the house of God, sermons delivered by other ministers; our study must, therefore, be our Church, and our temple. Our homiletic studies should, however, also be ascetic. This excludes, at once, the thoughtless and mechanical use of homiletic aids, we habituate ourselves unrestrainedly to a regulated, edifying way of working, and are also directed, as a necessary consequence, to the proper aids. The best homiletic aids are undoubtedly those from which we ourselves derive benefits, which lead us to repentance, and which strengthen our faith. Homiletic sketch-books, pulpit themes, hints for sermonizing, verses of hymns and illustrations, should by no means be rejected; used prudently, they may be of great assistance to beginners, but, it is an established fact, that they must be used with a correct tact, and must never become an easy-chair for indolence, for this makes them perfect abominations. Neither will any one who uses such aids, as Jean Paul used his famous common-place book, be exempt from the enormities of Jean Paul, even if he possesses his geniality. Such collections would be more commendable, if they did not lighten the labor of preparation for the pulpit; but made it difficult, and led to closer and more thorough study. The older commentaries on the Bible, of Joachim Lange and Stark, and the later productions of Gerlach, and still more of J. P. Lange, as well as such collections of homiletic matter as Brandt's, further certainly, by their thoroughness, and devotion, if properly used. Nor would it be right for me not to mention an older work of this kind, the "*Analysis Evangeliorum Dominicalium*," by the well known Conradus Dieterius, Superintendent at Ulm, (1657). His celebrated Catechism has (1864) been reprinted; and it is desirable, that the same should be done, at least in an abbreviated form, with his larger work. The

study of such works for devotional purposes, is usually only a secondary consideration. Sermons from the same source are the most edifying, and their use is, therefore, also the most beneficial. But the selection is, owing to the immensity of our homiletic literature, exceedingly difficult, unless fixed rules are followed. One may, to be sure, apply to a book-seller, who generally is well supplied with homiletic works, but a correct and satisfactory guide is scarcely obtainable by such a course. Nor must it be left to mere chance; it must develop itself out of our special relations. It must be the growth of our office.

We preach the Gospel to established congregations. If we desire to edify them, we must also necessarily edify ourselves with them, and through them, for we can only impart to them the experience which we possess. In the pulpits which we erect in imagination, the same course must be pursued, which we have to follow in our real pulpits. We have, therefore, to watch Johnny and Peggy in the kitchen, in order to discover whether our preaching benefits them or not. Our congregations would be astonished, if on the festival of the dead we preached a sermon prepared for Whit-Sunday, no matter how excellent it was. They with justice demand, that we respect the seasons of the ecclesiastical year, which, on that account, ought to regulate our pulpit performances. He, who together with his congregation, proceeds from festival to festival, must feel it necessary to conform his private devotional exercises to them, and to study sermons explanatory of them. The selection of our text should, to some extent, depend on the state of our own heart, as well as on the character of our congregations.

As regards the former, the confessional relation of the preacher must always make itself felt. If the preacher has actually a Confession, then has he also among his volumes of sermons a confessor, before whom he searches himself, and by whom he submits to be instructed. Consistent church members attach themselves to their own pastor without, however, either despising or understanding other preachers. This is according to the Word of God. Paul commands Timothy, (2 Tim. 1 : 13,): "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me." (2 Tim. 2 : 1,): "What thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall

be able to teach others also." He commends him, (2 Tim. 2 10,): "Thou hast followed my doctrine." He demands, in the Epistle to Titus, that a bishop should hold fast to the sound doctrine, "as he has been taught." Nay, he insists that Timothy should always renew his remembrance of what he has learned: "But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned, and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them."

It is self-understood, that Paul did not intend by these admonitions, to make slavish copyists of his disciples. The thorough study of the Word of God should awaken and quicken the gifts of preaching, peculiar to each: (1 Tim. 4 : 14) "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," and (2 Tim. 1 : 16); "I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands."

The homiletic aids should fan the fire kindled by the Word. I know of no sermons so well adapted to this purpose, for us Lutheran preachers, as Lutheran sermons. They, therefore, should occupy the first place. He who copies them slavishly, must be dull indeed, but, so is also he, who is not richly benefited by their use. Luther conducts us, at one and the same time, over vast fields and into deep recesses.

His abundant quotations and illustrations awaken in us the desire to know the preachers he quotes. He leads us into the rich treasure-vaults of the ancient Church, and brings us, at the same time, into fellowship with his successors, the *Lutheri Redivivi*, and he impels us to the diligent study, and the faithful use of them. He who makes Luther his pattern, will of himself find the road that carries him back from Tauler to Chrysostom and Augustine, and forward to Arndt, Valerius, Herberger, H. Müller, A. H. Francke, G. H. Rieger, Fresenius, Brastberger, Forstman and Hofacker; and he will not be apt to stray aside to Zollikofer, Röhr, Brettschneider, and kindred spirits of our own age. Luther's sermons are original, and, at the same time, both general and individual. His words strike a chord in any mind that possesses the gift of preaching; every one, therefore, who desires to be truly a Lutheran preacher must, whenever he can, study Luther. It is self-evident, that the other Reformers have as great a claim on those who follow them, though it is universally conceded,

that not one among them, is Luther's equal in the gift of preaching.

The selection of homiletic aids, employed by us, depends not merely on our confessional position, but also on our individual endowments. This should especially control the force of later, and of foreign homiletic productions. He who entertains a correct estimate of his gift, will partly strengthen, partly enrich, and perfect it. The gift is strengthened by the use of kindred, enriched by the use of opposite, homiletic characters. An Ahlfeld derives strength from Müller and Herberger; he might enrich himself by the use of Bourdaloue and Steinmeier. The dry matter-of-fact Spener introduces Luther in his sermons, whenever and wherever he can, that he may enliven them, and enrich himself. While the confessional position demands the true one-sidedness, our individuality produces the true many-sidedness. The former imparts vitality, the latter removes the wild growth of mannerism from the trunk. All things are to be proved, only what is good is to be held fast.

But the state of the people, the congregation, to whom we preach the Word of God, is of paramount importance in the selection of homiletic aids. The sermons, which hitherto have edified the congregation, and which the people use for their private edification demand assuredly the closest examination on the part of the conscientious minister, provided that they are derived from the Divine Word. It is said that Henry Müller, in the beginning of his ministry, committed to memory, and that verbally, the sermons of Lütkemann, his predecessor, and the congregation did not look upon him as plagiarist, but rejoiced, that the sainted Lütkemann had returned, in the person of the new minister. This, of course, could only be recommended to a preacher with as great gifts, and as deep humility as Müller, whom the appropriation of the sermons of another undoubtedly cost greater labor and difficulty, than the preparation and committal of his own sermons would have done. It is not a normal rule. But it were to be wished, that every preacher could obtain possession of one or two of the annual courses of sermons, delivered by his predecessor. But, as this is rarely attainable, the library of the Church should be carefully examined. A noble collection of ancient sermon-books, or works of devotion, is still found in many places. In addition to valu-

able Biblical works, the earlier ascetic literature of the district, as well as the writings of Sarden, Masecovius, and others,, who are valued here and there by the people, are treasured up. This is the homiletic material, which the clergy of the district made use of, and the devotional aids, which have been transmitted from fathers to sons for generations, down to the present. The old quartos and folios speak a familiar language in those vigorous forms of expression, which the people still make use of. Such works either display great and cumbrous erudition, as either the "*Copiosissima Expositio*," by Reinhard Backius, (1696), and are credible to their authors, or also Reinbeck's "Meditations on the Confession of Augsburg;" or accommodate themselves to their sexdecimo form, as Johann Kiszling's "Heavenly Table-Talk," and exemplify brief lessons by striking facts, or they observe the *aurea mediocritas*, as in Lampert Gediken's "Evangelical Encouragements."

Volumes are constantly springing from them, which take root in every day life, and these are easily reunited, whenever they have been severed by a rationalistic predecessor. Chords which have reverberated in a congregation for sixty or seventy years, are easily made to resound, and move the hearts anew, whenever the Word of God is the key-note that causes them to vibrate anew. The preacher who, during the pause, has fed the congregation with his own wisdom is soon forgotten, and the aged man, who, many years ago, proclaimed the Word of God so ably, is gladly remembered in the new preacher. It is, indeed, a great compliment paid the preacher, when the quickened hearers say of him, he talks like the old Prayer-Book does. They rejoice when they find the truth, which the sermon impressed on their minds in the forenoon, verified in print in the afternoon. It is difficult to decide the mode, the manner, and also the extent to which we may venture to use the performances of others. Conscience and homiletic tact must settle these points. I remember, that I read long ago, that a minister preached, with good effect, Hofacker's sermons to his congregation; having first announced that he would do this. Harms maintains, that such a minister should turn lecturer, and read. I class this among the performances, which each man must answer before the tribunal of his own conscience, but must acknowledge, that I, for several reasons, cannot approve it. I do not love such experiments in the pulpit, and am

not willing to be represented even by Hofacker, when I preach to my own people. We are, moreover, not to preach Hofacker, but Christ, as He is mirrored in our own hearts. Another mode of using the performances of others, is by quotations. These must, under no circumstances, be introduced in a pompous manner. They are not to serve as proofs of our extensive reading, but as aids in devotion. If it is presumable, that the words quoted, are already familiar to our hearers, we can, without any further ado, incorporate them into our discourse; but, if not, then honesty demands an appropriate announcement of the words borrowed. Paul quotes briefly the poets of the Athenians, and the prophets of the Cretans. Quotations are, in most cases, only capable of producing the wished-for effect, when brief and telling. Long quotations are apt only to occur, when there is a want of harmony between two homiletic minds. The long quotations from Luther in Spener's sermons are, very properly, in an article in Hengstenberg's *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, compared with the fat floating on soap. A different use is again and again made of Luther's sermons, in the popular Sermons on the Epistles, which have been published by the Christian Union of North Germany. Luther's train of thought, and now and then one of his sentences, are easily discerned in several of these sermons. It is as if Luther's face appeared here and there in the sermon, but the stream of words quickly hides it, only though to let it reappear in another place, to be again submerged suddenly. The elements of the address vary like the bronze of a beautiful statue, and heighten, by their sportive nuisances, the impression of the whole. Such observations direct us, I believe, into the smooth path, which we should follow in the use of homiletic aids. The greatest benefit will assuredly be derived from what has passed over into the *succum et sanguinem*, and, therefore, into our current of thoughts, and into our inmost life of faith, so that it is not like a haut or bas relief, a mere ornament or loose appendage, but being melted together in one mass, it makes our sermons a harmonious whole. Such an appropriation of the labors of others can, of course, only have a plastic effect on the preacher's mind and heart, and thus make his eloquence a grace. It may, at the outset, make the labor of the preacher very difficult. But it makes it by and by easy. He who every day allows a single sermon to exer-

cise its full force on him, both as regards his mind and his heart, and without first stopping to consider the homiletic use to be made of it, will not only be in the right mood on Friday or Saturday for preaching, but he will also view the text when exegetically examined with eyes unlike his, who, perhaps, only examines a dry commentary, in order to find out the literal sense. The text is quickened. The voices of those, who have discoursed on it to us during the week, sound now in harmonious agreement from out of it. The true witnesses of the Church pass in spirit through our study, we are impressed with the invisible fellowship of believers of all time, we work beneath the eyes of the superintendents of the invisible Church. We feel both humbled and encouraged, when they present their gifts to us. We indeed realize how far we are from being what they were, but we do not abandon fighting the same battle. In measuring ourselves by them, our individual gift is revealed to us. We seize in earnest meditation the words struggling in our souls. We are at first almost overwhelmed with the abundance of ore. We convey it either into the oratory, or the laboratory. There the slags, which time and locality, real personal power or weakness, have mixed with it, fall off little by little, the Divine Word separates itself from the human words, and enters as a quickening power into our souls. Every thought opens to us a complete vista of thoughts. They gather like rays in the focus of the text, and like a spark, leaps suddenly the leading idea forth, separates of itself in its natural divisions, and the sermon follows now swiftly, and then quietly within the firm banks of the text. God has given it to us, as he gives us our daily bread; we can receive it with thanksgivings, and apply to ourselves the words of the Apostles: "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves, to think anything as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God!"

If any man charges us with want of originality, on account of such a use of the homiletic labors of others, we can quietly endure the accusation, for our calling is not to aim at originality, but to edify our congregations. It is not at all uncommon to confound originality with tiresome one-sidedness, or with coarse and offensive individuality. Goethe once traced ingenuously in a well-known piece, the elements of his natural gifts, and finished with the inquiry:

"Where the elements cannot be separated from the complex, what of originality remains in the fellow?" The answer is contained in the question asked. Originality only exists where many elements are inseparately united into a complex. Our homiletic efforts are original, and we are always complete men, when our sermon is a complete edifice, which the Holy Spirit has constructed of many kinds of building-stone, and out of many kinds of building-stones composed a euphonious concord, the key-note of which, is the Word of God. I have hitherto treated of the indispensable use of homiletic aids; the theme given me demands, however, that I briefly touch on their allowable use.

We do not always, when we employ homiletic aids, follow the movings of the spirit; we, many a time, obey only necessity. We are often, amidst the urgent pressure of other engagements, called on to preach, and homiletic aids are then used very superficially. Even the highly gifted and talented Bourdaloue, as Büngener tells us, in his Novel, The King and the Preacher, once, when in great straits, had the concluding part of a very particular sermon, dictated him by Claude, the Reformed clergyman. I am of the opinion, that I give everything that can be said on this point, in the following proposition: What in such cases is done from idleness, God will judge; what is done from necessity, God will pardon. But the closer we follow the rule given for the correct use of homiletic aids, the fewer exceptions to it can necessity impose upon us, the less frequently will we be constrained to make the last mentioned, and under peculiar circumstances allowable, use of the homiletic labors of others.

ARTICLE III.

COMPLETENESS IN CHRIST.*

By M. Valentine, D. D., President of Pennsylvania College.

In the truth thus stated by St. Paul, we have a practi-

* Baccalaureate Discourse delivered, in the College Church, on the

cal answer to one of the great questions, to whose solution the most anxious efforts of the human mind have been, for ages, directed. Up from the depth of humanity the inquiry has ever forced itself upon the attention of men, "For what ultimate end have we been made?" "To what final purpose has our being been adjusted?" "Where, and how is our nature to find the true object, in which its design is perfectly realized and its mission made complete?" This, in some form or other, has been the question of ceaseless ethical and philosophical inquiry. Around its difficulties have moved the conflicts of most subtle and earnest thought. It engaged the attention of the Chaldean sages. It mingled in the meditations of the seers of Palestine. It enlisted the profoundest inquiry of the acute intellect of Greece and Rome. It has come down, with current of deepening interest, through the centuries of Christian discussion. Speculation is still holding its piercing gaze upon it, and pressing after an absolute conclusion. It is the old search after the supreme good, every day growing older, as its beginning recedes into a deeper past, translated now out of the forms of heathen thought into the measures of Gospel truth, and awakening an undiminished interest in each successive generation. This ceaseless research has not been fruitless. It has, among other things, matured conclusions which greatly help us to understand and appreciate the meaning and accuracy of the great truth before us. "*Ye are complete in Him who is the Head of all principality and power.*"

Man Complete in Christ,

is the subject with which we wish to engage your attention at this time. Amid the truths reached, and attainments secured, in your course of literary and scientific culture, this, it is felt, is the one that ought now to be set as the apple of gold in the frame-work of silver—the gem for which the others are but the casket. Or, like the headstone of the structure, it should crown and compact it all.

Our aim is to exhibit the reality of this Completeness in Christ. For this purpose four distinct, yet closely related, points will suffice, and explain how, in Jesus Christ,

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Lord's Day, preceding the Annual Commencement, June 26th, 1870, from the words: "Ye are complete in Him who is the Head of all principality and power." Col. 2 : 10.

the "true Light and Life," men come into the complete manhood of their nature, and a practical realization of all that has been sought in the anxious inquiry of the ages after the chief good, the *summum bonum*, of man.

I. *The first point is, that in Christ, the aim and direction of life are truly adjusted to man's supreme end.* Without such correlation to what may be its *final purpose*, our nature wants its first necessity towards completeness.

It is necessary here to fix upon at least some general answer to the great question: "What is man's chief end?" Though the solutions, to which this inquiry has been pressed, have greatly varied, it is probable, that each of the prominent theories must be regarded as presenting some element of the aggregate truth. Hardly any great thinker is wholly wrong. His error is but the partial grasping of the truth. The failure to reach such determinations, of the ultimate end and supreme good, as to end the controversy, has manifestly resulted from the mistaken effort to identify it with some one thing, in separation from, and exclusion of, all others. So, some teaching has declared it to be *happiness;* some, *virtue.* But that our being was not meant to look to either of these things alone, as its final end, is evident from the fact, that it cannot be satisfied with virtue without happiness, or with happiness except in virtue. The reason why these two theories have, despite their inadequacy, retained their tenacious hold of thinking minds is, that each has grasped some real truth, and our moral nature does, and must, recognize in both happiness and character an intrinsic good, which does belong to the very goal of our being. For several centuries, the Church has been widely familiar with the answer: "The chief end of man is to glorify God and enjoy Him forever." This answer is twofold, and unites, in the ultimate end, the glory of God and the happiness of men. Though these two elements may not be intended to be placed on the same level, the answer is an illustration of the felt necessity of not excluding subordinate elements from man's aggregate final end. It must be borne in mind, that man's nature and relations are complex and many-sided. Though his ultimate end may have unity, it must, like his nature, be the unity of glorious and inseparable blending of different elements. Though it is one, it is from the multiform unified in an aggregate issue towards

which his complex being is to move. The ages of speculative inquiry, leaving the point still unsettled, may show that it is not possible to determine which of these elements is *supreme* in such aggregate end. Nor is it necessary to do so. It is enough to discover the essential elements toward which our varied capacities and powers are to be carried forward in harmony. It is not happiness alone irrespective of character. It is not character, without including happiness. It is not the glory of God only, apart from the creature's character and blessedness. The ultimate end—and this is all that we need know on this point for the practical, divine philosophy of life—blends into harmonious unity, forever inseparable, both the glory of God, and the character and happiness of man, as light blends into the unity of pure white the seven-fold glories of the rainbow. See how life is adjusted in Christ to these elements.

1. *First, to Character.* This is synonymous with the perfection of our nature. Possibilities of high and worthy character constitute part of the talent, with which we are to occupy till the Master comes. Character touches into the very centre of all blessed being. Creation looked to this, in starting our nature in the mould of the Divine image and likeness. Fallen man is perpetually recalled to it, in the high imperatives of the moral faculty. He ever hears the behests of conscience to do nothing self-degrading, or inconsistent with the best possibilities of purity and excellence. Because man himself is greater than any finite good that he can appropriate, he is assured, that the perfection of his own nature, is not to be sacrificed to any of the means or modes of its activity. The whole scheme of redemption sets forth this end. In all its wondrous acts, agencies, and powers, it looks towards the recovery of our nature from the blight, perversion and anarchy of sin, to holiness and goodness. As if, by pointing where the eye of God has looked in the mighty remedial process, He would turn the eye of men to the true aim, an apostle declares, "This is the will of God, even your sanctification." All through the Scriptures, character is held up as one of the highest objects of human care. To its right formation and development, the most vigilant and earnest attention is called with ceaseless voice. As surely as the perfection of our nature is one of the grand elements in the end, to which God has, from the first, meant man to

move on and embrace in the goal of his being, so surely is it in Christ, and in Him alone, that this nature is reorganized, recovered from its perversion in sin, and re-adjusted to it. The expression, "in Christ," so common in the Word of God, is no empty phrase, but really states this mighty fact of essential readjustment. "The Head of all principality and power,"—He from whom the ranks of loftier orders of beings have received and hold the life which, in them, is developing into its appointed perfection and glory—can take our life up again, into living union with His own, and re-set its aims and forces in the line of holy character. "*In Christ*," as the branch in the vine, living "in Christ," walking "in Christ," "found" in Christ, dying in Christ, sleeping in Jesus,—all these are forms of indicating the origin and fact of an inner conversion in which the believer is turned again into real correspondence of life to the perfection of his nature. It is just this change, first, into a new relation, and then to the transcendent character in the future possibilities of a regenerated nature, that St. John refers to, in that sublime exclamation: "*Beloved, now are we the sons of God, but it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him.*" That is the appointed goal for character.

2. *To Happiness*, as included in our ultimate end, the correlation is equally clear and precise. It is impossible, as it is unwise, not to admit the great truth wrapped up in the false ethical theory of utilitarianism. Though it is not true, that happiness alone is "our being's end and aim," it is, nevertheless, a grand good, inseparable from our intended ultimate end, as light is from the sun. God has himself turned the most longing and piercing gaze of our nature toward it. We cannot exclude belief, that man was made to be happy. His being began in unison with the song of the morning stars, when all the heavenly spheres were vocal with joy. In his abnormal condition of sin, he is not happy, and the deep sigh of his disappointed faculties is, "*Who will show us any good?*" Redemption recognizes, and looks toward this need in man's final design. Blessedness is to come to him, along with holiness, in his recovery to God. The Scriptures everywhere present the call to Christ, as a synonym of the call to happiness. In Him the soul is to find the root and flower of blessedness. It is the nature of the new life, born from above, to be

happy, as it is the nature of flowers to bloom, or stars to be bright. And, though this new life, on account of its imperfect development on earth, and unavoidable conflicts with evil within and around, does not yet bring to the Christian an unalloyed bliss, it has in it, as the gift of God, the beginning and direction of the complete happiness which belongs to the final purpose of his existence. Of this *new* man, and of nothing else is the statement of the old schoolmen true, "The will is borne toward happiness, not as will, but as nature."

3. So, too, as to *the glory of God.* In man's chief end, this is, probably, the noblest element. In its pure unselfishness, it seems to be of higher moral order than anything else. But how is man to glorify God? In what way can he fulfill this, in his humble relations to the infinite Jehovah? The answer, showing how one element of his end involves in it the others, must be, that it is to be by the highest possible perfection and blessedness of his nature, recast and unfolded in the Divine image. In man there is to be a reflex of the glory and joy of God. All the unsullied works of God reflect His glory. It shines out from earth and sky, from sea and field. Whatever his hand has touched mirrors forth the Divine perfections. The whole earth and radiant heavens are full of His glory. They proclaim it with ceaseless tongue. There is no speech, or language where their voice is not heard. The movement of the nature of man, as the crowning work of God, is to be brought into unison with this grand idea. From his high rational and moral powers is to shine the clearest reflection of the Divine excellence. Now it is alike the teaching of Scripture, and the testimony of Christian experience, that, in true union with Christ, man's nature is recovered, incipiently and potentially, into the mould of God's. It begins to reveal the Divine. In this incipient transformation into the likeness of Him, who is the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person, your nature is rightly correlated to the ultimate end of glorifying God. Having lived the life of Christ here, you can say, with Him, at last, "I have glorified Thee on the earth." And in the high future, where saints are made perfect in light, there will come from your ransomed and restored faculties, and their holy exercise, a radient manifestation of the glory of God forever.

It is thus plain, that the perfection of our nature is both

an *end* and a *means*. As to our own being, it becomes one aspect of its final goal and supreme good. As to God it becomes an instrumental revelation of His glory. It might be thought, that since man's chief end is, by definition something ultimate, the exhibition of the perfection of our nature as a *means*, is proof of a mistake in including it as an element in that final end. But the inference is invalid. For the simple reason, among others, that this relation of means and end may be reversed. If the perfection of our nature be a means of glorifying God, it is equally true that the glorifying of God is a means of the highest perfection. So, too, if our happiness glorifies God, glorifying God is the very way to our own happiness. Each of these elements is ultimate, on different sides and relations of our complex being, and no one can be torn from the other in that final destiny to which the infinite love of our Maker and Redeemer would lift us.

In this correlation of our nature, therefore, to the glorifying of God, we may make the perfection of our powers in a development toward their greatest possible intensity, harmony and efficiency, a distinct and conscious end of life. Not, indeed, so as to concentrate attention on ourselves, irrespective of others, but in the harmony of our relations to them, and in the spirit of obedience to the will of God. While He works within, we are to "work out" this design of all the powers of renewing and transforming grace. We believe the language of Sir Wm. Hamilton strictly true, when he says: "It is manifest that man, in so far as he is a means for the glory of God, must be an end unto himself; for it is only in the accomplishment of his own perfection, that as a creature, he can manifest the glory of his Creator. Though, therefore, man, by relation to God be but a mean, *for that very reason*, in relation to all else, he is an end." The apparent paradox of means and end in one, ceases, when it is remembered that man stands in two-fold relation—to himself and to God—and the fulfilment of the one relation accomplishes the other, which has been harmonized with it. There is a coalescence of interest with duty. And, thus, in man's aims and activities, the self-regarding, and self-forgetting elements of character are rightly combined, and beautifully balanced, and like the planets, under the equipollent forces of the sky, he moves on in his true sphere to the ultimate purpose and blessedness of his immortal being.

It may remove doubt, and bring this point into clearer light, to recall how this changeable relation of means and end is imaged forth in the realm of nature. It is illustrated, wherever we look. The flower that blooms at your feet, is at once a means and an end—an end for its own nature, to which previous processes are all correlated, and a means to human enjoyment. The showers that water the hills are an end for the gathering clouds—a means for the quickening of life over the fields, and the production of fruits for man. The steady revolution of the planets in their orbits, is an end for the centrifugal and centripetal forces under which they are guided, but becomes a means for furnishing fitting abodes for the principalities and powers that may inhabit them. So, everywhere, in God's infinite plan, the relations of being look forward, and touch on each other in inconceivable and endless successions. So, when man reaches the perfection of this nature, as wrapped up in the ultimate end of life for himself, we know not how much beyond this, such excellence of his being may reach—how far beyond even the reflex glory of God, the exhibition may bear off in more transcendent relations and influences, among other beings, in the measureless system of the universe. For it seems to us, that it is in this relation, that the beautiful words of England's poet laureate have their highest and truest meaning:

> "Our echoes roll from soul to soul,
> And grow forever and forever."

II. A second phase of the truth before us is, that in Christ, *man attains to the unity and harmony of his own being.* In addition to adjustment to his right end, man needs an inner oneness and harmony. If in Christ, his disturbed relation to his ultimate purpose is restored, he must also find the true centre of his subjective powers, so that the onward movement may be internally harmonious.

No truth has been more deeply realized in the consciousness of all ages, than the want of unity and harmony among the human faculties and powers. Man's loss of his orbit about God has been attended by inner confusion and darkness. Not only are the different parts of life felt to be sundered from each other, childhood, youth, and manhood out of organic moral union, but the heart wants a central point, and the conscience, reason, affections, and will, are in anarchy, and often in mutual antagonism. They

fail to blend in the sweet concord of one being. They fail to unify life to one law, or move in the peace of one spirit. Oh what a cry has ever gone up to the heavens from our wretched nature, thus rent, and torn, and distracted in its own being! Out of this inner contradiction have come the many striking utterances, which we discover as the most wonderful crystals of truth on the surface of heathen literature. From Xenophon, we have the exclamation, that he felt as if two souls were lodged within him.* The thoughtful Plato, in one place, represents the soul as a chariot with charioteer, which is drawn by two horses of contrary spirit, in different directions,† and in another place, as having along with the divine, a beast within him, devastating the peace of inner life.‡ In the bitter perplexity of Seneca, we hear him pressing the inquiry, "What is it that draws us back from the point to which we would go, and drives us on to that which we would abandon."§ So, in the old Persian faith, taken up in the Gnostic and Manichaean speculations of early Church History, the supposition of a struggle between a good and evil god, is used to account for the thrusting into man, of these elements of tormenting strife. Everywhere and always has consciousness testified to this effect of sin, forcing itself as a deep inner disharmony and discord into the centre of man's life.

The question now is, How is this to be expelled, and our nature to come into rythm and harmony? All human expedients and philosophies, tested through the ages, have been ineffectual, and have, like Satan casting out Satan, only expelled one form of evil by another. Jesus, knowing truly what was in man, referred to the only possible remedy, when he said, "Ye must be born again." And we have this "in Christ." In the regeneration brought to our nature by and in the Son of Man,—a second birth for the moral powers, in which they come out of the slavery of sin, and into the light of God—the inward unity is again found, and the complex powers fall into harmony. "Christ in you," the very heart of your heart, and life of your life, brings to your disturbed nature the effectual word, "Peace, be still." It is the very promise of redemption, "to gather together into one, all things in Christ—all things within us,

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* Cyropaed. 1 : 6. C. 1. § 41. † Plato, Phædrus, C. 54.
‡ Plato, Rep. 1 : 9. Ch. 12. § Seneca Ep. 52.

as well as all things in heaven and earth. And the experience of thousands on thousands has certified, that in Him unity and peace have come into their being. Light has poured through their reason, the heart has been sprinkled from an evil conscience, the affections have moved to their true objects, the bondage to lusts and passions, has passed into a heavenly and self-consistent freedom. Yielding to the grace of Gad, man has been restored to dominion over himself, has received the sceptre cast away since the days of Eden. His life is possessed by one great purpose, which either subordinates or crushes out all variant purposes. His faculties have been reorganized to one law; that which was meant to be supreme actually ruling, and and that which was intended to serve, serving, the charioteer charioting, and no longer dragged in the dust, at the heels of the horses. Yes, the want of an inward peacemaker has been met. The mighty magic of Christ's truth and Spirit does affect this glorious inner change. The broken harp is re-tuned. Its concord is better than the music of the spheres.

We must note, for a moment, the relation of this, to the elements of man's ultimate end, already discussed. This inner harmony is required for the perfection of our nature. It is demanded for happiness. It is needed to glorify God. Turned again toward the final goal, from which sin had deflected our life, with our faculties re-adjusted into mutual harmony, each and all trained under renewing grace, mutually set to a development into their best and most harmonious intensity, the whole "compacted by that which every joint supplieth," we have thus, in Christ, the chief and grand requisites to that completeness which belongs to man's supreme good. As with helm set, he moves on, in peace and conquering strength. The ship, with every sail set and filled, speeding its way over the subject waters to its haven, has no beauty comparable with that of the organized powers of man, so renewed as to act thus in harmony. And sublimer than the vessel's victorious conflict, when storm and sea oppose it, is the moral triumph secured by this compact strength, when his course must move on through temptations and hindrances.

III. The third thing showing this way of completeness —needing only a few words of explanation—is, that *in Christ, we are brought into right relation to our fellow-men.* Besides the evil wrought by sin *within* man, working out-

ward, it has disturbed his relations to others. Man's attitude to man is abnormal, and society is tortured in perpetual ferment and collision. "Whence come fightings and wars among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?" A desire to correct the evil has originated all the schemes and expedients of social reorganization. It has ever been felt, that the confusion, wrong, and wretchedness, resulting from the encountering selfishness and passions of men, is not the only and best possible condition of society. Social science, however, is, by the constant failure of its expedients, made to confess, that no simple organization of the unharmonized units can be successful. But here appears the divine philosophy of the process, "in Christ." It begins by restoring each man to himself. Each one, having had cast out of him the disturbing control, falls at the same time into right and peaceful relation to his fellow-men. There is no other way to touch the disorders and miseries of the world with rectifying power. You are brought under the law of love. At this point we discover the significance of Christ's founding a kingdom—not of forced elements, after the manner of earthly organizations—but a fellowship of love and spiritual unity. "The kingdom of heaven is within you." It is organized about the person of Christ, and in subjection to His sovereignty. United to Christ, men are restored to each other. Sin is disintegrating, alienating, anarchic. The grace of redemption—the law of the new life—is organizing, and the divergences are annulled in Him, in whom there is neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free—where Christ is all, and in all. Types of character naturally the most opposite, frames of mind apparently the most uncongenial, tendencies the most diverse, talents the most varied and unlike, have been drawn into loving sympathy at the foot of the Cross, and around this new point of fellowship have moved into blessed peace and power. Here the brotherhood of man becomes again a grand and holy reality.

IV. The fourth and last point in explanation of the truth before us—*In Christ, our nature and faculties attain the needed maturing force.* With this subjective readjustment, and our whole nature directed towards its true end, we need also a ripening force, which shall develop character into its best fruitage of power and blessedness.

"Be ye perfect," says Jesus. It is a perpetual question, whether this abstract precept can at all be translated into concrete realization—whether our utmost culture can carry forward our nature within even distant range of perfection. Whilst the fulness of the measure of perfect manhood has always stood out before men, as an aim to call them on, their constant disappointment has caused the precept to look as a sort of sublime irony to their inability. As man never is, but always to be, blessed, so this perfection has always eluded a conscious realization. No man has ever attained the standard, and presented the perfect life of the harmonized powers. Along with this experience, however, believers have ever realized, in accordance with the teaching of Scripture, that in the new life of grace in Christ, they attain the beginning and force of a perfect manhood. It is, not now actually, but yet potentially, the fulness of the measure of the perfect. It must be remembered that Christianity is, not only a set of rules for conduct, but a life—a life flowing to us from the infinite life of Christ. It has the *force* of a *perfect* life, and by its own law transforms more and more into the *perfection* of His own image. An old poet has said: "Nothing grows like love." In this, the new life is bathed and warmed. The regenerated life moves in the summer of the Divine love. It is summer within, and summer without the man. And though perfection is not attained in the present state, there *is* a process of grace ripening the soul for glory, beautifully illustrated in ten thousands of instances; and in that higher future will appear the *ripened* fruits, when that which is perfect is come, and that which is in part is done away. If it be, indeed, true, that our nature's perfection is forever a process of *becoming*, agoing on upon itself, and still ascending the infinite heights of glory, still, the *eternal maturing* is but the on-going of the life we now receive in Christ. "He that believeth *hath* everlasting life."

We here reach the true philosophy of spiritual growth. Men have been wont to look to this thing and that, for something to stimulate and mature their virtues. They have turned to various studies, toils, or self-mortifications. They have sought to ripen character for the skies, by the self-communion of quietism, the culture of monastic seclusion, or the drill and discipline of asceticism. They have applied multiform *stimuli* for the maturing of their nature into the fruits of goodness and joy. But usually the ex-

pedients have been of but partial and temporary effect, unfolding but a narrow line of advance, or securing but a temporary excitement. It is only the life and love of Christ in the heart, like the sap in the vine, that becomes a pervasive and perpetual force of maturing the nature and virtue of man. When the sunshine is on the hills, and the fertile force is in the soil, the harvests change to gold, and the fruits come to perfection on ten thousand trees. And it is when rooted and grounded in the divine life of grace, with the living currents, ceaseless forever, flowing through the soul, that there is a free and perpetual unfolding of all the character into its true and immortal bloom and glory.

Gather together, now, the items of the answer, which the text affords, to this great problem of life. As believers, your life is put again into true correspondence with its aggregate end. Your varied faculties and powers are adjusted to unity and harmony, and your relations in the great community of moral beings made to move into the music of peace and love. And surer and grander than the life-force which carries nature without you into its perfect flower and fruitage, the life of Him who is the infinite perfection, is maturing each and all of the powers of your restored nature to a divine ripeness and joy. Is there any element of good still wanting, and unprovided for? Is it not true, "Ye are complete in Him?"

There are, in the light of this truth, several practical conclusions, which we wish to lay with special emphasis on your memories and hearts:

1. *The sad condition of any one without living union with Christ.* If in Him you have everything, needed to rise to final blessedness and glory, without Him you lack everything which the sublime design and high necessities of your being demand. The very first essential is wanting. Life is not put in true correspondence with its final purpose. Moreover, the inner anarchy being unexpelled, your being is under the devastating power of subjective disorders, which preclude alike the peace of repose and the symmetry of strength. And there can be no true ripening of your nature into spiritual perfection. Under the dominant force of sin and corruption, it must move on only into intensified anarchy and wretchedness—far aside and away from the goal of a blessed immortality, into the realm where sink to ceaseless ruin the broken wrecks of misdirected life. We all know how many men there have

been, who, though finely endowed and educated, have, by being without Christ, never come into inward peace, or a controlling, regulative consciousness of their true end. As restless powers, they have been chafing, and chafed, along the way of life, till they have sunk out of sight. The brilliant endowments of a Shelley flash a troubled light, till like a star out of orbit, he disappears in gloom. The talented Kepler piloted science into the skies, but seems to have failed to soar up through saving faith in Christ, to the high purpose of his moral being, and was swallowed up in the anrchy in which his varied activities collided and his broken life dissolved. Lord Byron was gifted with shining powers, but never seeking in Christ his true end and inner peace, his life was all rent and torn and tortured in internal disharmony, till the self-wasting energies were wrecked in death. Humboldt, with noble mind and great knowledge, gave no sign of any vision of God and His Christ, and after a long career of mere science, his spiritual nature seemed reduced almost to a blank. So with thousands of others, of less fame. Oh, men may dream that their nature, in and of itself, will come into unity, repose, perfection, and glory, without the life of Christ, but the expected goal will be missed, and in their melancholy history they become

> "Like ships that sailed for sunny isles,
> But never came to shore."

The first appeal to every one of you, young men, must be, to be sure your life is put in true adjustment to its chief end, in union with the regenerating life of Christ. This is the one thing needful. Without it, though you should gain the whole world, your life must be a fearful and eternal failure. Dante places in his lowest hell those who, by discontent and repining amid blessings, profaned and darkened God's blessed sunshine. But that is nothing compared with the guilt and self-destruction, that must be wrought by profaning and wrecking the lofty possibilities of your redeemed nature, exhibiting your powers, at the end of life, not only as having been wrapped up in a napkin, or soiled in the dust, but bound hand and foot in the bondage of spiritual death.

2. *You see the relations and necessities of your own culture.* It is to be a life-culture in a double sense—a culture *of* your life, continued *through all* your life. You have just begun the education of your nature and powers. What-

ever else you do, this is to be the work of all your coming years. Never forget this. So many young men think they have already attained, and stop at the beginning. Instead of living in the inspiration which comes from a constant vision of the mark of the prize of their high calling, they are turned aside to carnal and temporary ends, the culture of their own powers is neglected, and they make very little of themselves in the end. Their own being as a reflex of the glory of God, and a fountain of inner blessedness, is fotgotten in pursuit of the means and instruments of life and pleasure.

Present tendencies are to value culture, or education, only as it may be available for worldly acquisitions and results. It is a preparation for business, or professional success. This value is, indeed, real and legitimate. But it would lose its glory if this were all. Its relation and meaning are nobler. Its design must blend grandly in the object of God's great scheme of redemption—the scheme which reveals the very heart of the meaning of this world's history. We must get out of all the false system of materialistic utilitarianism. It makes men reverse means and ends. Instead of looking on the universe as a store-house of educational forces, and man himself as greater than anything that educates him, or which he uses,—instead of interpreting the whole arrangement of human life as a complex arrangement by which the powers of the soul may be unfolded to their noblest height, and carried forward to their final purpose, men turn these powers into mere servants of the material, drudges to means, immersed, frittered away, and buried in them, almost as in a grave. Oh, do not look upon temporal utility and material prosperity as the final object of culture. Do not mistake the poor precarious enjoyment thus obtained, as the chief end of man. As God gives contests to bring us to the joys of victory, so He has filled life with duties and activities, not that the soul may be dragged by them in the dust, but to be a source of self-invigoration and ascending power.

In this relation we must put the work of a profession. Professional success is not necessarily the success of life. Preparation for it may be but a process of narrow, though intensified accumulation, giving only mental gatherings. Its activities may be merely mechanical and routine. And perpetual instances show how the most striking success in it may coincide with a constant deterioration of character, a drying up of its inner fountains, as the external

means increase, a disappearance of all the lines of the divine image from the blurred mirror of the nature, until at the close of a life of the most brilliant professional success, the man is self-destroyed, with little left, that God can love, or men admire. Still greater is the number whose professional employment is made simply unfruitful. Even incumbents of the Gospel ministry may hold their professional work most sadly off from their own spiritual growth. The aim to glorify God in the salvation of those that hear, may be withdrawn from a proper glorifying of him, if not in the body, yet in the soul of those who preach. And there *is* the danger, which even an apostle seemed to fear, that after having preached unto others, the preacher himself may become a cast-away.

But though no one-sided, or partial development will answer to the proper perfection of your nature, the life of it all is found, and found only, in the pervasive power of the religious element. There is, indeed, a religiousness, which consists in mere ritual observances, or withdraws into the meditative exercises of monastic seclusion, which does not vitalize all the life with divine power, but becomes either practically useless, or contracted and narrow. It makes only a narrow bigot, and not a divine life. But that is spurious Christianity. True Christianity appropriates for culture, not only a small holy area of a man's time and nature, but the whole of it, and makes it all vital with its regulative, purifying, harmonizing, and fruitful force. He who neglects it, neglects the light and air of his spiritual being. He who excludes this spiritual power, or checks it, does for his entire nature, what the tree would do for itself, by shutting down the sap in which every bough, and branch, and leaf has growth and beauty. It is that in which all the faculties, speculative and practical, have their richest flower and fruit. Therefore, in all your life, young men, let your nature have the full quickening and maturing power of the piety which is rooted in the life of Christ. This, and this alone, will bring your nature to its perfection, open, and keep open, in it the fountains of happiness, and glorify God. Do you wish to reach the supreme good at last? You may not know specifically what it is, but you do know, that in union with Christ you will find it, and all things shall be made to work together toward it, and for it. Even the conflicts and sorrows, the labors and self-sacrifices, that may be in your career, as well as all the fair and happy things that

can find living root in regenerate humanity, come to bloom under the shadow of Christ. Let your spiritual nature and activities have full culture and development. The work that you have to do for God, and humanity, and yourself, is all harmonized to this result. Be faithful to it all, and that Saviour in whom alone, you can be made complete, will at last present you faultless before the throne of His glory with exceeding joy.

ARTICLE IV.

THE CIVILIZING INFLUENCES OF CHRISTIANITY UPON THE WORLD.*

By William Hay, A. M., York, Pa.

The writings of the philosophers and schoolmen as well as the almost unanimous voice of observing persons teach us, that the object and aim of education are to elevate the individual in the scale of existence, to bring him nearer to a perfect man, to improve his condition in society, and to advance society in civilization. Assuming this to be so, it becomes, then, to all who are the friends of education, a question of grave moment and importance, how shall this object best be attained? Without venturing upon the discussion of this question in its many varied and interesting relations I shall confine myself to but one of its phases, and shall endeavor to illustrate, that the study of the Bible best educates the individual and advances society, and I shall try to show the civilizing influences of Christianity upon the world.

The strong tendency towards materialism and the growing disposition manifested by many of the most profound thinkers and polished scholars of the day to ignore the purifying and ennobling study of the sacred Scriptures render this subject peculiarly appropriate for consideration on an occasion like the present. The pride which is felt in purely intellectual development and scientific discovery is causing men to loose sight of the necessity of moral and religious culture. Books filled with false and rationalistic

*An Address, delivered, by appointment, before the Alumni of Pennsylvania College, June 29th, 1870, and published by request of the Association.

philosophy, sustained by the most ingenious sophistries and written in the most attractive arts of the rhetorician are pouring forth from the printing presses in almost countless numbers. Periodicals, which like the fabled birds of evil come shaking poison from their wings, find entrance to the hearth stones of half the families in the land, and sow the seeds of moral degradation and infidelity into the minds of old and young. Voices of eloquent and accomplished orators are raised against the divine authority of the Scriptures, and associations are formed for the avowed purpose of counteracting the influences of Christianity upon the people, and gigantic efforts are making to restrict and impede the progress of great moral truths.

If the aim of education has been properly stated the object can never be attained by purely intellectual culture. Expand the intellectual faculties to their utmost extent—force into the mind of a youth all the facts in the encyclopedia—instruct him in all the sciences ever dreamed of by Humboldt or Agassiz and teach him all the languages ever known to men and he will not necessarily be educated in the proper sense of the word. The accomplishments of a well stored mind and highly cultivated intellect may furnish a grace and charm to the possessor, but the demands of education are higher and nobler than this. By education men must be made better. By it their power to benefit themselves and their fellow men must be increased and civilization must be promoted. All education, which has not these ends in view, must be in vain. The object of education should be to elevate the individual and make him nearer a perfect man. In order to accomplish this, it is necessary to instill into his mind more correct ideas of right and wrong—to teach him more accurate notions of his duties and obligations to his God and his fellowmen.

The truth here asserted, is apparent from observation, It is affirmed by all the disciples of rationalism, from Plato, and Socrates, and Cicero, down to Buckle, and Darwin, and Auxley, and will not be disputed by the most enthusiastic adherent of the Radical Club, which assembles every Sunday in Horticultural Hall, in the city of Boston, for the purpose of convincing themselves, and others, that the wisdom for which they are indebted to the teachings of inspiration, might have been gained by unaided reason.

Men grow in goodness and advance towards perfection

just in proportion to the improvement of their ideas of duty and right. The mind of man, with wonderful facility, adapts itself to his creed, and a man's creed gives direction to his character and disposition. A man's principles are himself. Hence, the importance of a proper creed.

If, then, the design of education be to improve mankind, the most profitable teaching will be that which will enable the youth to form for himself wholesome systems of moral truths, and to adopt a correct creed. We could not, by prescribing a formula for his conduct, convert a depraved and vicious man, into an upright and virtuous citizen. No matter how wise the prescribed formula might be, it could not influence the life and conduct of the individual, unless his mind were impressed with the correctness of the requirements of the formula, and he saw that they corresponded with his belief and ideas of duty. Before a man can be influenced by any rule for the government of his conduct, he must feel that duty requires from him obedience to the rule.

In case we undertook to reform and elevate a savage, we would not with any reasonable hope of success, enact a code of laws for his government, and command him to obey these and be civil. An experiment of this mode of reclaiming him, would quickly demonstrate the futility of the undertaking. Fear of the consequences might restrain him from open infractions of, and force him to yield an unwilling obedience to, the requirements of the prescribed laws. But this could never effect a change in the individual. Remove the restraint, and the savage disposition would again appear in all its cruelty and ugliness. The first step in the reforming process, would be to impress upon his mind moral truths and principles, which he could easily comprehend. When he has learned these, they will suggest to him rules, which will cause him to act rightly, and make him better; and according to the correctness of the principles taught him, and the strength of his conviction of their propriety, will be the correctness of his life.

A Pagan moralist and teacher more than two thousand years ago said: "That to live honorably, we must know in our hearts what is right," and in language more forcible than this, an inspired servant of the Host High tells us that, "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he."

The youth in whom are inculcated false opinions of

right, duty and justice, will grow into a man whose conduct will be marked by wrong, wickedness and injustice. Teach a youth to cherish proper principles of duty and justice, reverence for sacred things and love to his fellowmen, and he will grow into a man, the uprightness of whose ways will illustrate the beauty and the power of the virtues taught him.

The Arab with fiendish pleasure perpetrates the most revolting cruelties upon his enemies, yet would not dare to injure one who had slept under his tent, and eaten of his salt. He acts thus, because he is taught to regard cruelty to enemies a virtue, and inhospitality a crime.

With the development of the moral, comes the expansion of the intellectual faculties. In fact, so dependent are the intellectual and moral faculties upon each other, that the development of the one involves the improvement of the other. The discussion of the reciprocal influences of the moral and intellectual faculties upon each other, I leave to the metaphysician. But I assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that the more highly an individual is educated—that is, the nearer he is to a perfect man, the more his moral nature is developed.

Seeing, then, the importance of forming correct ideas of right and wrong, and of entertaining a proper creed, the question will recur, How can such ideas best be acquired, and such a creed best be formed? The answer is, by the study of the Holy Scriptures. The Bible aims at the heart, and makes men better by elevating the motives to action. It seeks to instill into the mind principles and truths on which to base a correct system of belief. It then lays down simple and unmistakable precepts and examples for regulating the conduct under all circumstances and in every condition in life. The accordance of these precepts and examples with the principles and truths laid down in Holy Writ, is readily perceived by the individual, and he adopts them as proper to be obeyed and imitated. The Bible is a book which teaches the purest morality, and is filled with the narration of noble examples of conduct, worthy of our highest admiration and successful imitation. Of all the books written for the instruction of men in moral truths, none can compare with it. Of all philosophies devised for the enlightenment of the understanding in regard to right and duty, none can equal it. In its adaptation to the varied wants of men, the Bible stands

alone. Of all the great systems of morality laid down by sages and scholars, none can rival in simplicity and grandeur the precepts of Revelation. So confessedly true is this, that there can scarcely be found amongst the most violent opposers of the divine authority of the Scriptures one who will not acknowledge, that as a code of morality, as a work of literary merit, and as a book of historic usefulness, the Bible has no equal. Truly may it be said of this book, as was once exultingly said by the Bedouin Arab of the Koran: "Burn the libraries, for their value is in this book." But why need I attempt to eulogize the Bible? What tongue can adequately tell the value

> "Of such a book? the author God himself,
> The subject, God and man: salvation, life
> And death—eternal life—eternal death—
> Most wondrous book! Bright candle of the Lord!
> Star of eternity! the only star
> By which the bark of man could navigate
> The sea of life and gain the coast of bliss securely."

The rationalist may here, however, interpose the objection, that although the morality of the Bible is unsurpassed, and its rules of conduct such as must commend themselves to the approval of the thoughtful everywhere, yet there have been systems of morality, the inventions of men, which contained all the essential truths taught in the Bible, and that there is in it no great moral truth which had not been known to those who never heard of the Word of God, and who lived long before the New Testament was written. It may be objected, that many of the most beautiful passages and sublimest moral precepts are quotations from Pagan authors. From this, it is argued, that whilst Christianity is a most excellent system of morality, it cannot claim superiority over all other systems. One, of great reputation as an author and thinker, says, that "To do good to others, to sacrifice for their benefit your own wishes, to love your neighbor as yourself, to forgive your enemies, to restrain your passions, to love your parents, to respect those who are set over you, these, and a few others, are the sole essentials of morals; but they were known for thousands of years, and not one jot or tittle has been added to them by all the sermons, homilies, and text-books, which moralists and theologians have been able to produce."

Others quote a beautiful sentiment like this from Horace,

"It is sweet and honorable to die for one's country," like this from Cicero, "Virtue is its own reward," like this from Terence, "I am a man and I consider nothing of humanity foreign to me a man," like this from Seneca, "Nothing is closed from God," like this from Marcus Arrelius, "To weep, to groan, to complain is to rebel; to fear, to grieve, to be angry, is to be a deserter," and others of like character, and assert that there is nothing in Revelation which human reason could not have taught. But these, it should be remembered, were the sentiments of a few highly cultivated individuals, which exerted no influence over the masses of the people, and did not restrain their authors from gross crimes and debaucheries, the recital of which would be revolting to Christian ears. Nor did the precepts of morality taught, make men purer and better, or improve their condition. In their teachings, there was nothing that aimed at the hearts, or feelings of the individuals. The morality of the ancient Pagans, like that of the rationalists of the present day, urged the observance of moral laws from motives of selfishness, and taught that virtue is desirable only so far as it conduces to one's pleasure.

Cultivated as were the intellects, and great as were the mental powers of those who uttered sentiments such as quoted above, their authors in searching for a proper system of philosophy moved with a doubtful tread. They groped their way in darkness, and longed for some certain and fixed standard of truth and right. Human reason in its highest perfection moves in search of truth with uncertain steps. At every turn it finds in its way mysteries beyond its power of solution, or comprehension. All the philosophies of the heathen were systems of doubt and uncertainty. All the philosophers lamented the imposibility of arriving at truth. "Across the night of paganism," says the author of Aids to Reflection, "philosophy flitted on, like the lantern fly of the tropics, a light to itself and an ornament, but alas no more than an ornament of the surrounding darkness." The questions of the immortality of the soul, whether a God exists, whether virtue is preferable to vice, were beyond the powers of the wisest of Pagan philosophers to solve with satisfaction to themselves. And so would it be with the learned of to-day, had not the Almighty revealed His Word.

Man needs positive and well defined information as to duty and right, in order to form proper principles on which

to act. Reason cannot sufficiently supply this need. Observation and experience may teach many things, but the experience and observation of different individuals are vastly different. If every individual undertook to discover truth by paths struck out for himself, and to form his opinions from his own observation, the opinions and ideas of men would be as diverse as are the minds and tempers of the individuals.

Humanity demands an unusual teacher, a teacher that is infallible. The teacher must know more than the taught. Such a teacher must come, not authorized by man, but by God, to teach what is truth. Socrates, the great master of reasoners, felt the demand for such a teacher, and in his dialogues frequently expressed the opinion that it was necessary that one be sent from heaven, divinely commissioned to instruct men in their duties.

Since such a teacher has come from Heaven and made certain what before was clouded in gloomy uncertainty, and has taught the world truths which before only the few could know, and that imperfectly, the great doctrines of the souls immortality of men's relation to the Deity and their fellow-men, doctrines which for ages, had perplexed the minds of the most learned and astute, are familiar to the school boy, have become the truisms of every day life, and are the proverbs of the lowly and the great. And the wholesome effects of the knowledge of these truths upon the minds of the people none can estimate. The knowledge of men's responsibility to a Supreme Being, and of their accountability in a future existence for their actions in the present life, exert the most powerful influences over men to become better.

But it is objected, that the study of the Bible is not profitable for, but is a hindrance to, the expansion of the intellectual faculties, because its students are expected to accept as true many things which are beyond the power of reason to comprehend. The simple statement of this objection, it would seem, should suggest to every thoughtful person its futility, and the inconsistency of the one who advances the objection. Who does not constantly accept, on the faith of others, a thousand things as true, which he cannot prove? Who of us could demonstrate the truth of many of the simplest and most common principles of science, on which we every day act? Who of us can give an intelligent and satisfactory reason for one half of his opinions and beliefs?

In science it would seem to be absurd to say, that one who is engaged in searching for the mysteries of the physical world, should not accept the great truths which others than he taught to mankind. Who of us does not accept as beyond question certain laws, discovered and taught by such men as Linnæus, Galileo, Newton and others? And what would be thought of the Naturalist who would decline to make use of the teachings of these great men, because he is unable fully to comprehend all that they taught? By tracing this objection to its legitimate consequences, we soon are led to what the logicians call the *reductio ad absurdum.* It has been wisely said by De Tocqueville, "That there is no philosopher of such great parts in the world, but that he believes many things on the faith of others, and supposes a great many more truths than he demonstrates."

It is true, that science is not the aim of the Bible. Its study, however, so expands and develops the intellect and enlightens the understanding, that its students readily take to scientific pursuits, and endeavor by learning the mysteries of the physical world to turn the elements to practical uses, and thereby to lessen the toils and increase the comforts of men. Strange as this assertion may at first appear, a little reflection and observation will make its truth apparent. The history of the world makes patent the fact, that in those countries, where the Bible is most widely circulated and most freely read, science has made its greatest progress, and civilization the most rapid strides.

Compare the countries in which the light of Christianity has been permitted to shine into the minds and hearts of the citizens, with the countries in which the darkness of heathenism covers the people, and determine in which countries has science made its greatest discoveries, and which countries exert the greatest influence in the world? Compare China, with its vast extent of territory, its unnumbered inhabitants, and its immense resources, with the comparatively small England, or the Turkish Empire with our own beloved country, and decide for yourselves the question, whether Christianity does not enlighten the individual, and advance society in civilization?

I may be pointed to France and told that in that country, science, art, and the culture of the intellect have advanced with wonderful rapidity, and that there, infidelity,

scepticism, and rationalism prevail. I answer, that the influences of Christianity have been for a long time, and are now operating upon the French people. It is true that the Bible in France is mostly in the keeping of the church authorities, and that the Church there does not permit the Word of God to have free course and be glorified. But men like Fenelon, Bossuet and Pascal, of former days, and Father Hyacinthe of latter days, have been impressing the citizens of that country, with the leavening truths of Revelation, which has done much to enlighten and elevate the nation. It is true that many patriotic people in France hate the Church, and bring themselves to believe that Christianity is the enemy of civil liberty. This is because the Church there is a politico-religious institution, which is not content alone with the authority given it by God, but which strives also for civil power. Hence, many statesmen there attack the Christians. They attack them, however, as their political opponents, rather than as their religious adversaries. They oppose the Christian religion more as the opinion of a party, than as an error of belief, and they reject the clergy, not because of their faith, but because they are the friends and allies of despotic power. The Church there, as has often been done in other lands, is perverted from its proper and legitimate sphere, so as to become the means, by which a tyrant is aided in holding on to power. Those who strive for the freedom of the people, therefore, in countries where the ecclesiastical power is made the instrument for subjugating the people, naturally oppose the Church. Hence Rochefort was acting in obedience to one of the most common instincts of human nature, when he wrote the letter to the citizens of Lyons, (which was but recently flashed through the waves of the Atlantic, and which so many good people read here with sorrow,) in which this influential leader in the movement for the liberty of the French people, announced, that he had enlisted the banner of the liberal party in his land, and said that the first thing that is necessary to be done in order to insure the success of the cause of the party, is to get rid of religion, the barrier to progress which leads to despotism and slavery. Had this man been living in a land where he could have seen the healthful influences of an open Bible, in raising a community from bondage to the highest freedom, he would have been the most ardent advocate for the dissemination of the truths of Christianity,

But the religion which he saw was that which was in the custody and keeping of clergy, who were committed to despotism and the policy of keeping the subjects in ignorance.

As the development of the moral faculties of the individual elevates him nearer to a perfect man, so it advances society in civilization. I am aware that there are those who, like Buckle, will argue against the claims of Christianity, that in the name of religion high crimes have been perpetrated upon individuals, and great injuries inflicted upon communities. They will point to the cruel wars and bloody crusades, undertaken by rulers to propagate the truths of the Bible, and will tell us that Christianity, in these instances, has neither had a tendency to elevate the individual, or to improve the condition of the States, affected by these wars. They will point to men of acknowledged piety, who whilst holding positions of influence and political power, in the name of Christianity, inflicted great wrongs upon nations and individuals. But admitting this to be so, nothing can be more illogical than to assert that this proves anything against the civilizing influences of the religion of the Bible. It is absurd to argue that those things are to be rejected, which in their abuse result in evil. None of the evils which, at any time, have been perpetrated in the name of Christianity, were sanctioned by its teachings. Persecutors on the score of religion have always been maddened bigots, or great hypocrites, and their zeal has often been lighted at the altar of worldly ambition. Many argue that intellectual culture alone is the cause of a nation's progress. It is true beyond all questioning, that the expansion and improvement of the mind are glorious objects for the success of which we should put forth our strongest efforts. Whatever can be done to increase the powers of the intellect, should be done. Whatever will put into the mind a new thought, or idea, will be a benefit to humanity, provided the thought or idea be a good one. But it is not intellectual development alone that makes a nation great and powerful, and the citizens virtuous and happy.

It is strange that men at this day should set up golden calves and fall down and worship them. Yet they do it, and seem to find in the goddesses of mental advancement and material improvement sufficient objects for their adoration. The wonderful discoveries that are making in

knowledge and learning of all kinds, are objects of men's highest admiration, and the fruitful themes for writers and speakers in every hamlet in the land. The great manufactories that are everywhere to be found, the unending miles of railroad, which reach to the remotest villages on the continent, and the proud ships which ride the mighty deep, and whiten with their sails every sea, are pointed to with pride and congratulation.

These, we are told, are the causes of national prosperity and power. Now great as are the discoveries in knowledge, and much as are the material improvements of the present day to be admired, they are only the evidences, and not the causes of, the prosperity and power of the State. A nation may possess all these evidences of national prosperity, and yet be weak and imbecile. If the people are not properly educated in regard to their obligations and duties as citizens, these, instead of being national advantages, may prove to be a nation's weakness. They may lead to such indulgences by the citizens, that the nation will fall an easy prey to the ambition of a demagogue, or the avarice of a rival power.

It is the moral development of the people—the instilling into their minds proper principles of conduct, that makes the nation great and powerful. Lord Bacon recognized with approbation the position here contended for, when he wrote: "Walled towns, storied arsenals and armies, goodly races of horses, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery and the like, all this is but a sheep in lion's skin, except the characters and dispositions of the people be brave and valiant." This position is also admitted by an able and well known writer in the familiar lines, "What constitutes a State?"

> "Not high-raised battlement, or labored mound,
> Thick wall, or moated gate:
> Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;
> Not bays and broad-armed ports,
> Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride:
> Not starred and spangled courts,
> Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
> No:—men, high-minded men,
> Men, who their duties know,
> But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain."

And one of greater wisdom than either Francis Bacon, or Sir William Jones, has declared, that "Righteousness exalteth a nation."

History is full of illustrations of the fact, that a nation may abound in all the evidences of material prosperity and greatness, and yet if the people are not righteous, it will decline in power, and probably perish entirely. Instance the history of the empire of Persia; see how she grew in power and wealth, when her people cultivated the virtues of bravery, industry, and economy, and how weak she grew, when her people ceased to cultivate these virtues, and indulged in luxury and vice. See, for a period, whilst these virtues influenced the citizens, how she conquered her rival powers. And when her citizens indulged in luxury and vice, see her proudly marching out with her unnumbered hosts in splendor to fight the ambitious Greeks, and how easily she was subdued.

To advance a State in civilization and keep her advanced, it is necessary to properly cultivate the morals of the individuals. Ideas, and not governments, are the rulers, and public opinion gives direction to the affairs of the nation. When a backward step has been taken by the State, there have been false ideas and mistaken opinions infused into the minds of the people. If it happens that such false ideas and mistaken opinions are removed, the backward step will soon be retraced, and the country will advance in accordance with the advanced ideas entertained by the people. The correctness of public sentiment will always be a fair index of the position of the country in the grand march of civilization.

If it be true, then, that Christianity is the best and most powerful means of influencing the hearts and minds of the people, and the best and surest means of forming proper public sentiment, it follows, that in those countries, in which the teachings of Christianity most prevail, the ideas and opinions of the people must be most correct, and their condition must be most advanced in civilization. This, too, it may be remarked, is not merely a legitimate conclusion from our reasoning, but is a fact well authenticated by history.

It is argued by some, that the education of a people in morals, has little or nothing to do in advancing civilization—that civilization is dependent alone on the intellectual development of the citizens. But we cannot shut our

eyes to the unmistakable teaching of history, that in all nations in which civilization was the most perfect, the subjects were the most moral. Nor can we keep from view the great fact, that in the last few centuries, during which the truths of Revelation have influenced the minds and hearts of the people, and improved their moral opinions, society has advanced in a manner before undreamed of by the most enthusiastic reformers.

Notwithstanding the great efforts of philosophers, of sages, of lawgivers, of warriors and publicists, to build up society and make great commonwealths, civilization advanced with the pace of the snail, until the moral condition of the individual began to improve.

The contrast of the condition of society before and since the period in the world's history known as the Reformation, makes clear the fact, that for some cause society has improved much more rapidly since, than before that period. Then, why is it, that since the heroic Martin Luther stood up and, unappalled by the frowns and threats of kingly power, proclaimed to the world truths which unchained the glorious gospel of light and made the Bible the common property of mankind, the condition of society has improved more than it has done in all the centuries that had passed away before that time?

It will not do to attribute this sudden advance to the progress of intellectual development alone. The nature of man is the same to-day, as it was when the Almighty first breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Men are not naturally more capable of intellectual culture since the period of the Reformation, than they were before. There must have been some great and powerful cause to produce so marked and wonderful a change in men, which took place since the Reformation. If intellectual development alone were the cause, why were not these great improvements noticed centuries before they were. There is no natural difference in the formation of the intellect of man. A child born of Pagan or savage parents, is endowed with the same faculties as one born of enlightened or Christian parents. The difference between individuals is owing to education, and education is the result of external circumstances. A man born five hundred years ago would have entertained the same opinions, now indulged in by mankind, had he been reared amid the same circumstances that now surround men. A man is necessarily taught by

his parents and teachers his doctrines of rights and duties, and from these doctrines his character as an individual is formed. The importance to the State then of the citizens' acquiring correct doctrines, will recur to the mind of every one; for unless these be correct, the increase of the power of the intellect will be an injury, rather than a benefit to the community. Because increase of knowledge brings increase of power, the increase of the power of the vicious must prove an injury rather than a benefit to the community. The State has often suffered more from intelligent and crafty, than from ignorant and vicious men. Ignorance and vice, it is true, are often found to go hand in hand, but the ignorant are easily restrained, whilst the intelligent and corrupt man is an almost uncontrollable power for evil.

I may be answered, that during the present and last three centuries knowledge has increased, and men have learned how to frame more wholesome laws for the government of society and the protection of the rights of the citizen—that this is the cause of the sudden elevation of the individual and progress of civilization. But I am not prepared to admit the truth, which in this postulate must be assumed.

Whilst I admit the superior enlightenment and more wide-spread intelligence of men of modern times, I am not prepared to concede, that in purely intellectual acquirements and mental powers, men of these days are superior to those of former days.

I turn to history's classic pages, and I find in the record of the proud nations of antiquity that live no more, the names of men, whose genius and powers of mind rendered them the pride and wonder of the race. I find there exist human philosophies as perfect as human reason could devise. I read of republics, whose laws are to-day the models of the best systems of legislation, and the maxims of the purest equity. I see accounts of heroic deeds of patriotism, and beautiful illustrations of love of country. I learn of poets and historians, whose songs and stories are to-day the delight of all who are the admirers of poetic talent and historic art. And, when I consider such facts as these, I regard as problematical the assertion, that men of modern days are intellectually superior to those of ancient days.

And whilst we make our appeal to the history of these

nations that once flourished in triumph, but are no more, let us inquire why they have fallen? Why did they live for periods in power and grandeur, and then sink into degradation and slavery? It was not for want of wisdom in their laws, for the laws of many of those nations are now admitted to have been the wisest ever devised by men. It could not have been from physical causes, for the same physical causes that operated upon these nations whilst they were great, were operating when they died. It must have been some cause operating upon the citizens, that caused the nations to decline more rapidly than they grew in greatness. The cause could be found in the character of the citizens. There was a want of proper moral training of the individuals, which alone could have fitted them for citizenship in great and free commonwealths. The people were not influenced by the power of great moral ideas, which are so essential to the safety and welfare of the State, and from this cause, the nations perished.

Perhaps, I can best illustrate the idea here intended to be conveyed, by a reference to our own beloved, and I hope forever re-united republic. It must be conceded that ours is a most glorious country, and our citizens most wonderful people—that in everything that makes a nation great, ours stands unequalled by any on the globe—that in all the qualities that go to make good citizens, ours are not surpassed by those of any nation on which the light of heaven falls. And yet, it will not do to say, that all this is owing to the superior mental powers of our people. There are countries in the world which are far less important members of the family of nations than ours, whose citizens would not yield to us the palm for superior vigor of intellect. It will not be sufficient to say that the greatness of America is the result of physical causes. It will not do to say, that our great rivers and mountains, our harbors and seas, our mineral wealth, our soil and climate, are the causes of all this. Many countries in South America might rival us in the magnitude of our rivers, in the security of our harbors, in the breadth of our seas, in the richness of our mineral resources, in the fertility of our soil, and in the mildness of our climate, though as nations, they are weak and despised, and their citizens are depraved and worthless. Nor will it suffice to say, that our national greatness is owing to the superiority of our laws. The laws of the United States are not better than those of

many other less important countries. No, it is neither of these causes that makes our country great, and our citizens the envy of the world. The true cause is to be found in the characters of our people. It is the great moral power of the ideas which are entertained by the citizens, that makes our nation great.

The great improvements in civilization since the Reformation, are the results of the dissemination of the principles of Christianity. When the Reformation spread abroad the great truths of Revelation, and placed in men's minds advanced thoughts and opinions, the great moral power of ideas began to exalt the people, and to advance the nations. In fact, the result could scarcely have been different. The same authority which taught, that all men are equal in the sight of God, also taught, that all men are equal before the law. As a consequence, in those countries in which the minds of the people were influenced by the teachings of Revelation, the equality of the citizens became more complete than it had been in any previous period in history.

Although the Reformation, strictly speaking, was a religious movement, yet in effect it was a momentous political advance. The changes which it wrought in the habits of thought and dispositions of people, worked vast improvements in society, and great reforms in governments. It taught men to think and act differently from what they had previously done, and led to the formation of institutions for their government, different from those which had before existed. It taught men the right to think for themselves upon matters of religion, as well as upon the affairs of the State. It put into their minds ideas of self-government, which forced kings and rulers to recognize certain great rights and privileges of the citizens, and led to the creation of the freest governments ever known to men.

The champions of freedom, and those who were foremost in the struggles for the liberties of the people, in all the great contests between despotism and freedom, were men whose minds were imbued with the spirit of Christianity, and whose hearts were inspired by Christian ideas.

Such were the followers of Martin Luther in Germany, of John Knox in Scotland, of John Huss in Bohemia, and of Ulrich Zwinglius in Switzerland. The Huguenots in France, and the Protestant non-conformists in England, in bearing up the standard of religious freedom, upheld the

banner of civil liberty. And whilst they contended for the divine right of freedom of thought in matters pertaining to religion, they maintained the sacred rights of citizens to control the affairs of the State. So, too, the Puritans in England, in resisting the power of princes and potentates to control the consciences of the individuals upon religious matters, weakened the power of the crowned heads to regulate, by arbitrary decrees, matters touching the civil rights of the subjects. To the Puritans, more than to any one class of persons, are the people of Great Britain indebted for their present constitution. The gifted Hume, who was the friend and admirer of those in his country, who held the sceptre of kingly power, and who was no advocate of the claims of Christianity upon the State, says that, "The precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved by the Puritans, that it is to this sect alone that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution. And to this testimony of Hume, might be added the eloquent tribute of Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of freedom, to the zeal and heroism with which the Puritans of New England endured the severest trials in establishing and maintaining in the wilds of America, a government which guaranteed to the citizens, the most prized religious and civil privileges. Skeptical as were the opinions of this great American statesman upon matters of religion, his views upon political affairs should command our respect. When, therefore, he admits the services of this sect of Christians to the cause of civil liberty, his testimony is a weighty argument for the position contended for.

But who, within the sound of my voice, will require an argument to show the benefits which the cause of civil liberty gained from the Pilgrims of New England? Moved by religious zeal and sustained by Providence, they forsook their homes and crossed a wide and trackless sea, to an unknown land, where they planted a colony, from which has sprung the freest government ever known to men. This little band of religious heroes had learned in the land of their nativity the bitterness of interference, by the civil powers, with individual freedom of thought and opinion, and, joined together in the bonds of Christian faith, they determined to endure the trials of expatriation, that they might establish a government which would be religiously and politically free. Sad and weak indeed was their con-

dition when they landed upon the shores of Massachusetts. But their faith and the power of ideas made them strong. As their pastor knelt with his flock upon the ground, with the bleak and howling winds that blew around them they mingled their prayers to the God of nations and men, to sustain them in their efforts to form a government, in which freedom of thought and opinion might be enjoyed by all. With the Pilgrims, liberty, whether civil or religious, was a serious concern. They learned from Holy Writ, that all men were entitled to enjoy it. They regarded it as an inalienable gift to all men by their Creator. They looked upon it as a gift of heaven, which no power could wrest from them. They claimed it as such, they believed it to be such, and as such they were resolved to enjoy it.

It is the power of the ideas, and the faith in the opinions, which this noble band entertained, that the people of the United States are mostly indebted for the formation of a republican form of government. Though public sentiment, in this severely proper sect, at times required the observance of harsh rules of conduct, which amounted almost to tyranny, yet freedom of thought and opinion, and the right of self-government—ideas eminently Christian—were ever held by them to be sacred, and were taught to their children as fundamental principles of government.

By the framers of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, these principles were laid as the corner stones, upon which has been erected the fabric of the civil government which we now enjoy. Our civil institutions owe their birth to a healthy public sentiment, and by this they must continue to exist. It becomes, then, pre-eminently, the duty of those who create public sentiment, to endeavor to form it in accordance with the pure and wholesome teachings of the Bible. It is from this source that justice, harmony, obedience to law, and all virtues can best be learned. Our national existence is sustained by public sentiment. It administers our laws, and protects the rights of the citizens. Laws cannot be enforced, unless public sentiment is in favor of their enforcement, and the citizens recognize the necessity of obedience to them. Unless this is the case, the penalty may be inflicted for the violation of the law, but the one suffering the penalty, will be regarded as a martyr.

The Bible teaches obedience to law, and those who form their opinions from the teachings of the blessed Master, will respect and obey the laws.

Order is Heaven's first law, and obedience to the powers that be, is a precept of Christianity, which the Bible plainly enjoins.

Let, then, the friends of education encourage the study of this Book of books. The diffusion of its principles, by creating a proper public sentiment, will prove to be the ark of our national safety, and the star which will surely guide our country in the path of greatness.

The most appalling danger that now threatens our nation, is the growing disregard of law. Articles in the political journals of the day, encouraging disregard of law and order, are not unfrequent occurrences.

If the laws which have been established for the government of society are violated with impunity—if offenders are permitted to go unpunished, and are lauded as men of true courage and honor, the number of offenders will soon become too great for the control of society, and the consequence will be the destruction of society itself.

We need fear no foreign foe, our swords have fought with theirs in deadly strife. We can build fleets and navies like theirs, and can marshal armies of men, as brave as ever faced a foe, or fell in freedom's holy cause. But when the laws of society are disregarded, and men cease to feel respect for them, we are in danger of being destroyed as a nation.

But let our citizens be guided by proper moral ideas and a public sentiment, such as Christianity inculcates, our country will grow in greatness and in power, until she reaches that high position of national influence and glory, which, doubtless, the Almighty Ruler designs her to attain.

ARTICLE V.

CHEMNICIUS REDIVIVUS.

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We propose in this article to present a synopsis of the chief points contained in the first chapter of the "*Examen Concilii Tridentini.*" We do so in order to bring this most important bulwark of our faith to the notice of those,

who hitherto have not had access to it, hoping that some may thus be led to its study, and that others may be benefited by its masterly discussions, even though presented in this imperfect form. We will endeavor to preserve, as nearly as possible, the line of argument pursued, as well as the spirit which animates it, although, in a mere abstract, much of its force is necessarily lost. With these introductory remarks, we leave the reader, and now let Dr. Martin Chemnitz speak for himself.

Of Holy Scripture.

For many years, there had been numerous complaints, that much error in doctrine, and very many abuses in rites, were prevalent in the Romish Church. It had been long expected that a Christian council would be convened, in which a remedy for such great evils would be provided. At the first session of the Council of Trent, the Pope, through his legates, announced that its design was, "by the removal of all errors, to preserve in the Church the purity of the Gospel,"—an object which was certainly very commendable. In the early Church councils, it was usual to place the Holy Gospels in the midst of the assemblies, in order to remind them what weapons to use, when contending for dogmas. The remark of Constantine, with which he opened the Council of Nice, is well known, viz.: "The writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, and the oracles of the ancient prophets instruct us clearly, what we should believe concerning divine things." What defences, then, did the Council of Trent determine to use, in support of its dogmas? Perhaps, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, as set forth in the canonical Scriptures? By no means. For they declared, that Holy Scripture shall not be the sole norm and rule of our judgment, but (1) determined that unwritten traditions having the authority only of long usage, should be considered equal to Scripture; (2) they removed the distinction between the canonical and apocryphal books of the Bible, so as to make the authority of both classes equal; (3) they determined to regard the Vulgate edition as authentic, so that no one dare reject it, even though its difference from the original be very clearly proven. Fearing that even this was not sufficient, they add a fourth point, upon which they place the greatest stress, viz.: "If any one have the interpretation of the Roman Church, even though he do not see

how, or even whether it agree with the text, he has the Word of God itself."

Do you infer, therefore, dear reader, from the declaration of their god, the Romish Pope, that these Tridentine fathers convened actually with the purpose to correct and change, according to the Canonical Scriptures, any errors in their doctrines, or abuses in their rites, which, from the Word of God, could be proven to be such? For the decrees of the Council make a loud confession, before the whole world, that in their Church, the Papists have many things which can, in no manner be proved, established and defended from the canonical Scriptures; the very defences in addition to Scripture and contrary to it, which they collect and so skilfully arrange, signifying not only that they did not assemble for the purpose of amending anything, but also that their design was, by means of these artifices, to retain, defend, and place upon the neck of the Church, those errors and abuses which had been discovered and refuted from the Word.

These matters, however, must be carefully examined. We propose, at this time, to consider the principal topics of the Papists, concerning the insufficiency, obscurity, and uncertainty of Scripture, and concerning traditions, and the authority of interpretation.

Not to recount at length the calumnies of individual Papists against Scripture, we may sum up their position thus: "Holy Scripture is not a canon, norm, or rule, according to which all discussions concerning faith are to be settled, for two reasons, viz: 1. Because it is insufficient, not embracing everything necessary for faith and holiness of life. 2. Because, in that which it does contain, it is obscure and ambiguous." Hence, they say, it is a matter of contention, and not the voice of a judge, a dumb teacher, a dead, yea and killing letter.

This is a very serious and important matter. The Papists may ascribe to us freakishness, or a desire to dissent, or any other names which they please, but God, who searches all hearts, sees and knows, that according to His commandment, we earnestly endeavor to prove all things, in order that we may not be borne about by every wind of doctrine, but that our faith may have a sure foundation. If we either were angels, or lived among angels, there would be no necessity for care and anxiety, lest the purity of that doctrine which has been revealed from heaven,

may be either adulterated or lost; but three very great obstacles are presented to us: 1. We are in this world, the judgment of which, in matters of faith, directly contradicts that of the Holy Ghost. 2. Our reason lifts itself up against the knowledge of God. 3. The devil is a liar, the father of lies, and the spirit of error. Hence, it happens, that doctrine divinely revealed, does not always, and everywhere, in this world, remain pure and incorrupt. Nor is the ordinary ministry a sufficiently sure criterion, Jer. 14: 14; 1 Kings 22 : 22. Therefore, we should consider in what manner, God mercifully made provision for his Church, at all times, that it might be certain what doctrine is to be embraced as indubitable, heavenly and divine, and according to what norm, those corruptions which are to be avoided, may be recognized and judged.

Of the cause, origin, and use of Holy Scripture.

From the beginning of the world, God revealed himself and his will to the human race, by a sure word, and manifest miracles which he added thereto. In order that this doctrine divinely revealed, might be delivered orally to posterity, the Lord made Adam the bishop of his age, doubtless, bearing witness to his authority, and also granting him long life, that by his testimony, he might preserve the pure doctrine from corruptions. But not long after this revelation, Cain departed from the purity of the Word of God. After the death of Adam, not only the descendants of Cain, but also the sons of God corrupted their own ways; in which corruption, there was without doubt, especially an adulteration of the Word. In the old world, therefore, the heavenly doctrine was transmitted by the living voice, without writing; but inasmuch as the imagination of man's heart is evil, purity of doctrine was not faithfully preserved by traditions, but was corrupted and adulterated —yea, at length lost. For God said, My Spirit will not always strive with man. To Noah, God restored purity of doctrine, and added a fuller declaration of it, both before and after the flood; which he again transmitted orally to posterity. When his descendents scattered, the posterity of Shem were chosen as the custodians of the purer doctrine. But consider how faithfully the oral tradition of the heavenly doctrine was preserved in that family, which then bore the title of the true Church. For two hundred years did not intervene between the confusion of tongues and the birth of Abraham; and yet Terah, the

father of Abraham and Nahor, served other gods. From these observations, we can learn how unreliable is the guardianship of New Testament doctrine, which the Papists assign to unwritten traditions; especially as we have no promises now, concerning such new and peculiar revelations, as they then had. The world now, too, is in its extreme old age and dotage; then it was in its youth and full strength.

Again by peculiar revelations made to Abraham, God restored purity of doctrine. In the succeeding ages, speaking also immediately to Isaac and Jacob, he confirmed its pureness. When Jacob was about to die, he commended this to his sons, to be diligently preserved and handed down to posterity. Although the patriarch Jacob left twelve sons, it is very likely that the tradition of the sound doctrine, was preserved without corruption. But from the death of the sons of Jacob to the departure from Egypt, not much more than a hundred years elapsed. But how faithfully, within a space of time so short, the purity of doctrine was preserved by traditions, appears from Ex. 20 : 7—10.

Just as before then, inasmuch as tradition did not preserve in purity the trust committed to it, God, by means of peculiar revelations, to which also many wonderful miracles were added, through Moses restored the purity of his doctrine, to the old sources of the Patriarchs, as the book of Genesis clearly shows.

I have thus briefly recounted the history of two thousand four hundred and fifty-four years, in which the heavenly doctrine revealed by God, was handed down, without divinely inspired Scripture, by the living voice alone, through the instrumentality of those who were ordained for this purpose, and whose commission was attested by revelations from heaven. We have thus shown how unfaithfully the tradition which had been received from the patriarchs, was retained and preserved by their posterity. These examples exhibit the manner in which traditions guard and preserve the heavenly doctrine. But then it seemed good to God, by means of new and peculiar revelations, to restore the purity of his word. It is not within our sphere to inquire why God used this mode and no other; we should consider only the manner, which in the time of Moses, he appointed, viz.: By means of writing, divinely approved and confirmed, to preserve purity of

doctrine, in order that new and peculiar revelations might not constantly be sought, on account of controversies arising concerning the old pure doctrine of the patriarchs. History shows, that God not only ordained, but also by his own example, since he was the first to write the Decalogue, began and consecrated the way, to preserve and retain the purity of the heavenly doctrine, by means of divinely inspired scripture. This adds much to the dignity and authority of Holy Scripture; for if the writing of the holy volumes had been begun by men, it could be opposed by the usage of more than two thousand years, in which, in the better ages of the world, divine doctrine had been handed down orally. But lest the writings of men of God might be esteemed of no authority for the confirmation of dogmas, and the refutation of errors, the Lord was unwilling to write the whole law himself, but commanded Moses to write the rest; and that the people of God might be sure that scripture was delivered, not by any human will, but that it was divinely inspired, God bore witness to the authority of Moses, by means of very great miracles.

The use of scripture, he expressly shows in Deut. 31, where he commands it to be read before all Israel, men, women, children and strangers, in order that those hearing, may learn to observe and fulfill all the words of this law; and commands the Levites: "Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be a witness against thee; for I know that after my death, ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you." Hence, after the writing of the holy record, the Church of the children of Israel became the pillar and ground of the truth, not because it determined anything according to its own will, or from unwritten traditions, but because it was made the custodian of Holy Scripture, in which God declared the heavenly doctrine, Rom. 3 : 2.

After Moses, God raised up other prophets, whose faith and authority he approved by wonderful testimonies, as is clearly shown by the history of Elijah and Elisha. To Joshua he declared, Jos. 3 : 7, "This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee." But although their authority was thus attested by miracles, yet they had no power to affirm, or declare anything concerning the doctrine of the patriarchs and Moses, contrary to that

which was written in the books of Moses, but from divine revelation, added clearer interpretations, as the light of the New Testament more nearly approached. They only wrote such a summary of his entire doctrine, as God deemed necessary for posterity; and their writings were placed with the books of Moses in the side of the ark. In this manner, the canon of the prophetic scriptures was composed.

I lay special stress upon this, in order that the Papists may see the kind of foundation which they have. For they cannot deny, that although more things were handed down by Moses and the prophets, than have been written, yet in the scriptures of the Old Testament, we have all of the doctrine of the patriarchs, Moses, and the prophets, which it is necessary for us to know. Our adversaries are compelled to admit this; for all the claims of the Jews are to be examined and tested, according to the norm of scripture, in order that that which agrees with it may be approved, and that which differs from it may be condemned. For when Christ and the apostles, in the New Testament, quote from the prophets, they do not refer us to unwritten traditions, but scripture. Those, too, who lived in the time of the prophets, simply cited scripture as the norm for deciding controversies, and testing corruptions. Thus, when in the time of Ahaz, the altar of the Lord was removed, and one from Damascus substituted, and corruptions were widely prevalent, which claimed the name and title of revelations, Is. 8 : 20, simply declared: "To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." When Jehoshaphat was about to restore the true religion, after it had been corrupted by many superstitions, it is written, that "he walked in the first ways of his father David." 2 Chr. 17 : 4. But hear, according to what rule and norm the corruptions were cast aside, and purity of doctrine was restored, 2 Chr. 17 : 7—9 : "In the third year of his reign, he sent to his princes, to teach in the cities of Judah; and with them he sent Levites, and Elishama and Jehoram priests. And they taught in Judah, and had the book of the law of the Lord with them; and went abroad throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people." So, also, when Hezekiah removed the corruptions introduced by Ahaz, 2 Chr. 31 : 4. It is worthy of notice, too, that when Manasseh and Ammon wished to lead the people

astray from the true religion of their fathers, to idolatry, they hid the book of the law of the Lord; for under king Josiah, Hilkiah the priest found it in the ruins of the temple. "And the king went up into the house of the Lord, and all the men of Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great, and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant, which was found in the house of the Lord. And the king made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all their heart and all their soul, to perform the words of this covenant which were written in this book." 2 Kings 23 : 1—3. So, too, when the Prophets accuse the people concerning corruptions of doctrine, they say, that a departure has been made from the law of the Lord, which certainly is comprised in Scripture.

According to this norm, Paul, before king Agrippa, proves that he taught nothing false, or strange, Acts 26 : 22. Abraham also dismisses Dives from special revelations to the hearing of Moses and the Prophets; and that no one should understand this as referring to unwritten traditions, Christ, in recounting the doctrine of the fathers and apostles, from the beginning of the world, Luke 24 : 27, interprets Scripture, and says: "Thus it is written." This testimony is attentively to be considered. For, through his resurrection, Christ had already entered into his glory, and could have recounted many things concerning the true unwritten traditions of the patriarchs and prophets; but yet he brings forward only those things which are written. For he wished to prove, that in these are contained all things which answer the question, What was the doctrine and faith of the patriarchs and prophets?

We have shown, therefore, 1. The origin of divinely inspired Scripture, and who was its author. 2. The occasion, on account of which it was begun, viz.: Because, by tradition, purity of doctrine was not preserved, but, on the contrary, through it, many false opinions were introduced. 3. The use for which God ordained it, viz.: That it should be a norm and rule of faith, and of decisions in controversies. 4. That by divine inspiration, such portions of the doctrine of the patriarchs and prophets were selected for being committed to writing, as God deemed necessary and sufficient for posterity. 5. We have answered the objec-

tion which is urged against the perfection and sufficiency of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, viz.: That doctrine was taught by the patriarchs and prophets orally, more frequently, and in more words than could be comprised in a few small books.

These points considered aright, beautifully explain the discussion concerning the Scriptures of the New Testament. For the evangelists and apostles committed their doctrine to writing, for the same reason, on account of which Scripture first originated; and from this, we can judge most correctly the reason, cause, and use of the New Testament Scriptures. But first, a few remarks must be made concerning the traditions which are added to Scripture, as if it were imperfect, or which are opposed to it, as if it were ambiguous and obscure.

Resemblance of the Traditions of the Papists to those of the Pharisees and Talmudists.

The Gospel history clearly shows, that the purity of the doctrine of the Word of God, among the Jews, had been corrupted in the time of Christ. But if we should inquire into the cause and origin of these corruptions, since the Jews possessed and read the Holy Scriptures, the Gospel history replies, that these were due to false traditions. For although Scripture was clear, they opposed to it their traditions, so as to accommodate the Word of God to them, and to derive from them interpretations, having the title: "It has been said by one of old." Besides, they had many vain traditions, in addition to Scripture; the observance of which, they imagined so necessary, as either to prefer, or certainly make them equal to the written commandments of God. Whence do you think that this persuasion concerning traditions originated, unless from the idea, that the Scriptures of the Old Testament, did not comprehend all that was necessary for faith and piety of life? There is no doubt, that many traditions, neither false, nor vain, concerning the discourses of the patriarchs and prophets, were still treasured up in the memory of the pious. But then, when there was a departure from the pure doctrine, the persuasion at length arose, that inasmuch as the patriarchs and prophets, both did and said more than was written, traditions should be regarded with equal reverence and respect, although they did not agree, or even conflicted with Scripture.

Thus is shown the great resemblance between the traditions of the Pharisees, and those which the Papists seek to obtrude upon the Church. For the latter also pretend, that the observance of unwritten traditions is necessary.

But Andradius and his adherents will take exception to this; for they will say, that the Pharisees and Rabbies made their traditions; whilst the traditions of the Papists have been received from the apostles themselves, preserved by a constant succession of bishops, and handed down to our times. But the Jews also deny that their traditions have been framed, without authority, by mere men. For, they have invented a long and uninterrupted succession, by which the traditions which God himself delivered, and Moses received, are said to have been handed down to posterity in good faith. They teach, that on Mount Sinai, Moses received from God, not only what he wrote, but also a mystic and hidden explanation of the law, which he neither wrote, nor wished to be written, but delivered it orally, and thus also wished posterity to hand it down; and that both that which Moses wrote, and that which he handed down orally, are alike the word of God, and to be regarded with equal reverence. Consider what a splendid succession they have contrived, by which this tradition has been preserved. Moses, say they, delivered it to Eli the high-priest; Eli to Samuel the prophet; Samuel to king David; David to Ahijah the prophet; Ahijah to Elijah; Elijah to Elisha; Elisha to the high-priest Jehoiada; Jehoiada to Zachariah the prophet; Zachariah to Hosea; Hosea to Amos; Amos to Isaiah; Isaiah to Micah; Micah to Joel; Joel to Nahum; Nahum to Habakkuk; and then in a succession continued through Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Ezra, until at length through Hillel, Simeon, Gamaliel, and others, it was transmitted to the authors of the Talmud. This succession is, indeed, much more respectable, than that of which the Papists boast in their line of Romish Popes, among whom there are many who are monsters, rather than men. Yet, I would like to hear what answer Andradius would give a Jew, who desired to free himself from the traditions of the Talmud. For I do not think that he has lost his reason to such an extent, as to decide, that the books of the Talmud are to be received with reverence, equal to that yielded to the Biblical Books.

The New Testament Scriptures.

Our opponents having felt this difficulty, seek to avoid

it by contending, that we must reason concerning the New, in a different way, from that in which we reason concerning the Old Testament. A peculiarity of the New Testament is, that God ordered it to be committed to writing, neither on tablets. or charts, nor with pen or ink, nor in any other way; but commended it to the minds of hearers, and determined that it should thus be preserved and handed down without writing: in proof of which they refer to Jer. 31 : 33, and 2 Cor. 3 : 3.

What, therefore, shall we reply to this? Our answer is this: If God actually determined, that the doctrine of Christ and the apostles should be preserved without writing, and be transmitted only orally, we will be content to employ this mode, which we have above shown, God used for more than two thousand years from the beginning of the world. For he, of couse, knew what was best. But the question is, as to whether God did actually determine upon such a mode. Inasmuch as in many things, the Papists have caused us to suspect their good faith, according to the command of Christ, John 5 : 39, and the example of the Bereans, Acts 17 : 11, we will search the Scriptures, in order to see whether the things which the Papists assert, are actually so. And, lo, we immediately discover, that that is not true which they say concerning the opinion of Jeremiah and Paul. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews, right in the midst of his discussion, whilst commending in letters the doctrine of the New Testament, quotes the passage from Jeremiah, Heb. 8 : 10. Paul, too, had already written both epistles to the Thessalonians, and the first epistle to the Corinthians, when he wrote the passage which they cite from him. So, that we must be excused for considering, that the apostles understood the meaning of Jeremiah and Paul much better, than do the Papists. They, no doubt, will again take exception to this, saying, that they do not declare that no portion of the doctrine of Christ and the apostles should be committed to writing; but only that many, and those the chief matters, are to be left to unwritten traditions. I am fully aware of this position, but the question here is, whether the meaning they ascribe to these passages, is that of Paul and Jeremiah. I examine the passage in Jeremiah, and do not find that he says, that the New Testament is to be written partly on charts, and partly in tne hearts; nor do I find that Paul says, that of the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, some portions are

written with ink, on tablets or charts, and other,s by the Spirit of God, in the hearts. The true explanation of these passages I will briefly cite from Augustine: "The Old Testament is the law of commandments written outside of men; by which we are taught from without, our conscience bearing witness (for it is a work of the law written in our hearts,) as to the kind of obedience which God requires of us, and condemning those who do not live in conformity with this norm, but it does not afford the power of performing those things which it requires. For so sad is the corruption of nature through sin, that when God reveals his will, and presents it through the ministry, whether by voice, or in writing, yet the old man, inasmuch as he is without the spirit of regeneration, even when he exerts his own natural strength, and endeavors to do any thing, cannot truly understand, embrace, and observe the spiritual things which are presented in the Word. But the New Testament is the promise of grace, on account of the Son as Mediator; with which are joined the promise and offer of the Holy Ghost, who, by his efficacy and work, writes within the heart, the doctrine proclaimed, whether in writing, or orally by the ministry, *i. e.*, he enlightens the mind, and regenerates the heart and will, in order that we may be able to embrace from the heart, the promise concerning the Messiah. To those who believe in his name, gives he the power to become the sons of God, John 1; 12. This is what Jeremiah means when he says, That the Holy Ghost writes the doctrine of the Gospel in the hearts of believers, in order to fulfill the promise: "I will be their God, and they shall be my people," even writing the law in the hearts of believers, so that in the inner man, they delight in the law of God, Rom. 7 : 22, and begin to obey it from the heart, Rom. 6 : 22." This most important doctrine contained in this passage of Jeremiah, the Papists not only pass over, but obscure and erase it, by the substitution of another explanation. For the Holy Ghost effects that concerning which Jeremiah speaks, not in any enthusiastic manner, without means, but through the ministry of God. In order, therefore, that the Word which is the only organ of the Holy Ghost, might not be adulterated, or be in any way uncertain, God commanded this to be committed to writing in the Old Testament. But we will now speak concerning the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles. We perfectly agree, as to the fact, that the doctrine of the New Testament is, that which Christ, in the time of his flesh, preached

in his ministry, with his own mouth, and which the Apostles, led into all truth by the Holy Ghost, preached throughout all the world to every creature.

It is evident that this doctrine was handed down orally, without writing for some years, and that afterwards it was committed to writing by the Apostles. Andradius having made mention of these first years of Christianity, in which the doctrine of the Gospel was delivered without writing, exclaims: "How great, therefore, is the impudence and boldness of these most trifling and abandoned men, who think that the manner of delivering, propagating, and preserving the Gospel, by which the Church of Christ was born, educated, and extended far and wide, is vain and trifling; for without controversy, that mode which the Son of God began, and the Holy Ghost leading the Apostles into all truth, employed, must be the best and safest for handing down, propagating, and preserving the doctrine of the Gospel." But to what does this amount? Any Talmudist, or Cabalist might employ this same argument in behalf of his own traditions, thus: "How great is the insolence of these most trifling and abandoned men, who wish no longer to receive that manner of handing down the Word of God, by which the first Church in the world was born, educated, and for two thousand four hundred and fifty four years, propagated and preserved? So that in addition to Scripture, they will not receive the Cabala with equal reverence."

But it does not follow, that because the Church of the New Testament was without the written Gospel for twenty years, on this account the Church would be better, if it were always without scripture. Andradius may, perhaps, deny that he means this; but then we again ask, What does such an argument as this which they argue, amount to? For twenty years the Apostles without writing, by tradition alone, propagated and preserved the doctrine of Gospel; therefore, even now, since the doctrine of the Gospel has been committed to writing, that first method is to be preserved, and in such a manner, too, that tradition may be opposed to Scripture?

If we be asked, why the doctrine of the Gospel was not immediately committed to writing, we answer, That it was first, by means of signs and wonders throughout the whole world, to be confirmed against the calumnies and contradictions of Jews and Gentiles, and to be approved by the assent of believers, so that we might be certain, that that

which was written, was not doubtful or uncertain, but as Luke says, surely believed, *i. e.*, confirmed by God, through the Apostles, throughout the whole world.

In order that this truth may be made clear, we will inquire concerning each of the books of the New Testament in order, on account of what causes, and with what design they were committed to writing, and what use both the writers themselves, and the primitive Church wished to make of them.

1. The earliest scripture of the New Testament, is the decree of the Council at Jerusalem, Acts 15. The very first words of this decree are: "Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us, have troubled you with words subverting your souls, saying, Ye must be be circumcised and keep the law, to whom we gave no commandments," &c. The design, therefore, of this writing was, that thereby the true and genuine opinion of the Apostles might be declared, lest any one might obtrude upon the Church, an adulterated, or supposititious decision, as if it had been handed down from the Apostles. Therefore, the experience of the very first years of the preaching of the Gospel shows, that its purity could not be preserved by traditions, and, that it needed the safe-guard of writing.

2. Matthew is universally acknowledged to have been the first of the Evangelists to write. The following reasons, on account of which he wrote, have been given:* *a.* To communicate, by means of writing, what his necessary absence prevented him from teaching orally. *b.* To preserve in letters, what could not be retained in the weak memories of his hearers. *c.* That those who had not an opportunity to hear the voice of the Apostles, might have in writing, a summary of the doctrine which they taught. *d.* To counteract the efforts of heretics, to obtrude their errors upon the Church, under the name of Gospel.

History also teaches us,† that the Apostles and apostolic men regarded the Gospel of Matthew with reverence, and by their own example, taught the Church the proper use to make of it.

3. Almost all give the second place in order of time to Mark, although Clemens Alexandrius places Luke before

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* Eusebius, Chrysostom, Thomas Aquinas.

† Jerome and Nicephorus.

him, and Irenæus even declares, that Mark wrote after the death of Peter and Paul. Concerning him, the testimony of antiquity is, that he committed to writing that which Peter his preceptor taught.*

4. There is no necessity to adduce the testimony of others, as to the design for which Luke wrote; for his introduction clearly explains this, Luke 1 : 1—4. Even in the time of the Apostles, then, it was necessary to provide such a remedy against the danger of an adulteration of doctrine. Special attention is to be paid to ἀσφάλειαν, verse 4, which denotes the most careful guardianship, as in Acts 16 : 23; Matt. 27 : 65, or such a strengthening of anything against foreign force attacking it, that it may be preserved without the least injury. For such a guardianship of purity of doctrine, contrary to the attacks of corruptions, Luke declares, that he wrote his gospel.

5. John had survived all the Apostles. Although their writings were received, yet the heretics Ebion and Cerinthus arose, who originated a controversy concerning the divinity of Christ, maintaining, that some of the Apostles had orally transmitted certain doctrines, which were not contained in the written records. Against this very heresy, John wrote his Gospel. Its conclusion is especially noteworthy, in which the Apostle says, that in the writings of the Evangelists, all things are included which are necessary for faith and salvation, John 20 : 31: "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and, that believing, you might have life through his name." The reason that not everything was written, John tells us, not as the Pope would, on the pretext and title of traditions, but because the world could not contain them. Of this, Augustine correctly remarks, that it must not be understood as referring to the mass of books, but that the Holy Ghost had written in Scripture as much as believers, in the infirmity of this life could receive.

Properly speaking, there is no difference between the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles. Yet, for the sake of order, we prefer to make a distinction here, according to the explanation of Luke, Acts 1 : 1, considering the former as "all that Jesus began both to do and teach, until the day in which he was taken up." This doctrine concerning the words and works of Christ, so far as the Holy Ghost

* Irenæus, Eusebius, Nicephorus.

judged that they were necessary to be known, we have shown, has been comprised in the writings of the Evangelists. But by the doctrine of the Apostles, we understand that which after the ascension of Christ, they proclaimed throughout the whole world. Of this, we will now speak. It is evident, that the Apostles at first published their doctrine orally, appealing, in confirmation of what they said, to the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Their design in afterwards committing their doctrine to writing, we propose to consider, just as we have considered the writings of the Evangelists. If we can prove that the doctrine of the Apostles has been committed to writing, to such an extent as the Holy Ghost deemed necessary for faith and life, we establish the fact, that the Holy Scriptures are the canon, norm, rule, ground, and pillar of our whole faith, so that to this rule, all matters involved in religious controversies are to be brought, and by it to be examined.

1. In order that there might be no necessity either to divine from conjecture, or to seek in the prattle of traditions, what was the first state of the Church, the Holy Ghost desired that there should exist in the Church, to all posterity, a certain, authentic, and canonical writing, since he was not ignorant, that under this title, much that was uncertain, vain, suppostitious, and false, would be obtruded upon the Church. For, since Luke, by the writing of his Gospel, had obtained credit and authority in the Church, he also prepared a history of the Acts of the Apostles. This history supplies us with all the information concerning them, which it is necessary for us to know. But against this, they urge the fact, that this book does not contain a complete account of all the acts of each of the Apostles. For instance, very little is narrated concerning Peter; and so also from 2 Cor. XI, Rom. XV, Gal. I and II, it is manifest, that very many particulars in the life of Paul are omitted. We reply: The same test applied to the Old Testament will show, that the acts of not all the patriarchs or prophets are recorded. Not all the prophets committed their doctrine to writing, yea, the writings of some, as Nathan, Gad, Shemiah, and others, God has permitted to be lost. Inasmuch, too, as the faith of the Apostles was one, their doctrine the same, and their ministry common, even if the acts of all the Apostles had been written, they would not have been different from those, of which we have a

record. Well has Augustine said: "Since the Lord, in the time of the Apostles, was unwilling that the acts of the remaining Apostles should be written, who of us will say what these were, or if he would dare to say it, whence will he prove it?"

The two chief objects for which St. Paul wrote his epistles, have been given by Nicephorus: *a.* As memorials embracing in a summary, that which they had delivered orally to the churches. *b.* As explanations of that which they deemed it necessary, that those who had already been instructed in the rudiments of the faith, should know more fully. This may be shown from the epistles in detail.

2. The first epistle to the Thessalonians, seems to be the one which was the earliest written. The occasion is given in Acts 17. A tumult had been excited by unbelieving Jews. Paul was fearful that some might be offended because of persecution, and being unable to go to the Thessalonian church, sends instead, this letter, exhorting them to walk as they had received of him, 1 Thess. 4 : 1. Another reason was to supply those things which were wanting to their faith. This he could not do orally, and, therefore, seeks to accomplish his purpose, by means of an epistle.

3. Second Thessalonians was written not long after. The second verse of the second chapter, gives us still another reason why the Apostle wrote. For, inasmuch as the doctrine of the Apostles had authority, on account of the testimony of the Spirit, by which it was accompanied, others, also claimed this; so that they boasted of the Spirit and divine revelations, and demanded that their words be received with reverence equal to that given to the Apostles. Hence, Paul writes: "Be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled neither by spirit nor by word." If, then, even during the lives of the Apostles, there was danger from persons professing to teach Apostolic doctrine, how much greater would it be now, were reliance to be placed upon unwritten traditions.

But from this very epistle, the Papists derive an argument, which, like the shield of Achilles, they present against Scripture, in behalf of their own traditions. For Paul says (chapter 2 : 15): "Hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle." "Therefore," say they, "it is very clear, that not everything necessary is comprised in the writings of the Apos-

tles, but only that those things, which having been delivered orally by the Apostles, through traditions have come to us, are to be received with equal reverence." I confess, that of all the arguments of the Papists against Scripture, none is more specious than this. For, by these words, at first Scripture seems to confess its own insufficiency, and to refer us to unwritten traditions. But I can reply, Paul was right in saying: "Hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle," for their doctrine was not contrary or diverse, but one and the same. The preceding words clearly explain to what traditions he refers, 2 Thess. 2 : 13, 14. I grant, too, that when Paul wrote to the Thessalonians, not all things concerning the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles, which were to be received, had as yet been committed to writing. According to the opinion of Irenæus, which my adversary Andradius follows, neither Matthew, nor any other of the Evangelists had as yet written, and Paul had only written his first epistle, and was then writing his second. So that he was right in saying, and no one disputes it, that all things necessary to be believed, were not contained in these two epistles, and that the Thessalonians, in addition to it, should hold those things not contained in the epistle, which they had received from him orally. I can illustrate this. If any one, whilst the Old Testament canon was as yet incomplete, would have received the books of Moses, as the Pharisees afterwards did, so as to reject what the Prophets would deliver from God, he would be justly blamed. For then it would have been right to say: Hold the doctrine which God has delivered to you, whether by the writings of Moses, or by the mouth of the Prophets. But if any Cabalist or Talmudist, after the old Testament canon had been completed, would seek to use this in favor of his traditions, I ask Andradius and the other Papists, whether they would support the following argument: "In the time of the Prophets, it was correctly said, that the Word of God is to be received, not only as written by Moses, but also as delivered orally by the prophets; therefore, also, since the time of the prophets, when the Old Testament canon has been completed, not everything belonging to the doctrine of the patriarchs and prophets necessary to be held, is contained in the books of Holy Scripture, but especially those things also which Pharisees and Cabalists have published, under the title of traditions, are to be re-

ceived as of equal authority?" I do not think that Andradius would admit this.

4. I Timothy seems to be next in order of time, written from Phrygia, or Macedonia. Paul himself explains the reason for which it was written in 1 Tim. 3 : 15. This he surely did, not on account of any weakness on the part of Timothy; but inasmuch as the authority of Timothy was not equal to that of the Apostle, the latter wishes to consign to writing a testimonial of the office of his disciple, in order that no one might despise his youth, but that he might prove to others, that the office was entrusted to him by Paul, and that the Church might thus be sure that Timothy, when he preached these things, was a good minister of Christ. The book of Acts also tells us, that Timothy did not remain long at Ephesus. Another reason for this epistle, therefore, was, that after the departure of Timothy, they might have the Apostolic form of the ministry, as it is to be preserved in the Church, which is the pillar and ground of the truth.

5. The design of the epistle to Titus, is proved in the same manner, as is evident from the second and third chapters.

6 In the very beginning of his epistles to the Corinthians, Paul addresses them to "all who in every place call upon the name of the Lord Jesus." The reasons on account of which he wrote the first epistle to the Corinthians are these: As some had received the Gospel from Paul; others from Apollos; others from Peter, who had been one of Christ's personal companions, in the days of his flesh; and still others had heard Christ himself teaching, and had thus come to him, a contest had arisen in reference to the precedency of traditions. Paul therefore, shows, that a decision must be given, not according to a difference in the rank of the persons teaching, but according to the unity and truth of the doctrine. For "Other foundation can no man lay except that is laid, which is Christ Jesus." He who plants, and he who waters, are one. Thus he declares the agreement of his doctrine with that of the other Apostles, so that no one can object, that in the New Testament, we have the doctrine only of Paul, and not that of the other Apostles. But inasmuch as some of the Corinthians had departed from the form of the doctrine, which they had received orally from Paul, and certain corruptions in reference to sin, the Lord's Supper, and the resur-

rection, had entered the Church, he desired in this epistle, to commit to writing the chief points of his tradition, viz.: how he had laid the foundation, how he had given milk to the Corinthians, viz.: as he himself writes: "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified." Hence, he calls his preaching, the word of the Cross; and, in the fifteenth chapter, says: The Gospel which I preached unto you, which ye also have received, and wherein ye stood. For I delivered unto you first of all, that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins," etc. Therefore, the doctrine of Christ, just as taught by the Evangelists, was the subject of his preaching and tradition, and this he calls the foundation, chapter 3.

Hence, one reason of his writing was, in his absence, to teach what, whilst present he had delivered orally. Another reason was, inasmuch as the foundation was laid, to teach what Apostolic structure should be built upon it, to show what was gold, silver, precious stones, and how wood, hay and stubble which others build upon it, could be recognized. But, if any one should object, that either certain other important articles, or certain just explanations are to be desired in this epistle, we reply, that we do not so embrace any epistle of Paul, as not to consider and compare the rest; but, in the collected writings of the New Testament, we affirm, that we have all the articles of the Apostolic doctrine, and all such explanations as are necessary.

The second epistle to the Corinthians, was written not long afterwards from Macedonia. From Timothy, he had learned that there were some among the Corinthians who sought to attack his doctrine, by contending, that his authority was inferior to that of the other Apostles, who had seen the Lord. Hence, in this epistle, he claims for himself his true authority. The Church, therefore, was disturbed already in reference to traditions, whilst the Apostles were still living. The false teachers had taught also, that Paul in his absence, spoke by letter, very differently from what he did orally, when present; and, he, therefore, declares (1 : 13): "We write none other things unto you, than what ye read, or acknowledge," thus declaring, that he wrote nothing else than what, whilst present, he had delivered orally, and signifying, that they should subject his epistles to the judgment of those, who who were prophets, or spiritual. He, therefore, teaches now in no way

different from that which he used, whilst giving oral instruction, during his life.

7. The design of the epistle to the Romans, Paul himself explains (15 : 14, 15, 16,): "I myself also am persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish one another; nevertheless, brethren, I have written the more boldly unto you, in some sort, as putting you in mind, because of the grace that is given me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable." Theodoret asks, why the epistle to the Romans was given the first place, when it was not the first written, and answers, that this was done because it contains doctrine of every kind, and a full and accurate discussion of dogmas.

8. The remaining epistles were written during his imprisonment. The Galatians had departed from the doctrine of the Gospel, as they had received it from Paul. But, as the epistle clearly shows, they had not entirely cast away their profession of the Gospel, but still retained the Old Testament history, and the history concerning Christ. But, Paul affirms, that they had deprived themselves of the Gospel, by losing the distinction between the Law and the Gospel, and the true office and use of each; by not preserving aright the purity of the doctrine concerning sin, the works of the law, justification by faith, and the conseqent renewal. Here, we must attentively observe, that the doctrine of the Gospel, consists not only in either historical narration, or assent, concerning the words and deeds of Christ, and the rest which is narrated in Holy Scriptures; but especially in its true interpretation and accommodation to repentance, faith, justification, hope and love. It is for this, that Paul contends, in the epistle to the Galatians.

But we will consider what remedy he opposed to these corruptions, which, under the name of traditions, were so widely diffused. He shows his authority by many arguments, leads the Galatians to that Gospel, which they had before received from his voice, and adds: "Though we," the apostles, "or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." What the Gospel was, which Paul had preached to the Galatians, and they had

received, there is no necessity for us to divine either from conjecture, or the report of unwritten traditions. For Paul has fully explained this in the epistle to the Galatians. Hence, Basil and Augustine have correctly applied this passage of Paul to Scripture, thus: If any one preach any other gospel in addition to that which is comprised and delivered in Scripture, let him be accursed. For Paul does not say merely, "contrary," but, if it be "in addition to" (παρ ὅ) this, even though it be the least particle of leaven, the purity of the whole mass is corrupted thereby.

9. In Ephesians 3 : 3, 4, we find a passage declaring the design of the writings of St. Paul, "As I wrote afore in a few words, whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ." If, therefore, the question be asked, What was the mystery, the knowledge of which, Paul had received by the revelation of the Son of God, which he had announced among the Gentiles, which believing Jews and Gentiles had received, which the Ephesians had heard, when Paul declared to them the whole council of God, through which they would be built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets? Paul replies, that this he had written before, indeed, briefly, but yet in such a manner, that according to this as a norm, his knowledge into the mystery of Christ could be understood.

10. The epistle to the Philippians, also affords testimony upon this point. For it says (3 : 1,): "To write the same things to you, to me indeed is not grievous, but for you it is safe." But this "same things," cannot refer to other epistles which he had before written to the Philippians; for of this, there is no proof. Therefore, it must refer to that which he had before delivered to them orally, to which there is a reference in Phil. 4 : 9: "Those things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do." For thus writing, that which he had previously preached, he adds the reason: "To me, indeed, is not grievous, but for you it is safe," (ἀσφαλές.) How beautifully this last word declares the cause, on account of which Scripture is written, we have considered above, in connection with the Gospel of Luke.

11. For these reasons, Paul wrote to those churches, which he had founded and instructed orally. But the Colossians and Laodiceans never saw his face in the flesh. He tells us the design for which he wrote to them in Col.

2 : 1—4. The Colossians had learned the Gospel from Epaphras; but Paul wrote to them: *a.* That from the written approval of an apostle, they might have confidence, that that which they had received from Epaphras, who was not an apostle, was not an uncertain or corrupted dogma, but the word of truth of the Gospel, which was preached under the whole heaven. *b.* That they might not be led astray by philosophy, or the traditions of men, Paul shows that his anxiety, lest anything either under his own name, or that of others, should be diffused, is so great, that he calls it ἀγῶνα. As, therefore, he could not be personally present, he performs this office by means of writing. In so doing, he did not write merely the words, That is true which Epaphras has taught you; but he repeats the heads of the doctrine of the Apostles, in order, that recognizing it as the same, they might thus have confidence in that which they had heard from Epaphras. But Paul wrote this epistle not only for the use of the Colossians, but wished it to be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, who, like the Colossians, had not seen his face in the flesh. Therefore, these epistles were, likewise, intended for all of us, who have not heard the voice of Paul, and seen his face in the flesh, in order that from them we might have assurance of faith. This is the design of Paul, and upon it hangs the entire controversy between us and the Papists.

12. Here, we may also add an observation from the epistle to the Hebrews. Concerning its author, we will not now treat. He says (2 : 1,): Lest παραῤῥυῶμεν. For Chrysostom says correctly, that when the heard word is not retained, or preserved, it is said to flow out. Hence, we learn why the epistle was written, viz.: That those things should not flow out, which had been received from tradition. Although in the last chapter he tells us, that he has written in few words, yet he embraces two things, in which the sum of the Apostolic doctrine is comprised. For the fifth and sixth chapters show the rudiments of the Apostolic doctrine, as declared in the Churches, in the time of the Apostles. Only the mere heads are there recounted; their full explanation, we find in the other writings of the Apostles. But the principal argument of the epistle to the Hebrews, is this: What is to be understood as the solid food of adults, which was usually given them, after they had received the first rudiments of the Christian faith.

13. Of the epistles of Paul, there yet remains the second to Timothy. Inasmuch as this was written a little before his death, and Paul wished to leave it, as it were, in the place of a last will and testament, its testimony in reference to the entire Scripture of the New Testament, is of especial importance. He says (1 : 13, 14,): "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me." "That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost." Chap. 2 : 2: "The things that thou hast heard of me, among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." Chap. 3 : 14: "Continue thou in the things which thou hast heard and been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them." There is no doubt that these passages refer to the doctrine which Paul had delivered orally to Timothy. But whence can we, who have heard the voice neither of Paul, nor Timothy, be certain as to what traditions were intrusted to Timothy by Paul? It has been clearly shown, that for this very reason, Paul committed his doctrine to letters.

Just as John wrote: "These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing, ye might have life." So, also, Paul says in this epistle (3 : 15,): "The Holy Scriptures are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus." Repetitions of this kind add to their weight. The connection clearly shows, that reference is here made to the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments. Those of the New Testament had not been written when Timothy was a child; hence, the reference must be, at least partially to those of the Old Testament. But to infer that those of the New Testament were excluded, would be equivalent to make the Apostle say, that those of this class, which were then extant, were not divinely inspired, nor profitable for doctrine. As he says, "all Scripture," he evidently means that of both Testaments. For, as all the canonical writings had then been published, except those of John; and there was no doubt concerning the inspiration of the Old Testament, Paul here speaks principally concerning those of the New Testament, But you may object, that no one denies that the Scripture of the New Testament is profitable; yet, to infer from this, its sufficiency is not a legitimate mode of reasoning. For the book of Ruth also is profitable for doctrine. But, who would

infer from this, that it contained everything necessary for faith and life, so that nothing should be received, except what could be directly proven from it? I reply: If Paul had said only, "All Scripture is profitable for doctrine," I grant that this would not declare its sufficiency. But he adds, "that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto good works." From 1 Tim. 6 : 11, it is evident that the term "man of God," here refers to "minister of the Gospel." The design of Scripture therefore, is, that the minister of the Gospel may be perfect, *i. e.*, complete in all parts, ἄρτιος. The uses of Scripture, as Paul recounts them, show its perfection and sufficiency. He maintains four: 1. Διδασκαλίαν, referring to the setting forth and proof of doctrines. 2. Ἔλεγχον, the refutation of false doctrine. 3. Παιδίαν, to which he adds in righteousness, *i. e.*, the ordering of a pious life, and instruction in morals. 4. Ἐπανόρθωσιν, according to which, that in life and customs, which does not agree with the divine will, it discovered and corrected.

We have, therefore, from Paul, in each of his epistles, the clearest testimony, for what reasons, with what design, and for what end he wrote, and commended them to the churches.

Peter, also declares the end for which he wrote, (5 : 12): "By Silvanus, a faithful brother unto you, as I suppose, I have written briefly, exhorting and testifying, that this is the true grace of God, wherein ye stand." This declares the same design which Paul gave for his epistles, as shown above, viz.: that when any one not an Apostle, professes to speak from Apostolic authority, he must bring some proof of the same from an Apostolic writing. For, if a mere pretext and title of traditions could satisfy the churches, it surely would not have been necessary for Peter to have delivered his own opinion in writing by a man having such high repute in the Church as Silvanus. Those in the present time, who seek to obtrude upon us traditions, (not to speak of them too harshly,) are by no means Silvani.

In the second epistle he explains the cause of his writing, still more fully and clearly. Having recited the chief points of Christian doctrine, he says (1 : 12,): "Wherefore I will not be negligent always to put you in remembrance of these things, though you know them, and be established

in the present truth;" and adds this reason: "That ye may be able, after my decease, always to have these things in remembrance," v. 15. "For there shall be false teachers among you who shall with feigned words make merchandize of you." Peter, therefore, recounts two reasons on account of which he wrote: 1. That those who would not hear the voice of the Apostles, yet might have and preserve the pure doctrine which the Apostles proclaimed. 2. He says that he writes, because of false teachers who would arise in the Church; and he calls their corruptions feigned words, viz.: Those which they feigned to have been delivered and received from the Apostles. Neither does he speak only of dangers which belonged merely to that time. But "there *shall* be," he says. "There shall come in the last days." Peter therefore, did not judge, that the memory of doctrines could be preserved by traditions. Nor does he speak of his own writings only, but concludes (2 Peter 3 : 15,): "Even as our beloved brother Paul, also according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you, as also in all his epistles," etc. By this commendation he declares, that they belong not merely to the particular churches to which they were written, but that they contain universal doctrine, belonging to all who have obtained like precious faith with the Apostles; for to these Peter writes, and says: Paul has written. But they say: Peter nevertheless affirms, that the epistles of Paul "are hard to be understood, which they who are unlearned and unstable, wrest to their own destruction;" and hence infer, that it is dangerous to use the Scriptures, and safer to rely upon traditions. I reply: Peter does not say, that the epistles of Paul are written in such a manner, as by their difficulty and obscurity, to afford his readers an occasion for destruction; for he uses not the feminine, but the neuter article, thus signifying the subjects of which Paul treats, which are placed far above the sight of reason, and cannot be understood aright by carnal men, but for this the enlightening influences of the Holy Ghost are needed. Nor does he say, that all the doctrines of the epistles of Paul, but only, that some are hard to be understood. These, too, he does not say, afford readers an occasion for destruction, but unlearned and unstable men *wrest* them." This fortune Peter says, is common to the epistles of Paul, with the rest of Scripture. For, he says: "As they do also the other Scriptures." But does Peter on that account

dissuade us from the reading of Scripture? By no means: but declares the cause and end of this remembrance, by saying: "Ye therefore, beloved, seeing ye know these things, beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own steadfastness." We have, therefore, the judgment of Peter also, concerning his own epistles, those of Paul, and the other Scriptures, with what design, on account of what causes, and for what end, they have been delivered to the Church.

15. Let us hear also the testimony of John on this subject. He begins his first epistle with a description of the preaching of the Apostles. "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the word of life," etc., "declare we unto you." To this he adds, v. 4: "These things write we unto you, that your joy may be full. This then is the message which we have heard from him, and declare unto you," etc. John thus declares, that the Apostolic writings are messages from Christ. In the second chapter he says: "Let that therefore abide in you, which ye have heard from the beginning" So, also, "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things." There is no doubt that these passages have reference to the oral discourses of the Apostle. But hear what John says, v. 7: "I write no new commandment unto you, but the old commandment which ye had from the beginning. The old commandment is the word, which ye have heard from the beginning." Therefore, he who remains in that which has been written, truly remains in those things which from the beginning were delivered to the Church by the Apostles. But why did John write what they before had heard and learned? "These things," says he, "have I written unto you concerning those which seduce you." Lest under the pretext of the unction which they had, anything should be obtruded upon the Church, he adds: "I have not written unto you, because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it." That, therefore, which they had learned, from the anointing of the Holy Ghost, John wrote. The end for which he did this, and the use of Scripture, he expressly declares, 1 John 2 : 11, 12, 13. So, too, 1 John 4 : 1: "Believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits, whether they are of God." How he desires the spirits to be tested, is very evident from what he says in other portions of the epistle, in which he says: "This

is the commandment," "This is the testimony." In the conclusion of the epistle, (1 John 5 : 13,) he declares: "These things have I written unto you, that believe on the name of the Son of God; that ye may know that ye have eternal life." We merely quote the passages. The testimony which they give is so clear, that there is no necessity to add more.

In the Revelation of John, it is especially to be observed, that he several times received a command from the Son of God, to write to the churches, the things which he both saw and heard. Yet, so great is the shamelessness of Eck, Pighius and Andradius, that they do not fear to say, that the Apostles received a command from the Son of God, not to write, but only to preach the Gospel. John was not permitted to write everything, Rev. 10 : 4, but only those things which are necessary, and can be apprehended. The close of the book records a threatening of plagues against him, who would either add to its words, or take anything from them. Therefore, we have the same commandment concerning the Scriptures of the New Testament, as we have concerning those of the Old. "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you; neither shall ye diminish aught from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you."

Jude says of his epistle, that the necessity of writing was imposed upon him by certain false teachers, who had crept into the Church unawares. His design was to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. That Jude refers to the writings of the Apostles, is evident from the fact, that he quotes almost to the very word, portions of the second epistle of Peter. To these he added other matters, which he thought desirable for the preservation of purity of doctrine.

Because in the second and third epistles which bear the name of John, it is said: "Having many things to write unto you, I would not write with paper and ink; but I trust to come unto you, and speak face to face." This Lindanus interprets as meaning that the chief articles of faith, and the more profound doctrines of Christianity, the Apostles were unwilling to entrust to papyrus and perishable ink, but in order that they might be lasting, to commit them to traditions. That the text either says, or means this, is manifestly false. Since the author of these epistles

was unwilling to write those many things to which he alludes, we may reply in the words of Augustine: "Who is it that declares what they are: and if he would dare to speak, whence will he prove it?"

The sum of that which we have shown is this: The Apostles committed their doctrine to writing: 1. To repeat and recall to memory what, whilst present, they had delivered orally. 2. To explain by epistle, these doctrines which were to be built upon the first principles of faith. 3. Because the churches were disturbed, and doctrine was corrupted, under the pretext of traditions professedly from the Apostles. 4. Because the doctrine received from the Apostles orally, was not faithfully preserved by tradition. 5. That other teachers, who were not Apostles, might have written testimony, whence they could prove to the churches that what they asserted, was Apostolic doctrine. 6. That the churches which could not hear the voice of the Apostles, might know what doctrine to receive as truly Apostolic. 7. The same things which the Apostles, when present, had delivered orally, afterwards being absent, they embraced in their writings. 8. In the writings of the Apostles, I have not cited a mere catalogue of the chief points of Apostolic doctrine, but also correct explanations. 9. That the canon of Christian faith is contained in Scripture. 10. That from the writings of the Apostles we might learn their knowledge into the mysteries of Christ. 11. That in the infirmity of this life, believers might comprehend the mysteries of the Gospel, so far as they are able. 12. What they first delivered, they afterward committed to writing, in order that purity of doctrine might be preserved from corruptions. 13. The Apostles embraced, in their writings, both the elements of Christian faith, and the fuller doctrine which follows. 14. All Scripture given by inspiration of God is profitable, that the man of God may be thoroughly furnished unto every good work. 15. That the Church, after their death, might have a means of retaining and preserving Apostolic doctrine. 16. That there might be in the Church a rule, according to which the ministry might be constituted. 17. That which the Apostles from the beginning delivered, they afterwards wrote for use in all ages, all churches, and all times. 18. They wrote both for those who already believed, and those who afterwards would become believers. 19. The command to write, they received from the Son of God

himself. 20. The origin, design, and use of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments is the same, so that to each nothing is to be added, nothing subtracted, nothing turned to the right or left hand.

In opposition to all the quibbles and sophisms of the Papists, these facts clearly and firmly prove, and confirm the authority, perfection, and sufficiency of Holy Scripture in the New Testament. For, just as the old writers declare, that nothing is to be declared of God, except that which He himself has revealed and testified; so, also, we believe, that which Scripture reveals and testifies of itself, because its author, the Holy Ghost, passes judgment upon his own work. Still we will add the argument of the old Church, concerning the authority, perfection, and sufficiency of Scripture. For we love and revere the testimonies of the older and purer Church, by the harmony of which we are aided and strengthened, although our faith should depend upon the Word of God, and not on human authority. Hence, we do not place the testimonies of the fathers before Scripture, but we add them to it.*

But Andradius thinks, that with one argument, he can overthrow all the testimonies, both of the Word of God, and of the Fathers, concerning the perfection and sufficiency of Scripture. He has heard that geometrical demonstrations do not prove, so much as force conviction. This, therefore, is his demonstration: "God always has a Church in the world. But the true Church cannot be divided and separated from the true faith. Therefore, we must believe whatever the Church has delivered and believed, whether formerly or now, even though this can be proved by no passage of Scripture, and consequently not Scripture, but the opinion of the Church is the most accurate norm, by which our faith must be directed, and with which it must conform. This is, indeed, a powerful argument, which seeks at one blow to hurl Scripture from its place, as the rule and canon of our faith. By it, even Christ and the Apostles can be condemned, whenever their testimony conflicts with that of this Pharisaic Church. But a reply is very easy: "It is very true, that the true Church can never be separated from the true doctrine or faith. For the true Church is that which embraces and confesses the

* Here follow quite a number of pages of quotations from the Fathers.

true and sound doctrine of the Word of God. But when that organization (*coetus*), which has the title of Church, departs from the true doctrine of the Word of God, it does not follow either that the sound doctrine is false, or that the errors, which that organization embraces are truth; but it follows, that that organization, since it no longer has the true doctrine, is not the true Church. The truth of the Word of God, therefore, does not depend, as Andradius wishes, upon the Church; but, on the contrary, the truth of the Church depends, and is judged from the truth of the Word of God, which it embraces and confesses. For the Church is not an absolute and irresponsible organization; but ought to show and prove by sure and firm testimonies, that the doctrine which it embraces and professes, is divinely revealed, true, and sound. But this testimony it derives from the canonical books of Scripture. It is also to be noticed, that even in the true Church, upon the foundation, wood, hay, and stubble are often built. Sometimes, too, it happens, that the true Church is concealed as it were, beneath another corrupt organization, as when Elijah said, 1 Kings 19 : 14, "I, even I only, am left." "When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith upon earth?" But, if in the time of Elijah, any one had judged concerning the truth of the doctrine, from the agreement of the visible Church, he would have erred altogether. The question, as to whether the truth of the doctrine is to be decided from the position of the Church, or whether from doctrine divinely revealed we are to determine what is the true Church, has been decided by Christ, who has given us this sign: "My sheep hear my voice," and by Paul, who has said: "Ye are built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles."

Besides this, the Papists have two other points, treating respectively of the uncertainty or ambiguity, and the obscurity of Scripture; but these my adversary Andradius, does not wish to discuss. For he grants, that nothing is truer, surer, firmer, and more unchangeable than Holy Scripture, and where it delivers dogmas or precepts, that it is certain and by no means ambiguous. In reference to its obscurity, he cannot cast aside that distinction, which in opposition to the Jesuits, I cited from Augustine, viz.: That although many passages in Scripture are obscure and difficult, yet, that everything that refers to faith and morals, is found in plain and clear passages.

Yet, in order that he may not seem idle, he declaims much concerning the great danger of obscure passages of Scripture, if any one curiously wrests them to his own wicked opinions. But in this entire declamation, he fights without an adversary. For, we also say, that obscure passages of Scripture, are not to be interpreted contrary to the meaning of those which are manifestly clear; yea, from obscure passages of Scripture, no doctrine is to be derived, which cannot be proved from other passages, the meaning of which is manifest.

Of the Canonical Books.

Three questions belong here: 1. Why Scripture is called canonical, and how this name confirms what we have thus far said concerning its authority, perfection and sufficiency? 2. By whom, and how was the canon of Scripture established, and whence Scripture has its canonical authority? 3. What books are canonical, and what apocryphal?

1. They trifle when they say, that Scripture is called canonical, because of authority granted it by the canon of some council; for they cannot name the council. Without doubt, the name is taken from Paul, who says, Gal. 6 : 16, "As many as walk," τῷ κανόνι τουτῳ. So, also, Phil. 3 : 16; 2 Cor. 10 : 13. The name is taken from Ps. 19 : 4, where the word signifies a canon or rule, consisting of either a line or cord, which is applied to any building or work, in order that it may not vary from the pre-arranged order, but may be completed according to a true plan. The metaphor, by which the term has been transferred to the doctrine of the Apostles, is very appropriate. For the Church is the house of the living God, the builders of which, are the ministers of the Word. But, in order that the structure be begun aright, by the ministry of the Word, or the preaching of doctrine, and be completed in a right order, according to a plan, there is need of a certain canon or rule, with which the builders may compare their work. This rule is the doctrine of the Apostles, Ps. 19 : 4. But inasmuch as this, so far as it is sufficient and necessary, has been comprised in writings, it is called canonical Scripture, the canonical books, or the canon of Scripture, being such a rule that whatever agrees with it, is judged as correct, sound and Apostolic, but whatever does not agree with it, departing from it either by excess or defect, is considered aright as supposititious, corrupt and erroneous.

2. Whence does Scripture derive its authority? The Papists say: From the Church. This, Pighius interprets as meaning, that the authority of the Church is superior to Scripture; inasmuch as the authority of the Church has given to certain writings canonical authority, which they had, neither from themselves, nor from their authors. Some say, that the authority of the Church, is so superior to Scripture, that it could reject the Gospels written by the Apostles; and give canonical authority to the writings of those, who were not apostles, as Mark and Luke. Some, even do not fear to blaspheme divinely-inspired Scripture, saying, that if it would be deserted by the authority of the Church, it would be of no more account than the fables of Æsop. From these premises, they draw the inference, that what the Church delivers, even without the testimony of Scripture, has the same authority as Scripture, all the authority of which has been given it by the Church. All these positions are false. Canonical Scripture has its pre-eminent authority principally from the fact, that it is divinely inspired, *i. e.*, that it was delivered, not by the will of men, but that men of God moved thereto by the Holy Ghost, both spoke and wrote. That there might be no doubt, that the men whom he selected for this work, were divinely inspired in reference to what they wrote, he adorned them with many miracles and divine testimonies. Lastly, these divinely inspired writings, were entrusted to the Church, to preserve them with the greatest care, from all corruptions, and hand them down, as it were, to posterity. Scripture, then, has its canonical authority, principally from the Holy Ghost, by whose inspiration it was written. Secondly, from the writers to whom God granted certain peculiar evidences of truth. Finally, from the primitive Church as a witness, in whose time these writings were published and approved. But this testimony of the primitive Church has been handed down since then, in a constant succession, and been carefully preserved in the histories of antiquity, so that the succeeding Church may have a guard of the primitive testimony of the Church, concerning Scripture. There is, therefore, a very great difference between the testimony of the primitive Church in the time of the Apostles, that of the Church which directly followed Apostolic times, and received the testimony of the primitive Church, and that of the present

Church. The last two have not the power of assigning anything to the sacred books, or separating anything from them, for which they cannot bring sure proofs from the testimony of the primitive Church.

Thus, from the allusions of the New Testament, we can infer what was the Old Testament canon. In the New Testament, John saw the writings of the three Evangelists, and approved of them. Paul signed his epistles with his own mark; Peter saw them, and commended them to the churches. John attached both his own testimony, and that of the Church, to his writings. Thus the canon of Scripture was formed.

This testimony of the primitive Church, concerning the genuine Scriptures of the Apostles, posterity which has followed, has so constantly and faithfully retained, that afterwards many writings which were published over the name of the Apostles were rejected, as supposititious and corrupt, because it could not be proven from the testimony of the early Church, that they had been either written by the Apostles, or approved by them whilst alive, and entrusted to the Church; and also, because they contained doctrine not harmonizing with that, which, being received from the Apostles, the Church was preserving in memory which was then still recent. Thus, Eusebius refers to three classes of Scriptures: 1. Those received by the unanimous testimony of the Church. 2. Those concerning which there was doubt, as to whether they were certainly written and published by those Apostles, whose name and title they bore, so that those concerning which there was contradiction in the testimony of the primitive Church, were not simply condemned, but were used and read as profitable; and just as the former class were called canonical or catholic, so also, the latter were termed hagiographa, ecclesiastical, and by Jerome, apocryphal. Such an accurate distinction was made, in order that there might be a certain canon, as a sure rule of dogmas in the Church; that they might know, says Cyprian, from what springs, the cups of the Word of God have been drawn. Of the second class, or Apocrypha, Jerome says, That the Church reads these for the edification of the people, but not for confirming the authority of any dogmas of the Church. The third class is altogether rejected. The question now is: 1. Whether the present Church can make those writings canonical, which the primitive Church rejected? The

answer is clear. No. 2. Can it reject those, which have clear and sure testimony to their authority, from the primitive Church? I do not think that any one would say this. 3. Can the present Church make those writings canonical, catholic, and equal to the first class, concerning which the primitive Church was in doubt? The Papists not only contend that it can, but they also usurp the authority of removing that distinction between the canonical and apocryphal books, which was made by the primitive Church. But, as we have already said, this authority is not possessed at present by the Church; for, in the same manner, it could either reject the canonical books, or canonize those which are false. For this entire matter depends upon the testimony of the Church, which existed at the time of the Apostles. What it received, the Church immediately following, has preserved in histories worthy of our reliance.

3. The third question is: "What books are, and what are not in the canon?" We do not now speak of the suppositious and false writings, of which Eusebius has given a catalogue. But the question now is, as to whether all the books found in the Vulgate edition of the Bible, possess the same certainty, and equal authority. The testimony of the ancient Church is very clear to the fact, that of these books, some are in the canon, and some are not, but are apocryphal. Of the Old Testament writings, the following are accounted apocryphal: The book of Wisdom, Syrach, Judith, Tobit, third and fourth Esdras, Baruch, the epistle of Jeremiah, the books of Maccabees, and portions of Esther and Daniel. The reason on account of which these have not canonical authority, is not obscure. For, some of these were written after the times of the prophets, and by those who had no divine testimonials of the certainty and authority of their doctrine. Others bear the names of prophets, but have no sure testimonials that they were written by those to whom they are ascribed.

Of the books of the New Testament, which have not sufficiently certain, firm, and concordant testimonials of their certainty and authority, the following are recounted. Eusebius says: "The Scriptures which are not regarded as indubitable, although known to many, are the following: The epistles of James, Jude, second Peter, and second and third John. Some reject the apocalypse, others place it among the certain Scriptures concerning which there is no doubt."

Jerome says: "The epistle of James is said to have been published under his name by some one else." Eusebius: "The epistle which is placed first among the Catholic epistles, is that ascribed to James the Just. But it must be known, that it is regarded not as genuine and authentic, but spurious and forged." "That which is published as the second epistle of Peter, we do not receive as legitimate." So also, Jerome: "The second epistle of Peter is rejected, because of the difference between its style, and that of the first." Eusebius again: "The second and third epistles of John are questioned." He adds the reason: "Because it was doubted, whether they were of John the Evangelist, or some one else possessing the same name." Again: "The fact should not be ignored, that some in the Roman Church, reject the epistle to the Hebrews.*

The reasons on account of which these are doubted, are: 1. Because in the early Church, sufficiently clear and firm testimonies cannot be found, that these books were approved by the Apostles, and commended to the Church. 2 Because it is not clear from the testimony of the early Church, that these books were written by those whose names they bear. 3. Since some of the early teachers assigned to them apostolic authority, and others denied it, the matter must be left in doubt. And yet against these testimonies of antiquity so clear, the Council of Trent, at its fourth session, decreed: "If any one receive not the entire books, in all their parts, just as they are in the ancient Vulgate edition, as sacred and canonical, let him be accursed." Therefore, let Eusebius, Jerome, Origen, Melito and the entire primitive Church, from whose testimony we have received what we have just recited, be accursed!

It may be asked, then, whether we entirely reject and condemn these books. We reply, By no means. Of what advantage then is this discussion? We reply, That the

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* "Mr. Westcott, in an article on the canon, in Smith's Bible Dictionary, has fallen into a mistake in stating, that Gerhard agrees with Chemnitz, in classing the Antilegomena as Apocrypha. At considerable length, in his *Loci Theologici*, Gerhard discusses this subject, rejecting the term Apocryphal, and in place, styling them as canonical books of the second order, showing, that the doubt in the early Church, was not so much in reference to the authority of those books, as to their authors. For a notice of the divergence of our Lutheran divines on this point, see Schmidt's Dogmatik *in loco*." (J.)

rule of faith and sound doctrine in the Church, may be certain. For nothing dare be proven from these books, which has not clear proof and testimony, from the canonical books. What is said in these books, is to be explained and understood, according to the analogy of that which is contained in the canonical Scriptures.

Of the versions of Scripture.

In the second decree of the fourth session, two facts in reference to the versions, or translations of Scripture, are to be noticed. 1. Because they contend concerning only the Latin editions; therefore, they indirectly condemn, as they do in other places openly, the translation of Scripture into the vernacular and popular tongues. 2. They declare the Vulgate edition so authentic, that no one may presume, upon any pretext, to reject it in sermons, readings, disputations, or expositions. Our answer is not obscure, if the origin of the versions be considered. God at first revealed the heavenly doctrine in the Hebrew tongue. For, before the flood, that was the only language of the human race; and, after the flood, God so ordered it, that his doctrine should be committed to writing in the letters of that tongue; because the Hebrew language is the mother of all others. Although afterwards the tongues were confounded, Gen. 11, yet, in those times, there seems to have been such an affinity between the languages, that Abraham converses in Chaldea, Egypt and Canaan, without an interpreter. Joseph in Egypt, Gen. 41, converses with his brothers, by means of an interpreter, yet the name which Pharaoh gave to Joseph, shows the great affinity of the language of Egypt, with the Hebrew tongue. The name Moses, which was given by Pharaoh's daughter, bears witness to the same fact. The friends of Job, coming from different regions, converse with him in Hebrew. In Deuteronomy 28, where the Lord threatening to bring enemies from remote countries, says: "Whose tongue thou shalt not understand." Therefore, on account of the affinity of the languages, that which God had delivered in the Hebrew tongue, could be read and understood even by others. But inasmuch as God did not deliver Scripture to us, in order that it should be a sealed book, or one which very few could read and understand, when, in the progress of time, the affinity of other languages with the Hebrew, became farther removed, so that the Hebrew could no longer

be understood by others, Scripture began to be translated into other languages, so that not only those well-versed in Hebrew, but other men also might read what concerned their salvation. Thus Daniel and Ezra began to write in Chaldee. Afterwards all Scripture was translated into the Syriac, or Chaldee; for this tongue was widely used. So also, when the Greek tongue began to be widely known, the Scripture of the Old Testament was translated into the Greek language. On the cross, Christ quoted the words of Scripture, in the Syriac idiom. The Apostles also, for the most part, used the Greek translation of the Old Testament. Hence, the design of translating the sacred volumes into vernacular and popular tongues, was approved of by Christ and the Apostles. So, also, the Ethiopian eunuch was reading Isaiah, not in the Hebrew, but in a Greek translation. These facts clearly show, that God wishes Holy Scripture to be read and understood by men of other languages.

Just as by the confusion of tongues, the purity of divinely revealed doctrine was lost and corrupted, so the Holy Ghost, by the diversity of tongues, on the day of Pentecost, again brought the Gentiles, by means of the Apostles into the unity of the faith. He gave the gift of tongues, in order that the doctrine of the New Testament, might be delivered not merely to some people, in one or two languages, but to all nations under heaven, in such a tongue as all could understand. God wished to hand down the Scriptures of the New Testament in Greek, because it was most widely used, as Cicero says in his oration for the Archian poet, §10. In the East, where the Greek language remained for a long time vernacular, the fathers used Geeek in the churches, and in the same language, the people read the Scriptures. But in the West, where the Latin language prevailed, there began to be translations of Holy Scripture into Latin. Thus, Augustine says: "Those who have translated the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek, can be counted; but the Latin interpreters, in no way." For the Latin was then the vernacular tongue, in which Augustine preached, and the people read their Scriptures and sang their psalms.

Since the Latin has ceased to be vernacular and popular, the question, therefore, to be decided is, whether we are permitted to translate Holy Scripture from the original, into those tongues, which have become prevalent now in our region? An affirmative decision, the Papists not only

condemn, but also persecute with flame and sword, contending only for the Latin version. But, from what we have already said, a true judgment concerning such barbarous tyranny is sufficiently clear; for where has God declared, that such dignity belongs only to the Latin, that in it alone Holy Scripture is to be read? The dignity of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, in which the Scriptures were originally written, is certainly much greater. Would it not be much better for them, therefore, to contend, that Holy Scripture is to be read only in these languages? But, perhaps, they would answer: "These are Greek, and cannot be read." Certainly God does not wish his doctrine to be known only by Latin men. For, if God commanded his doctrine to be delivered to nations of all tongues, this command cannot be obeyed, unless the doctrine of Scripture be translated into other languages, which are known to the people, to whom Christ is preached. For the doctrine of Gospel must be preached from Scripture; and in preaching, a tongue dare not be used which is not known to the hearers, 1 Cor. 14. But we ought not to have forgotten, that the faith of the Papists extends beyond Scripture, and that they can, therefore, teach without a translation of Scripture into the vulgar tongue. Yet it is truly the tyranny of Antichrist to slay innocent men, on account of the versions of Scripture in the vulgar tongues.

Another point in this decree refers to the Vulgate version, which we neither reject or condemn. It is useful to adopt a certain version, in order that the force of the words, and the proper meaning of the passage, may be judged from the sources. In this manner we retain the old versions; and if the authors of this decree at Trent, had gone no further, there would be no disagreement between us. But not content with this, they command, that the Vulgate version be regarded so authentic in public readings, discussions, sermons, or expositions, that no one dare, upon any pretext, reject it. But what if the Vulgate edition have not correctly rendered the Hebrew or Greek text? If either by the ignorance, or carelessness of the transcribers, some things have been changed, dare we not depart from the old version, and return to the original? Can we not prefer the fountains to the rivulets? The Tridentine fathers reply: "No one dare reject the Vulgate edition, on any pretext." Jerome himself renders many things differently from the Vulgate as we now have it.

We have from him a translation of the Psalms and Ecclesiastes, which differs very materially from the versions of these same books, given in the Vulgate. Jerome confesses that he revised the four Evangelists, by comparing them with the Greek texts, yet in interpreting Matthew, he discovered in the Vulgate edition some errors, as also in the epistles of Paul. Since that time, by the carelessness of drowsy transcribers, as the study of the languages was not pursued, how many mistakes, do you not suppose, have crept into the Vulgate edition! It certainly cannot be denied, that in many passages, the true meaning of the Psalms is not correctly rendered. This is so clear, that Lindanus admits it, and Andradius, who often shows that he is a Hebrew scholar of more than ordinary attainments, I think will not deny it. Gen. 9 : 6, is mutilated; for the Vulgate omits the words, "*by man*," which are found in the original. That most beautiful passage, Matt. 9 : 13, "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners," is mutilated by the omission of the words, "*to repentance.*" So, also, 1 John 5 : 13; Rom. 4 : 2; Rom. 11 : 6, "And if by grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise, grace is no more grace," is entirely omitted. The ignorance of the transcribers is manifest in many passages. Ezra 9, instead of *posillus*, they read *pax illius*; instead of *sepem*, *spem*. Judges 11, instead of *altera matre*, *adulteratu matre*. Ps. 131, instead of *ex victu*, *viduam*. 1 Samuel 19, for *cecidit*, they read *cecinit*. Many passages of the same kind have been noted by Valla, Stapuleneis, Erasmus, etc.

Still, so great is the shamelessness of this assembly of Papists, that they do not fear without any exception to state, that the Vulgate edition is not to be rejected, upon any pretext; even though some passages have been rendered incorrectly, and others have been changed, mutilated and added, so as not to agree with the original. Thus the mistakes of the translator, the faults of transcribers, the additions and mutilations of men, they receive for the Word of God. Unwilling to drink from the pure fountains, they prefer the muddy brooks.

But they contend for the errors of the Vulgate, not without reason. For, in many passages, it is adapted to the Papish dogmas. Thus, the intercession of the Virgin Mary, they prove from a corrupt reading of Gen. 3 : 15, "She shall bruise thy head," contrary to the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek versions, and the testimony of all an-

tiquity. The sacrifice of the mass, they prove from a corruption of Gen. 14 : 18. "Melchizedek, king of Salem, offered bread and wine; for he was the priest of the most high God;" whereas, neither the verb, "offered," nor the conjunction, "for," is in the original. They excuse original sin from a mis-rendering of Gen. 6 : 5, which the old version gives as, "The imagination of the thoughts of man's heart, is prone to evil." For the invocation of saints, they cite the false readings of Job 5 : 1; Ps. 150 : 1. They attempt to prove doubt concerning the forgiveness of sins, from their reading of Eccl. 9 : 1, "No man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred." So, too, all things which their councils lay down, they declare should be received on account of John 14 : 26, which the Vulgate reads: "He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatever I will say to you." But the Greek has εἶπον ὑμῖν, "Whatsoever I *have* said," not "will say." The perfection of good works in this life, Staphylus proves from the corrupt text of the old version, Eph. 6 : 13, "That ye may be able in all things to stand." Marriage is enumerated among the sacraments, because the old version, Eph. 5 : 32, translates mystery by sacrament. The efficacy of extreme unction, is proved from James 5 : 14, 15, because the old version has the word *alleviare*, which is used in relation to spectres and incursions of Satan, although James has the word ἐγειρεῖ. Andradius in order to prove that in the baptized, no trace of sin remained, quotes Heb. 9 : 28, "Christ was once offered to *exhaust* the sins of many," and adds, "nothing remains of what is exhausted," although he knows that there is no such word in the Greek.

What the reader ought especially notice is, that the Council of Trent, in order to show that the Church has the power of dispensing with the essentials of the sacraments, contrary to the institution of Christ, abuses the equivocation of the old version, where, in 1 Cor. 4 : 1, the ministers of Christ are called the "stewards (*dispensatores*) of the mysteries of God." Therefore, in the sacraments, they can dispense with one form in the Supper; for they are dispensors. O good God, how great is the shamelessness of Antichrist, that in the light of so great knowledge of languages, he can play in a manner so childish, concerning a matter of such serious importance, when Paul calls ministers only οἰκονόμους!

Surely, therefore, it was not without a purpose, that the Council of Trent made the old Vulgate Latin edition of the Bible authentic, as we have thus shown.

Of the Interpretation of Scripture.

It is certain, that the doctrine of Scripture and its saving use, do not consist in words which are not understood, but in their true meaning and correct knowledge, as Christ has said, Matt. 13 : 23, "He that received seed into the good ground, is he that heareth the Word and *understandeth* it." Many passages of Scripture are explained in plain and clear words, and need no interpretation from without; for they explain themselves.

In those passages which are thus clear, all these matters are found which refer to faith and morals. But in addition to these, there are many difficult and obscure passages, the sense of which cannot be discovered at first sight. Inasmuch, however, as God neither has included them in his Word without purpose, nor desires them to be a pretext for error, he has provided for the gift of interpretation within the Church, 1 Cor. 14 : 26. This gift the Lord does not wish to be despised, or cast aside, but to be used within the Church, with reverence, as an organ and means for discovering and understanding the true sense of Scripture, Acts 8 : 31. But this gift of interpretation cannot be exercised without the Church, by the unregenerate; for it is the light of the Holy Ghost, kindled in the hearts of the pious. Concerning the unregenerate, Paul says, 1 Cor. 2 : 14, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." 2 Cor. 4 : 3, 4, "If our Gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ should shine unto them." But in the Church, the Son of God, seated at the right hand of the Father, bestows such gifts for the edification of his body, Eph. 4 : 8, 11, 12.

It is also certain, that no one in the interpretation of Scripture, should rely upon his own wisdom, except in clear passages, 2 Peter 1 : 20. Those who presume to bend Scripture to their own sense of it, which they have framed beforehand, do so to their own destruction, 2 Peter 3 : 16. That reader, therefore, is the best who does not

bring any understanding to Scripture, but carries it away from Scripture. We, therefore, gratefully and reverently use the labors of the Fathers, who, by their comments, have profitably explained many passages of Scripture; and confess that we are not a little confirmed in reference to the true sense of Scripture, by the testimony of the early Church. For we do not believe, that any one can frame for himself an interpretation, conflicting with all antiquity, and of which there are evidently no testimonies in the Church.

What, therefore, in addition to this, can the Council of Trent desire? They have very artfully couched the language of this canon, in very general terms. Yet their meaning, which they have concealed here, but expressed elsewhere, may be reduced to four heads:

1. They contend that the gift of interpretation is bound to the ordinary succession of bishops, in such a manner, that whoever is elevated to this position, enjoys the gift. Thus, they say, that the Pope has all laws in his own breast, even though he be an idiot, or so forgetful as to know nothing of himself. Likewise, that he has his own will for a reason in everything which he wishes; so that he can change the form of the sacraments handed down from the Apostles, and administer them contrary to the first four Councils, and the words of the Gospel.

This is a false position. For Paul, 1 Cor. 12 : 11, treating concerning the gift of interpretation, distinctly says, "All things worketh that one and self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will;" and the entire history of the Old Testament shows how God frequently passed by the priests, and raised up from other tribes, prophets as the interpreters of his will.

2. They assign to the gift of interpretation, a sort of judicial authority, so that it is not necessary for them to prove their interpretation, by sure and firm reasons, but they wish us, without examination or inquiry, to adopt the sense obtruded upon us by those, who, without the declaration of the Spirit, arrogate to themselves the gift of interpretation. But Paul says (1 Thess. 5 : 19—21,): "Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings. Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." So, also, in Acts 17 : 11, he commends the example of the Bereans, who searched the Scriptures, in order to discover whether those things which they heard were so. In Acts 8 : 31, the eunuch describes

interpretation by the excellent word ὁδηγεῖν. In 1 Cor. 14 : 29, Paul describes how in obscure passages, pious teachers ought to seek a true interpretation, when they have communicated their opinions. "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge. If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace."

The Church has not, then, any judicial right in interpreting; but there are certain rules according to which these interpretations must be made.

3. When the Papists adapt any passage of Scripture to their corruptions, they eagerly search the writings of the Fathers, and scrape together such extracts as suit their purpose, without regard to the agreement, or disagreement of these passages with Scripture; although even the Fathers are unwilling to bind readers to their writings in such a manner, that any one should be obliged to believe anything, merely because the Fathers have said it.

On the contrary, we use the labors of the old teachers with reverence and gratitude, but still, so as to retain our Christian liberty.

4. They arrogate to themselves also the right, even in the clearest passages of Scripture, to depart from the simple and true meaning, given us by the proper signification of the words, and to frame another, with such dictatorial authority, as to demand us to believe, not what Scripture simply, properly and openly says, but what they interpret for us. By this artifice, they elude the clearest passages, concerning justifying faith, concerning sin remaining in the regenerate, concerning the imperfection of good works in this life, concerning the free will, concerning the intercession of Christ," etc. Thus, when Christ says: "Drink ye all of this;" they say, "Not all; but only the priests." When, Heb. 13 : 4, says: "Marriage is honorable in all;" they say, "Not in all; but only in laymen." When Christ says: "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; but ye shall not be so," (Luke 22 : 25, 26,) they wish to lead us away from this clear passage, and to receive, I know not what interpretation. Paul calls that a doctrine of devils, which forbids marriage; but all this is of no account; for they contend, that these words are not to be understood, as they sound, but as the Roman Church interprets them. In order to play thus with Scripture, with impunity, and avoid its authority, this canon

has been framed. Osius says of the Word of God: "If any one have the interpretation of the Roman Church concerning any passage of Scripture, even though he do not know or understand, whether, or how it agrees with the words of Scripture, he has the very Word of God." Thus, the interpretation of the Romish Church is: "Behold here are two swords," *i. e.*, the Roman Pope has the administration both of the spiritual and temporal power. Elisha made bitter waters sweet by throwing in salt, *i. e.*, in the Church, there ought still to be exorcised water, and salt which has been blessed, the efficacy of which, we must believe, prevails against the devil and sins. Ps. 8 : 6, "Thou hast put all things under his feet," *i. e.*, in subjection to the Pope. "The beasts of the field," *i. e.*, men living on this earth. "The fish of the sea," *i. e.*, souls in purgatory. "The fowls of the air," *i. e.*, the souls of the blessed, which by canonization, the Pope can present to us as objects of adoration. Very many such—we cannot call them interpretations, but—puerilities exist in the public writings of the Papists. As the basis for authority to be afforded him in all such matters, Andradius covers many pages, with his declamations concerning implicit faith. By implicit, he means that which is hidden in anything; and, therefore that is implicit faith, by which we believe, that all things contained in Scripture are true, although many things escape our knowledge; for, in this life, we cannot examine and penetrate everything. Thus the saints of the Old Testament implicitly believed many things, which we in the New Testament explicitly believe. But, in this manner, Andradius contends without an adversary; for we grant all that he says. Yet, he knows well, that when the Papists contend for implicit faith, they understand it in quite a different sense; wishing by means of it to impose upon us the necessity of believing, whatever their Church holds and declares, even though there be no testimonies cited in favor of the position; and in such a manner, too, that it is not necessary either to think, or inquire, or understand what the objects of our faith are, or whether they have any foundation in the Word of God.

It is this concerning which we contend; not, as the Papists misrepresent us, as if in uncultivated men, any great knowledge of letters is required. Nevertheless, it is necessary, that they should confess the persuasion that the articles of faith, which are proposed, are not human inven-

tions, but divine sentences delivered from the Word of God. For, when to the uneducated, the words of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the institution of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, are propounded, there are the very words of Scripture, in which there is no doubt, that the sum of the heavenly doctrine is contained. Such faith of the uneducated, believing this, is not, therefore, the implicit faith of the Papists; for it embraces the very words and judgment of Scripture; whilst, on the other hand, the persuasion of implicit faith, tends either to prohibit, or teach, that there is no necessity to think and seek, whether those doctrines which are propounded, have certain, firm, and clear foundations in the Word of God; and asks us to believe simply upon the persuasion of the authority of persons. This persuasion is not true faith, but a servile opinion. For they impose not only upon the uneducated, but also upon the educated, the servitude not to see, or seek, or understand, where in Scripture, that which they propose, is founded; but simply to believe it, because the Pope and prelates of the Church have thus determined. This is the state of the discussion concerning implicit faith. We know, that the ability of all is not equal, and, that a profound knowledge of Scripture is not required of the less educated. Augustine, therefore, describes the true manner of catechising the unlettered, viz.: "That a summary of the heavenly doctrine revealed in Scripture, be propounded to them, and that afterwards they be led to Scripture itself, each one in proportion to the measure of his gift." Chrysostom often severely reproves the laity, because they left the reading of Scripture to the monks alone, and thus clearly censures that implicit faith, concerning which the Papists dispute. So, too, it was the desire of all the Fathers, to lead the people, not from Scripture to implicit faith of human persuasion, but from man to the knowledge of Scripture.

ARTICLE VI.

THE MINISTRY. ARTICLE FIFTH OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.*

By CHARLES A. HAY, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

The venerable Confession of our Church does not profess to be a systematically arranged body of Christian doctrine; and yet even the casual reader will not fail to observe that the topics, briefly discussed in its successive articles, are not taken up merely at random, but that they seem to follow one another in a simple, natural order.

The confessors begin with what naturally suggests itself as the fundamental article of all religious belief, viz.: The doctrine concerning GOD, his nature, works, &c.

Then follows the article concerning *Man* in his fallen and helpless condition, alienated from God by wicked works.

The third naturally follows, viz.: The doctrine concerning a *Mediator* between God and man, the *Divine Author of reconciliation.*

The fourth presents *the sole condition of reconciliation, Faith in Christ.*

And, next in order, they present the doctrine of the *Gospel Ministry*, as the *divinely appointed agency for bringing men into this state of reconciliation with God.*

To some reflections upon the article last mentioned, we respectfully invite your attention.

A wide and tempting field here opens before us—THE GOSPEL MINISTRY? Theme, worthy the pen of an angel—office, highest of all upon earth; with duties, prerogatives, responsibilities, trials, encouragements, rewards, all linking it with the life of its Divine Author, and reaching over into eternity.

We are admonished, at the outset, however, by various

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* Fifth Lecture on the *Holman Foundation*, delivered June 27th, 1870, before the Theological Seminary of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Gettysburg, Pa.

considerations, to limit our remarks to but a few of the aspects of this great theme. Chief among these considerations is the fact, that some of the topics casually alluded to in the Article before us, are treated of *ex professo* in other parts of the Confession, and courtesy toward those who have preceded, and are to follow us, demands that we do not enlarge upon these. Besides, the main subject of the Article, viz.: *The Origin and Nature of the Gospel Ministry, with its Relation to the Church*, has of late been attracting special attention, and it has been deemed best, therefore, to confine the present discussions chiefly to these aspects of the theme.

We present, in the first place, a literal translation of the Article, as we have it in the standard German text, as follows:

"*For the attainment of this faith, God has instituted the Office of the Ministry, has given the Gospel and the Sacraments, through which, as through means, He gives the Holy Spirit, who produces faith, where and when he will, in those who hear the Gospel, which teaches that we have a merciful God through the merits of Christ, not through our own merits, if we believe this.*

"*And the Anabaptists and others are condemned, who teach that we obtain the Holy Spirit without the external word of the Gospel, by our own preparation, thoughts and works.*"

We append, also, the text of the Article as preserved in the original German of Melanchthon, and in the cotemporaneous Latin copy. The slight variation between them in the statement of the main topic of the Article, does not seriously affect the sense. Whilst the Latin intones the *means* by which the incumbent of the office is to accomplish its design, the German gives greater prominence to the fact that the office comes directly from God. No one can, however, for a moment suspect, that the Latin does not just as clearly *imply* the *divine origin* of the office, as the German copy *expresses* it.*

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*The original German copy presents the article thus:

Solchen glauben zu erlangen, *hat Gott das predigpamt* (typographical error in original, for predigamt,) *eingesetzt, Evangelium und Sacramenta geben*, dadurch, als durch mittel der heilig geist wirckt, und die Hertzen tröst und glauben gibt, wo und wenn er wil, inn denen, so das Evangelium hören, welches lehret, das wir, durch Christus verdienst ein gnedigen Gott haben, so wir solchs gleuben. Und wer-

As in the preceding article, the fundamental *doctrinal* error of Rome was effectually neutralised by the quiet, unimpassioned exhibition of the Scriptural doctrine of *Justification by Faith alone*—so in this article, as by a smooth stone from the brook, the giant, *practical* heresy of the hierarchy is smitten in the forehead by the simple annunciation of *the Scriptural theory of the Holy Ministry*. And we cannot but admire the calm and quiet style in which this thorough work is done. There is no denunciation of that monstrous iniquity, the hierarchical antichrist, under whose heel the Church was groaning. Still less is there a phrenzied rushing to the other extreme of rejecting all ecclesiastical order and authority. But, with a spirit of profound submission to the truth, and of sublime confidence in its power to overthrow all error, there comes forth the simple statement, that GOD, [desiring to reconcile to himself the sinful race of man, and having, in pursuance of this gracious purpose, carried forward the wondrous plan of redemption even unto the sacrifice of his only begotten Son, thereupon] *appointed and designated a special agency, namely, the Ministry of Reconciliation, operating through the Word and the Sacraments, whereby he would ordinarily, in all coming time, apply to the hearts of men, with gracious and sovereign efficacy, upon the sole condition of faith upon their part, all the benefits of this atonement.*

The Confessors, in this statement, must be understood as having in view, on the one hand, the teachings of the Scriptures on this subject, and, on the other, the unscriptural,

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den verdammet die Widderteuffer, und andere, so leren, das wir ohne das leibliche wort des Evangelii, den heiligen geist durch eigene bereitung und werck verdienen.

The original Latin copy presents the article thus:

Ut hanc fidem consequamur *institutum* est *ministerium docendi evangelii et porrigendi sacramenta*. Nam per verbum et sacramenta tanquam per instrumenta donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in iis, qui audiunt Evangelium, scilicet quod Deus, non propter nostra merita sed propter Christum, justificet hos, qui credunt se propter Christum in gratiam recepi.

Damnant Anabaptistas et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum preparationes et opera.

and, therefore, unwarrantable claims of the Papacy to all manner of dignities and prerogatives as connected with the ministerial office. The article was equivalent to a solemn protest, on the part of the Confessors, against all else, as connected with the Gospel Ministry, except the simple preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. These are declared to be all sufficient under the sovereign sway of the Holy Spirit, to accomplish both the justification and the sanctification of the sincere believer. Silently, impliedly, but none the less decidedly, are herewith rebuked all claims on the part of a self-perpetuating, hierarchical, spiritual judiciary, that assumed to forgive sin by virtue of official authority vested in it. Equally decided on the other hand, is the specific protest against that false and fanatical spirituality that treats with neglect and contempt the outward Word of God, whilst relying upon its own inward preparation, thoughts and works. To nothing else, say the Confessors, is the reconciliation of the sinner with God to be ascribed, but to the blood of the atonement applied by the Holy Spirit, at his own good pleasure, to the hearts of all who truly believe.

We may well imagine how unwelcome such simple, Scriptural statements as these must have been to the imperious ecclesiastical tyrants before whom they were uttered. This article, thus reiterating the cardinal doctrine asserted in the one immediately preceding it, viz.: of Justification by Faith alone, and at the same time setting forth the office of the Ministry, as existing only for the purpose of awakening and keeping alive this faith, must have been recognized at once as a wholesale condemnation of everything in which the existing priesthood chiefly gloried.

Nor did the question as to the origin, nature, prerogatives, &c., of the ministerial office assume essentially any other shape during the succeeding age, when the various doctrines of the Confession were being more fully developed. The issue still remained the same, viz.: On the one hand, a simple, serving, Gospel Ministry, with the ordinary means of grace, made effectual by the Holy Spirit to the conversion and salvation of men; and, on the other, a domineering, hierarchical caste, claiming special official prerogatives and practically supplanting the divinely appointed means of grace by human inventions.

Upon this line the great battle of the Reformation was fought out, as far as this issue is concerned, and this now

constitutes one of the strongest contrasts between Evangelical and Papal Christianity, each party adhering to the principles and practice, the leading features of which are indicated in this article; *the Lutheran Ministry*, simply the divinely appointed official agency for the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments, with faith as the sole condition of justification before God; and the Romish priesthood, with all its various grades, a grand consolidated, self-perpetuating hierarchy, claiming to hold in its hands the keys of the kingdom of heaven, swaying an iron sceptre over the Church, imposing intolerable burdens of penance and bodily mortification, and demanding large pecuniary contributions as conditions *sine qua non*, for procuring pardon for sin and reconciliation with God.

So far, then, as the attitude of the Confession towards the Papal Church is concerned, and, we may add, towards the Episcopal Church also, (in so far as it clings to the unscriptural doctrine of a graded ministry and specially consecrated ministerial order, perpetuated in the Church by an uninterrupted personal and official succession from the apostles,)—so far as this aspect of the question is concerned, we leave it, with the simple statement we have made, as to the unvarying sameness of the issue, that we may turn to the consideration of certain topics intimately connected with the theme of this Article, that have been for some time past, and are now, agitating large portions of our Church, both in Europe and in this country.

Only upon two occasions, during the whole history of our Church, has the leading topic of this Article been the subject of serious controversy within our own communion. The first was consequent upon the glorious revival of the spirit of genuine Lutheranism, *i. e.*, of earnest evangelical Christianity, in the days of Spener and Francke. The letter of the standards then remained intact, it is true, but in many respects their spirit had been practically ignored. Theoretically adhering to the principles of the Reformers, the Church practically yielded in some measure to the pressure of circumstances, and, under the undue influence of the temporal power, encroachments upon the inherent rights of the laity were submitted to, and even apologized for, that provoked a reactionary resistance, when the heart of the Church was stirred and the current set in against the lifeless orthodoxy of the age. Along with other liv-

ing issues of that day was the question of the common priesthood of believers, the inherent right of the laity to expound the Scriptures and administer the Sacraments in time of need, and, the right and the duty of all believers to take an active part in the selection and appointment of the incumbents of the sacred office.*

Somewhat similar is the origin of the controversy at present agitating a portion of our Church, on this subject, and bidding fair to attract still greater attention.

The great revival of religion in our Churches upon the continent of Europe, consequent upon the devastating wars of Napoleon and the enthusiastic celebration of the tercentennary of the Reformation, in 1817, led many, whose hearts were turned to the Lord, to give earnest heed also to the teachings of the great theologians of our Church; and the newly awakened religious zeal and thirst for sound and wholesome religious instruction awakened in the hearts of multitudes of the people a just contempt for the heartless rationalism of those whom they were compelled to receive as their religious teachers. Finding themselves authorized, both by the Word of God and the standards of the Church, to exercise the right of choosing pastors for themselves, and unable, in conscience, to submit to the imposition of unworthy ministers, they resisted "the powers that be" and willingly endured the consequent persecution for the sake of Christ and a free Gospel. The issue, thus created, led at once to an earnest discussion of the great principles involved in it, calling forth some admirable dissertations and provoking, unfortunately, a warm and even angry controversy, in which some of the leading theologians of Germany participated. Meanwhile, some of those of whom we have spoke as persecuted for conscience sake emigrating to this country, found here free scope for the exercise of all their religious rights, and one would naturally expect that, so far as they are concerned, the agitation upon this question would cease. And this would probably have been the case, had they not been harshly called to account for their opinions and practices in this matter by some of their countrymen of more conservative views. In consequence of this a controversy has arisen that has

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*See some account of this controversy between Spener, Freylinghausen, Frohn, Eilmar, Köpke and others, in Walch's Religious-Streitigkeiten, I, 562 sq., 814 sq., II, 492, &c.

unfortunately been conducted in a spirit far from creditable to either party.

It would be difficult to account for the vehemence and acrimony exhibited in this controversy, were it not for the fact that the respective parties believe that they see lurking in the statements of their opponents the embryos of dangerous heresies; and so they feel called upon, respectively, not merely to dispute one anothers avowed opinions, but also what seem to be erroneous tendencies likely to be developed by them.

Whilst we cannot but regret the unbecoming temper in which this discussion has, especially of late, been conducted, we cannot refrain from expressing our gratitude to the respective combatants for the industry and zeal with which they have sifted out of the huge mass of our early Church literature and placed within our easy reach everything that bears upon this question, each party seeking to entrench itself behind ecclesiastical authority, and each in fact finding what it claims to be a vindication of its views in the public standards of the Church and in the writings of our soundest theologians.*

The parties in this controversy may be characterized as the democratic-republican on the one hand, and the aristocratic-conservative upon the other. Of these, the former represents the radical revolutionary element of the Reformation period, with its downright and outspoken antagonism to the hierarchy of the age; whilst the latter exhibits rather the spirit and reflects the views of a later era, when, in a more settled state of affairs, the opinions and practice of the Church had fallen back somewhat from the more pronounced position of the radical Reformers. The former, starting out with the assertion of the right of all believers to choose and ordain their own religious teachers, were driven in the heat of controversy to such assertions concerning the constant actual right of all Christians personally to administer the functions of the ministerial office, as led their opponents to charge them with low and agrarian views of the Sacred Ministry, that rob it of all dignity and authority. The latter, seeming to insist upon the self-perpetuating character of the Ministry, are charged by their

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* Our special acknowledgments are due to Doctors Walther and Höfling for many of the extracts from our older theologians of which we avail ourselves in this article.

opponents with a Rome-ward tendency, as though they made the Church the child of the Ministry and dependent upon a hierarchial caste.*

Now it seems strange that among those who claim to hold with equal tenacity not only to the Scriptures but also to the Confessions of our Church, there should be such widely different views upon a subject so clearly stated in the standards and so abundantly illustrated in the writings of our leading theologians. Surely this should teach these controversialists to regard with greater charity their brethren in the faith, who, agreeing with them so cordially on all the great leading issues of the Reformation period, conscientiously differ from them upon some topics of far less importance than those here in dispute.

Let us now turn to the original documents and endeavor to ascertain from them *what the Confessors understood to be the Source and the Prerogatives of the Gospel Ministry, and its Relation to the Church as a whole.*

In endeavoring to fix with precision the meaning they attached to the terms Priesthood, Office, Call, Keys, &c., we are unfortunately met at the threshold, with the fact that the Reformers (and, among them all, especially Luther), employed these expressions often in a vague and variable sense, rendering their utterances, at different times, more or less inconsistent, thus affording an opportunity for those, who differ from one another in their views

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* Among those of the former class, who have taken part in this controversy, we may mention Höfling, (Grundsätze evangelisch-lutherischer Kirchen verfassung, Erlangen, 1853), Harless, (Kirche und Amt nach lutherischer Lehre, Stuttgart, 1853); Walther, (Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt, Erlangen, 1852; the same writer in the Lutheraner of 1860, &c.); Loy, in the Evangelical Review, 1861, 1864; Eirich, ditto, 1860; Fink, ditto, 1861; Fritschel, S. F. in Brobst's Theologische Monatshefte, 1869.

Of those advocating the later, more conservative views, which have generally prevailed in our Church, both in Europe and this country, we call attention to Löhe, (Aphorismen ueber die neutestamentlichen Aemter und ihr Verhaeltniss zur Gemeinde, Erlangen, 1849; also Kirche und Amt—Neue Aphorismen, Erlangen, 1851); Grabau, in the Pastoral-briefe of the Buffalo Synod and in the Informatorium; Worley, in the Evangelical Review, 1860; Hinterleitner, in Brobst's Theologische Monatshefte, 1869; Mohldenke, ditto, 1870; Münchmeyer, Gueriche, Thomasius, Kahnis, Delitsch, Kliefoth, &c.

upon this subject, from both sides to appeal to them for sanction and authority. Hence it has resulted that the present controversy is to a great extent a mere logomachy. If these and kindred terms were precisely defined and the respective parties would agree to use them *in the same sense*, more carefully noting the varying phases of thought expressed by them at different times, by the same early writers, those who now so bitterly denounce each other would probably be found, after all, not to be so very wide apart.

Fortunately, on the other hand, we are not confined to the Confession itself in our search after the precise views of the Confessors upon this subject. Not only are we justified, upon general grounds, in appealing to the other writings published by those who are mainly responsible for the Confession itself, in illustration of their opinions, but these other writings are directly referred to in the standards as rendering a fuller statement upon these subjects unnecessary.

At the same time, we should not forget to make due allowance also in interpreting the *Augustana*, for the unmistakable influence of the mild and gentle, and we may add the conservative and conciliatory, spirit of Melanchthon in imparting to it an irenic character that it assuredly would not have borne had the true master spirit of the Reformation given it its final shape and form. *Ich hætte nicht so leise treten können*, was Luther's characteristic remark when he first read it, leaving us to infer that he would have planted his foot down more firmly, in more than one place, and that we should then have had a more radical and thoroughly outspoken anti-Romish document, as the great standard Confession of Protestantism, than we now have.

I. *The Gospel Ministry*, say the Confessors, *is a divinely appointed office.* This is so distinctly stated in the Article itself, "*God has instituted the office of the Ministry*," that it hardly seems necessary to look elsewhere in the other writings of its authors, for a confirmation of this statement.

Now, whilst the office of religious teacher would probably have arisen in the Christian Church even without any special divine appointment, as a practical necessity, just as we find that something analogous to it has existed among all heathen nations, yet we are not left to account for its

origin in the Church upon any such grounds. As our Confessors here teach, it was directly introduced, and ordered to be perpetuated, by the Lord himself. Matt. 28 : 19, 20, Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, &c. 2 Cor. 5 : 18, He hath given unto us the ministry of reconciliation. Eph. 4 : 11, And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers. In 20 : 21, As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.

It may be satisfactory, nevertheless, to hear a few of the utterances of the Reformers upon this subject, and their echo in the writings of some of our leading theologians.

Luther, in 1522, Walch, XIX, 1334.

"Paul says to his disciple Titus, 1 : 5—7, For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee, &c. Whoever believes that here the Spirit of Christ is speaking and commanding through Paul, he must acknowledge that *this is a divine appointment and arrangement*, that in every city there must be many bishops, or at least one."

Luther, in the Smalcald Articles, 1537.

"The office of the Ministry is consequent upon the calling of the apostles."

Luther, in 1530, Walch, X, 488.

"I hope indeed that believers, and those who wish to be called Christians, know very well that *the Ministry has been appointed and established by God*, not with gold and silver but with the precious blood and bitter death of his only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ."

The term *appointed*, (*eingesetzt*, *institutum est*,) which the Confessors here use in regard to the Ministry, is employed by them also in regard to human government, (Art. XVI,) and they plainly understand the relation to be the same in both cases. That there shall be some form of government among men, God has determined; what precise shape it shall assume, he has not definitely prescribed. That this authority, when exercising its functions justly and righteously, is to be obeyed, he has commanded, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God," Rom. 13 : 1. So also, in the Church, with the Gospel Ministry. "Obey them that have the rule over you, who watch for your souls as they that must give an account."

Melanchthon, in the Apology, XIII, 11.

"The Ministry of the Gospel has *the command of God* and has magnificent promises, Rom. 1 : 16; Is. 55 : 11."

Melanchthon, in the Apology, XIV, 12.

"The Church *is commanded* to appoint ministers, which ought to be most gratifying to us, because we know that God approves that Ministry and is present with it."

Gerhard, *Loc. de Minist. Eccl.* §§ 3 & 49.

"The necessity of the ministerial office depends upon *the divine appointment*, for it has pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe, 1 Cor. 1 : 21, &c."

"*The original efficient cause of the Gospel Ministry is the one and only true God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost*, which is proved: 1. By the express declarations of the Scriptures, Ps. 68 : 12; 1 Cor. 12 : 28; 2 Cor. 5 : 18, "God hath given to us, apostles and other teachers of the Church, the ministry of reconciliation. 2. By the liberal promises of God, that he would give pastors to his Church and would perpetuate the office of preaching, Jer. 3 : 15; 23 : 4, And I will set up shepherds over them (וְהֵקִמֹתִי, cause to stand, appoint) which shall feed them. Joel 2 : 23. 3. By the peculiar titles of God, which prove that the appointment and preservation of the ministerial office belongs to him, Matt. 9 : 38, &c.

Chemnitz, Exam. XII, de sacr. ord. p. 579.

"That the office of the Word and the Sacraments was instituted by the Son of God also in the New Testament cannot be doubted. *The Church has also the command to call and appoint servants*, and 1. The promise is added that God will approve the appointment of those who are called by the voice of the Church and set apart for this office. Thus Paul says, Acts 20 : 28, that those who are called *mediately* are appointed by the Holy Ghost to feed the flock of God. And in Eph. 4 : 11, it is written that the Son of God grants as his gifts not only *apostles* but also *pastors* and *teachers*, who are called *mediately*. 2. The promise is added that God will grant his grace and gifts, so that those who are legitimately called may, by the use of the same, rightly, faithfully and savingly accomplish what is designed by the sacred office; John 20 : 23; Matt. 28 : 20; 1 Tim. 4 : 14, &c. 3. This promise also is added, that God will be with the office, will bless the planting and watering

and make them successful, will effectually work through the office, calling, enlightening, converting, granting repentance, faith, regeneration, reformation, and in short accomplishing through the office the entire work of salvation. Matt. 28 : 20; John 20 : 23; Matt. 16 : 19; 2 Cor. 3 : 6, &c."

As we have already intimated, the Confessors held that

II. The *chief design* and *special duty of the Ministerial Office* is the *preaching of the Gospel, the administration of the Sacraments*, and *the exercise of Church discipline.*

Whilst in the Article before us, only the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments are mentioned, the third duty we have here added is throughout implied, as it is generally expressly mentioned, by the Confessors and all the early theologians, when describing the functions of the Ministerial Office. This will abundantly appear in what follows; and we only add here, to avoid misapprehension, that we are never to understand the Confessors when using the phrase, "*forgive and retain sin*," that as employing it in a Romish sense. For it will be recollected that the Reformation had its very birth in Luther's thundering theses against the blasphemous presumption of that abomination of the Papacy.

Augsburg Confession, Abuses Corrected, VII, 5.

"Our Churches hold, that the power of the Keys, or the power of the bishops, according to the Gospel, is the authorization or command of God to preach the Gospel, to forgive and retain sin, and administer the Sacraments. For with this command Christ sent forth the Apostles, John 20 : 21; Mark 16 : 15. *This power is exercised in teaching or preaching the Word, and administering the Sacraments, to many or few according to the call*, because not corporeal but eternal things are dispensed, eternal justice, the Holy Spirit, eternal life; and these things could not be done except through the ministration of the Word and the Sacraments."

Smalcald Articles; Appendix.

"In our Apology we have in general described what is the nature of ecclesiastical authority. For the Gospel commands all who are placed over the Churches that they preach the Gospel, forgive sins, and administer the Sacraments; and besides this it gives to them such jurisdiction that they are to excommunicate those who continue in open vice, and to release and absolve those who wish to

reform. Now all must confess, even our opponents, that all who are set over the Churches have this command alike, whether they be called Pastors, or Presbyters, or Bishops."

III. *The Ministry is no self-perpetuating caste or order, with rights and duties intrinsically different from those of all other believers; for all true believers are spiritual priests and are capable of performing all the functions of the ministerial office, if called thereto, or, in case of special necessity, even without a regular call.*

Surely those altogether misunderstand the Confessors who suppose that they meant by this Article to teach that God, when he appointed the *Ministerial Office*, gave *to it* the Gospel and the Sacraments and the Keys in such a sense as that, by possessing the sole and exclusive right to administer the same, they should constitute a superior rank in the Church and hand down these prerogatives to their successors in office. They not only do not imply this, but they elsewhere distinctly assert the contrary, viz.: That God gave the Gospel, and the Sacraments, and the power of the Keys besides, to all the Church, to the whole body of believers. It would be strange, indeed, if those just emerging from the thraldom of the hierarchy, and in the very act of protesting against its enormous assumptions in this direction, should so stultify themselves as practically to give back, into the hands of an official, self-perpetuating caste, the very weapons with which the Church had so long been held in subjection! No, they held that there is no such difference between the regularly called Ministry and the mass of the believers that the latter cannot perform any of the functions of the Ministerial Office in case of necessity. But this could not be the case if the mass of believers were not already possessed of the essential qualifications for the discharge of these official duties, and if the right of performing them, or of having them performed, were not originally vested in all the individual members of the Church.

Luther, in 1521, Walch XIX., 1340, 1341.

"It is enough that we know that a Christian people is not divided but is without sects or respect of person, in which there is no layman, no clergy, no monk, no nun, absolutely no difference, all married or unmarried as any one may choose. There is in reality no difference between the bishops, elders and priests and the laity, no one being distinguished from other Christians *except that he has an office*,

which is committed to him, to preach the Word of God and to administer the Sacraments; just as a mayor or judge is in no wise distinguished from the other citizens, except that the government of the city is entrusted to him. * * The name bishop or priest is not the name of a *class*, but of an *office;* priest is the same as elder, and bishop the same as overseer. Yet wicked men have manufactured out of them *ranks* and special dignity."

Luther, in his Commentary on 1 Peter, (in 1523,) writes thus:

"Now these [Papists] have established *an order*, as though it were appointed by God, and have taken such liberties in the very midst of Christendom that there is a greater difference than between us and the Turks."

There is a twofold scriptural basis upon which the Confessors rest these opinions, viz.: *The common priesthood of believers and the power of the Keys.*

Luther, Exposition of 110th Psalm, in 1539.

"Do you ask, wherein consists the priesthood of believers, or what are their priestly works? Answer:—The very same of which we have been speaking, namely, teaching, sacrificing and praying. If we have become Christians, * * then we have also received the right and the power to teach and confess the *Word* that He gives us before all, *every one according to his calling and place.* For, although we do not all occupy a public office and calling yet every believer *may and should* teach, instruct, exhort, comfort, rebuke his neighbor through the Word of God, whenever and wherever that may be needed, as a father and mother their children and household, one brother, or neighbor, citizen or farmer, the other."

This is what Luther means by private Christians *using the office*, viz.: Acting as priest in a private capacity, not officiating in public.

Luther, in 1533, Winkelmesse, Walch XIX, 1536.

"We do not wish to be, or to be called, *made* but *born* priests, and our priesthood we claim as hereditary from our father and mother; for *our Father* is the true Pastor and High Priest, as is written in the 110th Psalm: God has sworn and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek. And that he has verified in that he offered himself for us upon the cross, &c. But this same Priest has a *Bride*, a priestess, as is written, John 3 : 29, He that hath the bride is the bridegroom. Of this

bridegroom and bride we are born through holy baptism and so have become hereditarily true priests in Christendom, sanctified by his blood and consecrated by his Holy Spirit, as St. Peter calls us, 1 Peter 2 : 5, Ye are a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, and St. Paul, Rom. 12 : 2, also calls us *priests*, for he exhorts us to "*present* our bodies as a living *sacrifice*, holy, acceptable unto God." Now to sacrifice unto God is the office of the priest alone, as the Pope himself must confess, and all the world beside. Moreover we are not only his *children*, but also his *brothers*, as he says, Ps. 22 : 23, I will declare thy name unto my *brethren;* and Matt. 12 : 50, He that doeth the will of my Father, the same is my mother, sister, brother. So that *we are priests by the double title of childhood and brotherhood.* This our connate and inherited priesthood we insist shall not be taken from us, or interfered with or eclipsed, but held prominently forth, proclaimed and abundantly honored, so that it may shine resplendently as the sun, and dazzle the eyes of the devil and his abominable puppets, so that his sneaking masses and chrism, in contrast to it, shall stink worse than devils-dung. Hence the Holy Ghost in the New Testament has taken especial care that the name priest (*Sacerdos*) should not be applied to any apostle or to any other offices, but only to the baptized or Christians, as a connate, inherited name through baptism."

The point is much insisted upon by our earlier writers, that the term *priest*, which in the course of time came to carry with it so much of special prerogative, was the common appellation of all believers in the days of primitive Christianity.

Joh. Gerhard, Loc. de Min. Eccl. §§ 14, 15.

"Augustine, (de Civit. Dei, 10,) says: *Now* in the Church only the bishops and elders are called priests, but *all Christians were so called* in view of the mysterious anointing, because they are all members of one Priest." "The former signification (says Joh. Gerhard,) is the *ecclesiastical* one, the latter is the one usually *employed in the Scriptures*, this is specially to be noted, as against the Papists who seek to derive an argument in favor of the mass from the name priest as applied in the writings of the Church Fathers to the office bearers of the New Testament."

Luther, Kirchenpostille, Walch, XII, 1889.

"They must confess [the Papists] that this typical priest-

hood, which existed under the Old Testament, exists no longer, and we ask them then, whence have they authority to say that they were typified by those priests, and that they alone are priests of the New Testament? There is not a letter in the whole New Testament in which they are called priests. What can they say to this? The lepers are to go to the priests; where are the priests? St. Peter, 1 Ep. 2 : 9, says that in the New Testament there are no special priests, but that all *Christians* are priests, *typified by those priests.*"

Luther, Sendschreiben-Prag, 1523, Walch, X, 1834.

"For a priest, especially in the New Testament must be *born*, not *made;* is not *consecrated* but *created;* is not born, however, by a carnal birth, but by a spiritual birth through the Word and Spirit, in the washing of regeneration. So that all Christians are together priests, and all priests are Christians, *and it is a cursed abuse of language to say that a priest is anything else than a Christian*, for that is maintained in despite of the Word of God, only as a doctrine of men, or as a matter of tradition, or because many believe it. And to make either of these three reasons the basis of a matter of faith, is blasphemous and abominable."

Melanchthon, in the Apology.

"Gabriel, among other reasons for withholding the cup from the laity, adds this also, that *there must be a difference between the priests and the laity.* And I suppose that is the principal reason why they now insist so much upon this, so as to give a greater air of holiness to the clergy in contrast with the laity. This is all a human contrivance; it is easy to see what is the drift of it."

Heshusius, Hauptartikel christl. Lehre A. D., 1584, p. 785.

"All believers, not only those who are in the holy office, but also civil rulers and mechanics, who are baptized in the name of Christ and regenerated by the Holy Spirit, these are priests and priestesses, that are fully entitled to offer spiritual sacrifices. The Apostle Peter addresses not only preachers, bishops and pastors, but the whole Church of God, those who had received the Word of God and faith in Christ, these he calls the royal priesthood; therefore the Pope with his bishops does wrong, in that he robs the Church of God of her title of honor and appropriates this glorious name entirely to himself and his baldheaded crowd."

We have already remarked that some of the technical terms of this controversy were used by the Reformers and the early theologians of our Church *in a vague and variable manner*. This is particularly true of the term *Keys*. In its strict sense, of the "*power of binding and loosing*," they all employ it; but they often use it also in a much wider sense; as will be seen from a few quotations.

Art. XXVIII, of the Confession, defines the keys to be:

"An authority and command of God to preach the Gospel, to forgive and retain sin, and to dispense the Sacraments. This power of the keys we employ and exert only by *teaching and preaching the Word of God* and by administering the Sacrament to many or few persons, according as our call may be," &c.

Melanchthon, Smalcald Articles, Appendix.

"Just as the *promise of the Gospel* belongs immediately to the whole Church so also do the keys belong immediately to the whole Church; since the *keys* are nothing else than *the office* through which that promise is imparted to every one who desires it."

Luther, in 1521, commenting upon Matt. 18 : 15—20, Büchlein von der Beichte, Erlangen Ed. 27 : 363–4, says:

"O that this passage were not in the Gospel! What a fine thing that would be for the Pope! For here Christ gives the keys to the whole Church and not to St. Peter. And here belongs also the same saying, Matt. 16 : 18, 19, where he gives the keys to Peter on behalf of the whole Church. For in this 18th chapter the Lord makes a gloss upon his own words, showing *to whom* he had previously (Matt. 16,) given the keys, in the person of St. Peter. They are given to *all Christians* and not to the person, St. Peter."

Luther, in 1523, Sendschr. Prag, Walch X, 1846.

"The keys belong to the whole congregation of Christians *and to every one that is a member thereof*, and this not only so far as the possession of the power is concerned, but also as to its actual use in every way possible, so that we do no violence to the words of Christ, who says bluntly and to all alike: Let him be *unto thee* as a heathen man and a publican, Matt. 18 : 17, * * Also; 19, If two of you shall agree on earth, also, v. 20, "*Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them.*" Also, "Whatsoever *ye* shall bind," &c. And here I would use in proof also that passage in which Christ ad-

dressed Peter alone: *To thee* will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. In which texts the most perfect authority and the exercise of it for binding and loosing are assured and confirmed most positively. Unless, indeed, we would deny to Christ himself the power and use of the keys if he dwelt with the two or three."

Luther, in 1539, Schrift von Conciliis und Kirchen, Walch XVI, 2791.

"The keys are not the Pope's (as he falsely claims) but the Church's; that is they belong to the people of Christ, the people of God, or the holy Christian people, all the world over, or where there are Christians. For they cannot all be at Rome, or the whole world would have to be there, which will not happen for some time to come. Just as baptism, the sacrament, God's Word, are not the Pope's but belong to the people of Christ, so the keys are and are called *claves ecclesiae*, not *claves papae*."

Melanchthon, Smalcald Articles, append. 22 sq.

"And here they quote against us several texts; *e. g.*, Matt. 16, Thou art Peter and upon this rock will I build my Church. Also, *to thee will I give the keys*. Also, feed my sheep. And more of the same kind. But, as this whole matter has been diligently and sufficiently treated of by those of our side we will not here repeat what they have written, but will now briefly reply as to what is the real meaning of those passages. *In all these texts Peter is a representative person*, and speaks not for himself alone, but for all the apostles. This the passages clearly prove, for Christ *always asks not Peter alone*, but says: Whom do *ye* say that I am? And, although he says in one place to *Peter* alone: To *thee* will I give the keys; and, Whatsoever *thou* bindest, &c.; yet he says the very same in other places to *all the disciples:* Whatsoever *ye* shall bind, &c., Matt. 18. Also, in John: Whosesoever sins *ye* remit, &c. These words prove that the keys were given to all alike, and that they all alike were sent forth to preach."

"But, over and above all this, we are to confess that the keys belong and have been given not to one man alone, but to the *whole Church*, as this can be clearly and satisfactorily proven. *For just as the promise of the Gospel belongs to the whole Church, originally and immediately, so also do the keys belong to the whole Church immediately*, for the keys are nothing else than the office through which those promises are communicated to every one who de-

sires them; as it is factually evident to all that the Church has the power to appoint her ministers. And Christ, along with these words: Whatsoever ye shall bind, &c., clearly indicates *to whom* he has given the keys, namely, *to the whole Church*, when he says: Wheresoever *two or three* are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

At this point we meet one of the principal topics now in controversy. In direct opposition to this last statement of Luther, in the Smalcald Articles, that the whole Church, and every member of it, has received the keys *originally and immediately*, the conservative party assert, in the words of Grabau: (Informatorium, second year, page 23) "The congregation [Church] has the keys *not immediately*, but mediately in the Word of God and in the *holy office of the ministry*."

(First year, page 22): "If it now be said that this special ecclesiastical authority is given by Christ to his *Church* upon earth, nothing more is intended than that it was instituted in the Gospel and set up *in* the Church by ordinary *means* through the efficacy of the Gospel in the form of the *office of bishop or preacher*."

"In this house of God now there are the keys of Christ through means of the Gospel *and the office of the ministry*, not because they have their origin there, but because that is the appropriate spiritual theatre where they can exhibit their power for the consolation and salvation of souls and be thus *put to use*. And in this sense the Smalcald Articles say that the keys are given to the whole Church."

That our earlier theologians did not so understand the Smalcald Articles, but held this to be the Romish view of the Ministry, is apparent, *e. g.*, from Gerhard's statement: (Loc. Theol. de Min., § 87.)

"It is a jesuitical evasion to say that the Church has the keys only in so far as they are handled in her midst by her ministers. *Bellarmin* makes the objection: 'Peter received the keys on *behalf of the Church, because he received them for the use and profit of the whole Church*, and because he was not only to use them himself, but also to hand them down to his successors and impart them to all bishops and priests.' Answer: We admit that Peter received the keys for the use and profit of the Church, and holds them in common with other bishops and pastors, but we deny that

this is to be understood exclusively, as if the keys were given to Peter and the bishops alone, and not to the whole Church. For, as Peter confessed Christ *on behalf of the Church*, not alone in the sense that that confession availed for *the profit* of the whole Church, but also *because in the confessing Peter the Church herself confessed*: thus also the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to Peter on behalf of the Church, not only because they were given to him for the *profit and use of* the whole Church, but also because the Church, in the person of Peter, received them, so that she herself should participate *in the use of the same*, as well in other matters embraced under the name of the power of the keys as also *in the election and calling of well qualified ministers of the Word.*"

In further illustration of the above statement we present the following from the celebrated Evangelical Harmony of Chemnitz, Leyser and Gerhard. In their exposition of Matt. 16 : 19, they say :

"First of all we are to inquire what is to be understood by the keys of the kingdom of heaven which Christ here, (Matt. 16 : 19) promises. Let us call to mind the fact that Christ, in this conversation with his disciples, has been comparing his Church to a city, or to a house which he himself is building. And indeed the Church is his city, in which he gathers the citizens and subjects of his kingdom, and his house in which he has deposited all his goods and treasures, viz.: The grace of God, forgiveness of sins, justification, salvation, &c. The handing over of the keys is of old the symbol of a specific, entrusted, transferred authority; for, he who has the keys has access to all. If, *e. g.*, a man gives to his wife the keys, he declares thereby that he acknowledges her as his associate, and entrusts her with the care of the household. So also are the keys entrusted to householders and stewards by their masters, whereby authority is given to them over chambers, cellars, chests and whatever is contained therein. And so, when *princes* are admitted to a city, the keys of the same are handed over to them by the citizens, in token of their submission to their authority and in acknowledgment of their authority to admit any one into the city, or exclude him from it. This figure our Lord here applies to the *Church*, whose keys he entrusts to Peter and his associates *in office*, whereby he teaches that he means to appoint them as his stewards and householders, that they are to open the treas-

ures to the worthy and admit them to the possession and use of the same, but to close them up against the unworthy and unholy and to exclude these from the kingdom of God. 1 Cor. 4 : 1. The phrase: "*Keys of the kingdom of heaven,*" *comprises therefore that function, power and plenary authority in virtue of which everything is performed that is necessary for the kingdom of Christ, or the government of the Church.* And this could not be more appropriately explained than by this figure of the keys."

"*Nevertheless the right of every Christian to the keys, even of the most obscure, which he has been entrusted with by Christ, remains inviolate.* For, *as all the citizens of a free city of the empire*, however large their number may be, have *common rights and equal freedom*, so far as the republic is concerned; and as, for the sake of order, they elect senators and appoint a mayor to preside over them, to whom they commit *the keys and statutes of the city*, so that he may administer the same *in the common name of all*, and govern the republic accordingly, just so do the people of the city of God. They have indeed a communion of saints, and all is theirs, whether Paul or Peter, life or death, the present or the future; 1 Cor. 3 : 21; they possess all things under the one Head, Christ, who has purchased by the merits of his blood *everything* necessary to salvation *for his Church*, and in this especially *for every member*, even the most obscure; and yet, *for the sake of order, they elect certain persons* to whom THEY COMMIT the administration [or use] of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; these are those who among us are called deacons, pastors, doctors, bishops, or superintendents, &c., so that everything may be done among us decently and in order, according to the teachings of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 14."

IV. Although the Confessors held such clear and decided views in regard to the essential equality of all believers, as over against the claims of a hierarchical caste, yet *they did not understand our Savior as conferring upon all alike the right ordinarily and publicly to perform the functions of the ministerial office.*

They declare, Art. XIV: "No one dare publicly teach or preach, or administer the sacraments, unless he be rightly called."

For which *Hutter* assigns the following reasons:

1. "On account of the command of God, Jer. 23 : 31; Heb. 5 : 4; Rom. 10 : 15.

2. For the sake of ἐνταξιαν (good order) and the tranquility of the Church, 1 Cor. 14 : 40.

3. For certainty of doctrine; for, that it may surely be known what this is, and by whom it is received, there is need of doctrinal investigation and of testimonies.

4. On account of the conscience of the teacher, that he may be certain that the grace of Christ is with him and that his hearers also may know that they are listening to an embassador of God, 2 Cor. 5 : 20."

Luther was charged by Emser with teaching that the general priesthood made all to be preachers, &c.; to whom he replied, (in 1521) "And so you lie when you say that I have made all laymen bishops, priests and ecclesiastics, so that they may at once, *uncalled*, assume the office; you do not add, pious as you are, that I also wrote: Only *extreme necessity* can justify one in doing that to which he has not been regularly called." (Walch XVII, 1597.)

Luther, in 1520, (Letter to Germ. Nob. Walch X, 302.)

"If we now be all priests alike, then no one is to put himself forward and undertake, without our consent and choice, to do that which we all have the same authority to do. For what is common to all, that no one dare appropriate to himself without the common consent and command. And if it should happen that some one is chosen for such an office, and for his bad conduct is deposed, then he becomes just what he was before. For the position of a priest, in the Church, is just like that of a civil officer; whilst he is in office he has precedence; but when he is deposed he is a farmer or a citizen just like the rest."

Luther, in 1523, (com. on 1 Peter.)

"Now you may say, if that be true, that we are all priests, and are to preach, what will be the state of affairs? Is there to be no difference among the people? Are the women, too, to be priests? Answer: Those who are now called priests were all laymen, as the rest, and have only been chosen as officials by the Church. The difference, therefore, is only outwardly, in virtue of the office, to which one has been called by the Church; but before God there is no difference. And some are put forward from the mass only for this reason that, in the place of the congregation, they may perform the functions of the office that belongs to all, not that one may have more power than another. *Therefore no one should come forward of his own accord and preach in the congregation, but one is to be*

called forth from the mass and appointed, who may be deposed again, if it be thought proper."

How these expressions of the Confession and of Luther were subsequently understood, is manifest from such statements as the following, from *Gerhard*, (Loc. Theol. de Sacr. § 29, and de Min. Eccl. § 67):

"So far as Luther is concerned, *he does not concede to all that are baptized the unconditional and absolute right to administer the sacraments*, but he speaks of a certain general *fitness* (aptitudine) which Christians possess, as distinguished from unbelievers, because, having been received through baptism into the covenant of God, they are fit and suited for this office, if, namely, they be legitimately called to it."

"Believers are called *kings*; but it does not therefore follow that every believer can exercise the office of the civil authority, without a call thereto, for the Apostles speak of *spiritual* kings; and just so, because believers are called *priests*, it does not therefore follow that every one can without a call assume an ecclesiastical office, for the Apostles in like manner speak of *spiritual* priests. For they are called spiritual priests *not with reference to an ecclesiastical office*, but with reference to the spiritual sacrifices which they are to offer to God. Nor has the objection any force when in it we are told that Peter adds that believers are a royal priesthood, that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light, for we must distinguish between *the general command and calling*, which all Christians receive, along with their consecration as believers, and the *special call* through which the administration of the office of the Word and Sacraments *in the public assemblies of the Church* is committed by common consent to certain persons well qualified for the same; but, that this call is not common to all Christians, is evident from 1 Cor. 12 : 29; Eph. 4 : 11; Jas. 3 : 1."

Chemnitz, (Exam. c. 85, p. 1687):

"Christ gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven to the Church, Matt. 18 : 18. And we give ourselves no concern here about the ridicule of those who cry out: 'Then cobblers and tailors, cooks and day-laborers have the power of the keys, and thus you build your own Babel and introduce endless confusion.' I answer: who will deny that *in case of need every believer* may baptize &c.? And this

case of extreme necessity the Church has always made an exception, as Jerome has testified, against the Luciferians, and Augustine against Fortunatus. But, except in case of necessity this is allowed to no one, unless he be a regularly called and appointed servant of the Church. For this would be to violate the divine rule: how can they preach except they be sent? Rom. 10 : 15. Again, they ran and I did not send them."

Henricus Barnerus, (Abriss d. neuen Menschen. p. 374.)

"That they [*i. e.*, Christians] do not all publicly administer the office of teaching, *in publico ministerio*, is owing to the fact that they have not been thereto called, *vocationis defectus*. Here we must distinguish between rank and office, *inter statum et officium*. To the *office* belongs a special call, *specialis vocatio*, which must be committed, entrusted. But this is not the case with the *rank*. Thus all Christians are priests but not all are pastors, for this one can only be if, besides being a Christian and a priest he has an office and parish entrusted to him."

Chemnitz, (Exam. II. de S. ord. c. 1):

"*All Christians are indeed priests*, 1 Peter 2, Rev. 1, for they offer to God spiritual sacrifices; every one has both the right and the duty to teach the Word of God in his own house, Deut. 6 : 1; 1 Cor. 14. But not every Christian dare assume the *public office* of the Word and Sacraments. *For not all are apostles, not all are teachers*, 1 Cor. 12, but only those who by a special and legitimate call are set apart for this office by God himself, Acts 13; Jer. 23; Rom. 10; and this is done either mediately or immediately."

Salamon Deyling, (Inst. Prud. Past. p. 403):

"As the right of teaching and of administering the sacraments belongs *originally* (der Wurzel nach) *to the whole Church*, but the *public exercise* of the same only to its legitimately called *servants;* so *every member of the Church*, just the same as the whole *coetus* (congregation) possesses the *keys* in the same manner as the authority to teach, but only *for private use*, not for public and stated use, lest there should arise confusion that would miserably rend the Church. In the *public* congregation the keys are to be used only by those to whom the whole Church has transferred their exercise and use by a public call."

V. And now the next question that presents itself is: *How is this office to be filled?* Where lies the authority to select and set apart those who are to perform its functions?

To this *Luther* answers (Walch X, 2547):

"The call to the Gospel Ministry is of two kinds, the one coming *directly from God.* The other *through men* and yet also *just as truly from God.* The first we are not to credit unless it be demonstrated by miracles, such as were performed by Christ and his Apostles. Some were called not by men, *nor through a man,* but were chosen by Jesus Christ and God the Father, such as the prophets and all the apostles. Others were chosen indeed by God, but *through men,* as the disciples of the apostles and all who rightly enter the holy office instead of the apostles until the end of the world."

But this mediate call, *through men,* by whom is it to be exercised? By the Ministry alone, or by the Church, as a whole?

Calovius, (Syst. loc. th. Tom. VIII, p. 334):

"It is known that the *right to call* has been entrusted to the Church, just as the keys and church discipline, Matt. 18 : 18; 1 Cor. 3 : 21; 4 : 1; Rom. 3 : 2; 9 : 4; 1 Cor. 5 : 1 sq. The Church however has not transferred this to the presbytery alone, but exercises it directly herself and by the cöoperation of all her constituent parts."

Smalcald Articles, 67.

"Wheresoever the Church is, there is also the right of administering the Gospel. Wherefore it is necessary for the Church *to retain the right of calling, electing and ordaining ministers.* And this right is a special gift bestowed upon the Church of which no human authority can deprive her."

Hollazius, (quoted in Schmid's Dogmatik, p. 478, 3d ed.):

"Through the divine call is here understood the appointment of a certain and suitable person to the ecclesiastical office with the right to teach in public, to administer the sacraments, and exercise ecclesiastical discipline, effected by God, either alone or by intervention of a human instrumentality."

Gerhard, (XII, 75, in Schmid's Dgm. 478):

"The difference between the *mediate* and *immediate* call consists always and only in this that the former is effected through ordinary means, divinely appointed for this purpose, but the latter through God himself, who manifests his will concerning the immediate call of each person either by direct personal interference or through some representative."

The *mediate* call is, therefore, none the less to be considered divine: For, (*Gerhard*, XII, 79)

"1. It is referred to God as its author, Ps. 68 : 12; Is. 41 : 27; Jer. 3 : 15; 23 : 4; 1 Cor. 12 : 38; Eph. 4 : 11.

2. It is based upon apostolic authority; Acts 14 : 22; 1 Tim. 4 : 14; 2 Tim. 1 : 6; 2 : 2; 1 Tim. 3 : 2; Rom. 15 : 18; 1 Tim. 5 : 21; Acts 20 : 22; Col. 4 : 17.

3. The mediate call inherits gracious promises: 1 Tim. 21 : 16; 14; 2 Cor. 3 : 6; Eph. 4 : 12."

Seckendorf, (Christenstaat, III, XI, § 3):

"It is best that we take our stand upon the position which Christ has himself laid down, when he declared: Wheresoever two or three (to say nothing of a greater assembly) are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them, Matt. 18 : 20; whence it follows that even such an assembly or congregation has of itself the power to order and appoint *everything needful for its divine worship*, at which Christ has promised to be present, &c."

Quenstedt, (Theol. did. pol. p. 1509):

"The originally efficacious cause of the ministerial office is God; the less directly constitutive source is the Church. The authority to select and call the ministers of the Word belongs, by divine right, not alone to the priests, or the ecclesiastical order, nor alone to the civil authority, nor alone to people at large, but to the whole Church; and without the consent and voice of the people there can be no legitimate call."

Brochmand, (Theol. Systm. II, p. 349):

"Our churches ascribe the right of choosing the ministers of the Word to the whole Church, and derive their authority from Acts 1 : 22, 23. For, when an apostle was to be chosen in the place of the traitor Judas, Peter it is true, for the sake of order, introduced and presided over the transaction, but the whole Church elected two, between whom the lot was cast. If now the Apostles, who were extraordinarily called by Christ, and were endowed with special authority by God, did not presume of themselves to appoint the ministers of the Church, why do the Papal bishops, who are not worthy to be compared to the Apostles, as to their gifts, asssume this right?"

Hülseman, (Vind. S. Script. p. 1224):

"The Church in its totality (*ecclesia collectiva*) can ordain suitable persons from among the laity that they may become clergymen."

Chemnitz, (Ded. I, 2. p. 419):

"The Church in any place is the whole body in which, under Christ as head, all the members of that place are comprised. Eph. 4; 1 Cor. 1. Therefore the call belongs neither to the ecclesiastics alone, nor to the mass of ordinary believers alone, for neither without the other is *the whole Church;* but the call belongs, and must ever belong, to *the whole Church*, and with due regard to order."

It is very surprising that any who claim to teach in accordance with the Confession can maintain the right of the Ministry alone to decide who are to be their successors in office!

Hear the following, for instance, from Löhe: (Aphorismen über die neutestamentlichen Aemter, &c., 1849, p. 71.)

"Everywhere in the New Testament we see that the holy office begets the Churches, never that the office is merely a transfer of congregational rights and plenary powers, that the churches confer the office. *The office stands in the midst of the Church like a fruitful tree that has its seed in itself.* As long as the examination and ordination remain in the hands of the Presbyterium (the pastors), it is right and can be maintained that it completes itself and propagates itself from person to person, from generation to generation. Those who hold it pass it along, and he, to whom its incumbents transfer it, holds it as from God. * * The office is a stream of blessing that pours itself from the apostles upon their disciples and from these onward into future times."

And again, page 86: "Observe how entirely different is the appointment of *deacons* (Acts 6) from that of *pastors!* In the case of the latter, the congregation is not called into consultation; *it lies entirely in the hands of the appointing apostles and evangelists*, who, *at their discretion*, and as occasion may require, take the advice of the congregation, or of individual members. On the other hand, at the appointment of the *diaconate* the whole congregation is called together, the plan is laid before it—although, it is true, in the form of a command, for the Apostles are the representatives of the Lord—and it gives and testifies its approbation. And now, how are the deacons chosen? According to a standard of qualification laid down by the Apostles they are elected by the congregation, then placed before the apostles and ordained by them. We may call the

Presbyterium a *sacred aristocracy* of the Church, whilst in the election of the deacons there lies something *democratic.*".

Precisely the opposite of this was the special theme of Luther's "Sendschreiben wie man Kirchendiener wählen u. einsetzen soll, an den Rath u. Gemeine der Stadt Prag., 1523, viz.:

"*That Christians, as spiritual priests, possess all ecclesiastical authority.*" After enumerating all the priestly prerogatives of believers, he concludes thus: "We see here, clearer than the light of day and more surely than sure, whence we are to take the priests or ministers of the Word. Namely, we are to choose them out of the multitude of Christ's followers and from no where else. For, as it has been sufficiently demonstrated that every one has the right to serve in the Word, yes that this has been made the duty of every one when he sees that no one else is at hand, or that those who are at hand are teaching falsely, as Paul has shown, 1 Cor. 14 : 27 sq., 'So that the praises of him that has called us may be shown forth by us all,' 1 Peter 2 : 9—; *how much more should not then a whole congregation have the right and be under the obligation by means of a general election to commit this office to one or more in their stead?*" (Walch X, 1861.)

Nor are we to be told that this holds merely of the special call to a particular congregation, and not to the general call *to the office;* for Luther writes, in 1533, (Walch XIX, 1565):

"Where there is a holy Christian Church, there all the sacraments must be also, Christ himself and his Holy Spirit. If we then are a holy Christian Church and have those things that are of the *greatest and most essential importance*, God's Word, Christ, Spirit, faith, prayer, baptism, sacrament, *office of the keys*, &c., *shall we not also have this smallest matter, namely, the power and right to call some* TO THE OFFICE, who are to *minister* to us the Word, baptism, &c., (*which are already here*) and to serve us in these matters—what kind of a church would that be?"

And, at an earlier date, 1520, (in his Letter to the German Nobility, Walch XIX, 202):

"Accordingly we are all by baptism consecrated as priests, as St. Peter says: (1 Peter 2 : 9,) 'Ye are a royal priesthood and a holy nation;' and Rev. 5 : 10, 'Thou hast made us unto our God kings and priests.' For, if there

were not a higher consecration in us than the Pope or the bishop gives, a priest could never be made by the consecration of Pope or bishop, though he might say masses, and preach and give absolution. Therefore the consecration of the bishop is nothing more than if he, in the place and on behalf of the whole assembly would take one out of the number of those, who all have the same authority, and enjoin it upon him to exercise this authority for the others. Just as if ten brothers, sons of a king, heirs alike, would choose one to manage the inheritance for them; they would all be kings and of equal authority, and yet one would be entrusted with the government. And, that I may state it still more clearly, if a little company of pious, Christian laymen were taken prisoners, and placed in a desert, and had not with them a priest consecrated by a bishop, and would agree to choose one of their own number, married or not, and entrust him with the office of baptizing, administering the communion, absolving and preaching, he would just as truly be a priest as if all the bishops and popes had consecrated him. Whence it follows, that in case of need every one can baptize and give absolution, which could not be the case if we were not priests."

The doctrine is stated, syllogistically, thus, by *Gerhard*, (Loc. Theol. de Min. Eccl. § 87):

"He who has received from Christ himself the keys of the kingdom of heaven, he has the right to call the servants of the Church. But these keys have been given to the whole Church. Therefore *the right to call the servants of the Church, belongs to the whole Church.* The major premise is proved by the definition of the keys; for by the keys we understand ecclesiastical authority, of which the right to choose the servants of the Church is a part. The minor premise is manifest from the words of Christ, Matt. 16 : 19, where to Peter, representing the Church, it is said, I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven."

Chemnitz, (Exam. II, loc. 13):

"And here the question arises, who those are by whose votes that election and call is to be decided, so that it may be regarded as divine, that is, that God himself by those means is choosing, calling and sending forth laborers into his harvest. Now we find certain and clear examples of this in the Scriptures. In Acts 1 : 15, when a successor to Judas was to be appointed, Peter laid the matter not before the Apostles alone, but also before the rest of the

'*disciples*;' for so the believers were then called, whose number, there collected together, was one hundred and twenty. * * * When deacons were to be elected and called, Acts 6 : 2 sq., the apostles do not assume the right of choosing, but they call the *congregation* together, &c. According to Acts 14 : 23, Paul and Barnabas ordain presbyters in certain congregations, to whom they have preached the Gospel; but they do not assume for themselves alone the authority to choose and to call, but Luke uses here the word χειροτονησαντες, which in 2 Cor. 8 : 19, describes the election which is decided by the votes of the congregation, &c. * * * In the case of a legitimate call, in the days of the apostles, there were always two factors implicated and demanded, the consent of the congregation and the judgment and confirmation of the presbytery."

The Church does not relinquish (or dispossess herself of) her rights to the universal priesthood when she appoints incumbents of the ministerial office, to perform its functions, in Christ's name, for her sake. No more than American citizens throw away their inalienable right of sovereignty by voting for an incumbent of the Presidential office. These rights and powers are inherent in them, in virtue of their citizenship, and are absolutely inalienable. Just so with the universal priesthood of believers.

It may be asked, however, does not the Church practically exercise this right of calling her servants when she does it *through those already in the holy office?* Is there not by common consent a general understanding upon this subject, to the effect that our churches, by retaining the right of giving the special call to a particular field of labor, hold in their hands a check upon the ministry; as though they were thereby continually saying to those who claim the right of examining and setting apart others to the holy office, be careful what kind of men you select and ordain, or we will refuse to call them to minister to us?

We reply: It has always been found to be a dangerous thing to suffer power to pass from the many to the few. We are neither more nor less human than those who have gone before us. And he has read the history of the Church to little purpose who has not observed how insidiously, almost imperceptibly, and yet how surely, from just such a small beginning as that, ecclesiastical encroachments have advanced, until, as Luther says: "They have established *an order* as though it were appointed by God, and

have taken such liberties that in the very midst of Christendom there is a greater difference than between us and the Turks." Unless tendencies toward centralization and monopoly are seasonably checked, history teaches that a revolution is needed to bring back the power and restore it to its true possessors. The world ought by this time to have learned the lesson, that it is best to leave the supreme authority where God intended it to be, viz.: in the masses of the people, and to have it peacefully and steadily administered by those whom the masses select and empower as their agents for that purpose. Such is the true theory of civil government, and such our Church understands to be the scriptural view of the Gospel Ministry.

At the same time it must be acknowledged that the practice of the Church has very generally varied from her theory in this matter. *Baier*, (in Schmid's Dogmatik, p. 479,) thus presents the case:

"The Church, after it is planted possesses the right and the power of appointing its ministers. For it holds for itself, as the bride, Christ's keys of the kingdom of heaven, given by the bridegroom, Matt. 16 : 18; 18 : 17, and thus, just as it belongs to her to open and shut the kingdom of heaven; so it is hers also to appoint the ministers through whom she opens and shuts. And thus, if we bear in mind that the Church is a kind of republic, and that the ministers of the Word are so to speak the magistrates or conductors of public affairs, upon whom the care of the whole republic rests, it is easily understood that the power of appointing them is vested, *per se* and in the very nature of the case, *in the whole Church*, nor does it belong to any one part unless, by the common consent of all it be transferred to some one part."

And *Hollazius*, (ibidem):

"We must distinguish between the *right* of calling ministers and the *exercise* of the right. The right of calling belongs to the whole Church and all its ranks and members. But the exercise of the right varies according to the conventional custom of individual churches."

Our Church holds, moreover, that not only the *call* to the Ministry proceeds, under God, *from the whole Church*, by virtue of the universal priesthood and the power of the keys, but also that the *ordination* of those thus summoned to her service is nothing more than her official and public recognition of such call.

Melanchthon, Smalcald Articles, Append. 69, 70,):

"These words (1 Peter 2 : 9, 'Ye are a royal priesthood,') refer particularly to the true Church, which, as it alone holds the priesthood, must also have the power of choosing and ordaining the servants of the Church. The usual custom of the Church also proves this; for anciently the people chose pastors and bishops; then the bishop of the same place, or living near by, confirmed the elected bishop by the imposition of hands; and in those days *ordination was nothing else than such confirmation.*"

Chemnitz, (Loc. de eccl. p. 126):

"Although ordination does not constitute the call, yet, if any one has been rightly called, then that custom is a declaration and a public attestation that the call that preceded it was lawful."

Balduin, (De Casibus Consc. p. 1032–33):

"Ordination is nothing else than *the public and solemn confirmation of a legitimate call*, that all may know that this person has not taken violent possession of the ecclesiastical office, nor crept in otherwise, after the manner of thieves and robbers, but has entered by the true door. * * Ordination is not indispensably and absolutely necessary, * *; for it is *neither divinely commanded*, so that it cannot be omitted, *nor is its influence so great*, as is pretended by the Papacy, so that it cannot be omitted without great danger; *nor does the efficacy of the office depend upon ordination*, as though the Gospel could not be savingly taught without it; but *it is an ecclesiastical custom* which recommends the servant of the Word and admonishes him of certain duties."

Gerhard, (XII, 146):

"We deny that ordination is necessary by reason of any such effects as the Papists ascribe to it, as though by it there were conveyed any indelible character, or as if it conferred, *ex opere operato*, gifts requisite to the ministry, concerning which no promise can be adduced from the sayings of Christ and the Apostles."

Gerhard, (Loc. Theol. de Min., § 154):

"As the right of *calling* belongs to the whole Church, so also *ordination*, which is the publication and attestation of the call, is performed *in the name of the Church*. The Presbytery performs the act of the laying on of hands but the Church unites with this her prayers. Although, therefore, for the sake of *legitimate good order*, it is proper that

the bishop at the same time with the Presbytery lays his hands upon the person to be ordained, yet he acts here not according to his own private will and in virtue of plenary power inhering in himself, but *in the name, through the right, by the vote, under the authority, with the consent, with the sanction, yes, with the prayers of the whole Church;* and thus the ceremony is performed by the bishop, but the act itself is *the act of the Church*, as we see from Acts 6 : 3 ; 14 : 13."

According to this statement, which exhibits the true theory of our Church upon this subject, the Ministry does not, by virtue of its official rank, &c., perpetuate itself, but is perpetually receiving its authority to examine, ordain, &c., fresh from the Church in which all ecclesiastical power is deposited.

In addition to the *calling* and *ordination* of her ministers, *the Church*, and indeed especially the *ordinary membership of the Church*, has also the duty imposed upon it of watching these her servants and *testing their soundness of doctrine.*

Augsburg Confession, Abuses Corrected, Art. XXVIII:

"The people and churches owe obedience to the bishops, according to the command of Christ, Luke 10 : 16, He that heareth you, heareth me. But if they appoint or establish anything contrary to the Gospel, we have the command of God in that case *not to obey them*, Matt. 7 : 15, Beware of false prophets; and, St. Paul, Gal. 1 : 18, If we, or an angel from heaven, &c., 2 Cor. 13 : 8, 10."

If it be objected that the laity, whilst having the right to judge of doctrines, &c., originally vested in them, cannot now exercise that right because it is now by common consent transferred to the ministerial office to be exercised through this for the benefit of the Church; we reply, that the Church has no liberty thus to divest herself of a right which is at the same time a duty, imposed upon all her members, not only inclusive of, *but as over against her ministering servants.* Ordinary believers are not only to share with those already in the ministry in calling others into the office, but they are to scrutinize the doctrinal soundness of their teachers and hold them to the law and testimony—to "try the spirits," whether they be of God—to search the Scriptures, to see whether their teachings are in accordance with the same, &c.

Luther, in 1522, (Ag. Henry VIII, Walch XIX, 424):

"To examine and decide upon doctrine belongs to any

and every Christian, and this so positively that he is cursed who interferes with it in the slightest degree. For Christ has established this right in many incontrovertible texts: *e. g.*, Beware of false prophets that come to you in sheep's clothing. This word he addresses, beyond a doubt, to the people, against the teachers, and commands the people to beware of their false doctrines. But how can they avoid them unless they know what they are? And how can they know this unless they have power to judge? Now he not only gives them power to judge, but he also commands them to exercise it. So that this single passage would be enough against all popes, fathers, councils, decisions of all schools, that have attributed the right of judging and deciding only to bishops and ecclesiastics, and have godlessly and sacriligeously stolen it away from the people, that is to say the Church, the queen, &c."

Having thus endeavored to set forth the main topic of our Article, chiefly in the very words of the standard authorities, and with special reference to those features of it at present attracting public attention, we beg leave to express, in conclusion, both our gratification and regret in view of the relation sustained by the General Synod of our Church in this country, as we understand it, to the Confession and to the Scriptures, with reference to the doctrine of the Holy Ministry.

And first, *our gratification*, as we observe how closely our American Lutheran Church, of the General Synod, clings to the Scriptures and to the Confession in her views and practices in regard to this subject. Her official utterances, and the private publications of her most learned and influential representative men, distinctly echo, in the main, the confessional statements that have been spread before you, and also the spirit of the Confession upon other features of the office not specially adverted to, just as these reflect the teachings of the Word of God. We have reason to congratulate ourselves that those who, in the providence of God, gave shape to the theology and life of our Church in this country were principally men trained under the influence of an essentially orthodox Pietism, and that through them the revived spirituality of the German Lutheran Church passed over into and gave type to our American Lutheran Church life within the General Synod. That such was our origin, accounts for the fact that, in some respects, our church policy approaches more nearly

to the *ideal* of the Reformers and their immediate successors than that which our Church was compelled, by the force of unfavorable circumstances, to adopt upon her native soil. The Lutheran Church never had a completely fair opportunity of putting into practice her principles upon the subject of the Gospel Ministry until she found it in these western wilds, absolutely free from all state control and enjoying entire religious liberty. Thus disenthralled, our Church rejoiced in the opportunity of actualizing much that she had longed for in vain when fretting in the shackles of Erastianism. For all of this we feel devoutly thankful.

What occasion, then, have we for regret?

We entertain profound respect for the piety, the learning, and the wisdom of those who laid the foundations of our Church in this country, and of those who, in the same spirit, organized our General Synod. We owe them a lasting debt of gratitude for what they accomplished in the line of advance just indicated. But we cannot dismiss this subject without modestly and reluctantly expressing our heartfelt regret, in view of what we have long regarded and deplored as a stopping short of what they might and should have accomplished in this direction. We lament that they were not able entirely to free themselves from inherited prejudices and to carry out, with rigid consistency, the Scriptural doctrine of our Church upon the subject of the Gospel Ministry.

Unfortunately, in our opinion, several features were engrafted upon our system of ecclesiastical polity which mar its symmetry and detract from its otherwise perfectly scriptural character.

We refer particularly to three points, viz.:

1. The sealing up of the mouth of a regularly appointed delegate to the legislative assembly of the Church if his pastor happen not to be present;

2. To the exclusion of the entire mass of the representatives of the churches from all participation in certain kinds of ecclesiastical business; and

3. The practical exclusion of the laity from all share in the selection and setting apart of young men for the ministry.

We cannot but regard these features of our Church

government as violations of the scriptural rights of the laity to a full and equal share in all that pertains to the sound and healthful administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and our conviction that the present agitations and discussion of the elementary principles of scriptural truth upon this subject will lead to such a re-adjustment of the relations between our ministry and people, as to bring about a complete realization of the beautiful harmony between them, anticipated by the sagacity of the fathers in the Reformation period, but placed beyond their reach by the circumstances that surrounded them.

Already, indeed, has the *first* of these obnoxious features been removed from the constitutions of some of our Synods, and in these the representatives of the churches are now admitted to an equal share in that portion of the ecclesiastical legislation that is designated *Synodical.* There exists no longer that odious distinction between clergy and laity which seemed to imply that a layman would not know how to vote unless his pastor were there to direct him; or, if this were not its purpose, then that cunning provision that so effectually placed the reins of government in the hands of the clergy, by making it absolutely impossible that there should ever be a preponderance of lay votes in the Synod.

And as to the *second* of these obnoxious features, the practice of some of our Synods has been somewhat modified, despite the spirit and letter of the constitution. In some of them the representatives of the churches are informed, at a certain stage of the proceedings, that they need not retire, as they formerly were requested to do, but can remain, if they choose, whilst the clergy attend to certain kinds of ministerial business. A move in the right direction, certainly; and an indication, we hope, of something better. One more step, and that the essential one, of giving the lay delegates an equal voice with the ministry *in all ecclesiastical affairs*, and all will be right.

Such a change as that would include the correction of what appears to us to be the chief defect of all, viz.: the practical exclusion of the laity from all share in the selection and setting apart of young men for the Ministry. Some ten years ago our feeble voice was raised in behalf of a reform in this matter, advocating "*the right and the duty of the whole Church, through her representatives, clerical and lay, to take an active part in the discussion and decision*

of all questions effecting her welfare, and, among others, especially, also, in the great question as to WHO SHALL CONSTITUTE HER MINISTRY." According to our present Synodical constitution the laity are not allowed to take any part whatever in deciding this question. It is solely a prerogative of the clergy. And, apologize for this feature of our Church polity as we may, it in effect amounts to constituting the clergy a self-perpetuating class, just the very abuse against which the Reformers so vehemently protested. Allow us simply to mention the grounds upon which our plea was based, whilst we refer those who may feel a special interest in the question, to our Article in the forty-seventh number of the Evangelical Review for the argument in detail.

The points are, that by such reform we would

"1. Bring back the Church in this particular into conformity with primitive Christian usage.

2. That we would practically and fully illustrate one of the fundamental principles of the Reformation, which in this feature of our Church government, is strangely ignored;

3. That we would hereby accord with our brethren of several other branches of the Protestant Church in acknowledging the true position of the laity in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs;

4. That we would thereby avoid much unnecessary offence;

5. That we would furnish an additional guarantee for the preservation of sound doctrine and pure morals in the Church; and

6. That we would secure a more cordial interest in the Church on the part of the laity and stimulate their zeal in laboring for her welfare."

On all these points our convictions have only deepened with time, and we cannot conceal the gratification it has afforded us to find that the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary of the General Synod, in selecting a person to prepare the Holman Lecture upon the Fifth Article of the Augsburg Confession, saw fit to fix their choice upon one who had so frankly and earnestly been pleading for a re-adjustment of the relations of the clergy and laity in our ecclesiastical jurisprudence. It is hardly to be supposed that this choice was made at random. If it was done with any reference to the fact that we have

adverted to, it may be hailed as an indication of progress in what we feel assured to be the right direction. If it was not done with any such design, it has at least afforded a favorable opportunity for the utterance, on the part of a true child of the Church, of long-cherished and ever-deepening convictions on a subject of momentous importance.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

An English-Greek Lexicon. By C. D. Yonge. With many new articles, an appendix of proper names, and Tillon's Greek Synonyms. [To which is prefixed an Essay on the order of words in Attic Greek Prose by Charles Short, LL. D., Professor of Latin in Columbia College, New York.] Edited by Henry Drisler, LL. D., Professor of Greek in Columbia College, Editor of "Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon," etc., etc. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Languages, in which its forms are illustrated by those of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Saxon, Old Friesic, Old Norse, and Old High German. By Francis A. March, Professor of the English Language and Comparative Philology in Lafayette College. New York: Harper & Bros.

Prophecy a Preparation for Christ: Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford, in the year MDCCCLXIX, on the *Hampton Foundation.* By R. Payne Smith, D. D., Regius Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

The Seat of Empire. By Charles Carleton Coffin ("Carleton"). Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co

White as Snow. By Edward Garrett, author of "Occupation of a Retired Life," "Crust and Cake," and Ruth Garrett. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

Summer Drift-wood for the Winter Fire. By Rose Porter. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

The Juno Stories. Volume First. *Juno and Georgie.* Volume Second. *Mary Osborne.* By Jacob Abbott. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Olaf Thorlaksen. An Iceland Narrative by W. Oertel von Horn. From the German by Rev. Matthias Sheeleigh. Philadelphia: Lutheran Board of Publication.

American Edition of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Revised and Edited by Prof. H. B. Hackett, D. D. With the co-operation of Ezra Abbott, LL. D. Parts XXIX and XXX. New York: Hurd & Houghton.

An Introduction to Latin Composition. By William F. Allen, A. M., Professor of Ancient Languages and History in the University of Wisconsin. Boston: Ginn Brothers & Company.

Tenth and Eleventh Reports of the Orphans' Home, Rochester, Beaver county, Pa., and the Orphans' Farm School, Zelienople, Butler county, Pa. 1868—1869.

IN MEMORIAM.

A melancholy interest attaches itself to the present number of the Review, for it goes forth without passing under the eye of him who for so many years found delight in superintending the issue of this journal, and whose graceful pen contributed so largely to its pages. That eye is closed in death—that hand rests from its toil.

At the end of the collegiate year Dr. Stoever left home, as was his custom, to seek recreation and rest amid his relations and friends elsewhere, and to attend to the general interests of the Review. Whilst apparently in ordinary health, he nevertheless remarked to several friends, before leaving home, that he felt more than usually worn down and weary, and was glad that the time for recreation had come.

On the following Sunday he partook of the Lord's Supper at Germantown, his native place, in company with his aged mother. Writing to his absent wife on the day following, he remarked—"This was a most precious season to my soul. It seemed to me that, if it were the Lord's will, I could just pass away to my heavenly home."

A jaunt along the Susquehanna, as far as Selinsgrove, for the two-fold object of business and pleasure, occupied him during the week following, and left him, upon his return to Philadelphia, in a greatly enfeebled condition. A fever supervening, he rapidly sank, and departed this life on the following Friday, July 22d, having just passed his fiftieth year.

Our object, in these few lines, is simply to make a formal record, in the closing number of the present volume of the Review, of the lamented decease of its Editor, and to express the hope that some sympathizing and willing hand

will ere long be found to indite a fitting memorial of one, a principal part of whose calling seemed to be to serve as an appreciative and conscientious necrologist in the midst of our Lutheran Zion.

What more appropriate tribute to his memory could we have than the publication of such a memorial in the opening number of a new series of the Evangelical Review? For we will not suffer ourselves to fear that this journal, which has been so ably conducted, for so many years, by our dear departed brother, is to expire with him. The wants of our Church clearly demand its continuance; and, whilst we are not now prepared to state under what auspices it shall hereafter be issued, we feel warranted in saying that the reasonable expectations of the Church in the matter shall not be disappointed.

C. A. H.

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Professor in Pennsylvania College.

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